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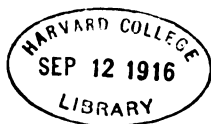
THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD

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TERENTIUS O'DONNELL, S.T.D.

CENSOR DEP.

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'POPE ADRIAN IV A FRIEND OF IRELAND'

THE book with the above name having given occasion to a long article by Father Thurston, S.J., in the April and May numbers of the *Month*, I was advised to reply to it, so that many of his statements, very injurious to the cause of truth, even though unintentionally so, might not be allowed to pass without some antidote. Accordingly, I wrote to the Editor of the *Month*; but he excused himself from publishing my letter, saying that the June number was already full, and he did not think it would be possible to extend the discussion farther. If this is fair play towards a subject that seriously affects the dealings of Rome with Ireland, I leave others to judge.

Happily, however, I am not quite without resource. There are other men, we must gratefully acknowledge, who take a deeper interest in the honour of Ireland, perhaps also of the Papacy, than our friends across the channel seem to do.

Father Thurston writes for all the world like a man who believes that Pope Adrian could do nothing better or wiser than hand over Ireland to England; that Henry II and his Norman followers were just the men to effect a moral reformation of Ireland; and that, as for the bishops, clergy, nobles, and people of Ireland, they were 'served right.' He does little to defend Cambrensis, who was ready to insert in his book the most extravagant stories, and who, he admits, was a forger. Nor does he attempt

to demonstrate that Constantine bestowed islands on the Church. Thus, taking his comments all in all, I do not find that he has disproved a single statement of any importance made in the book, *Pope Adrian IV. a Friend of Ireland*; and though, contrary to the maxim, 'Hear the other side,' he considers that Father Chaillot's essay ought to have been buried in oblivion, I have received testimonies from some most eminent ecclesiastics that I have done a very useful work in translating it for English readers.

In the first part of his essay Father Thurston devotes his chief energies to prove that chapter xlii. of the fourth book of the *Metalogicus* was undoubtedly written by John of Salisbury, and, as he supposes, from the very wording of it, in 1159.

Let us examine these two points.

(1.) Now, in my opinion, there is one sentence in chapter xlii. which alone, without any other evidence, such as that of eating from one plate and drinking from one cup, shows clearly the hand of the forger. It is this: 'He declared, in public as well as in private, that he had a greater affection for me than for any other person in the world.' Can any reasonable man, with a knowledge of society, believe that Pope Adrian was so foolish as to speak in this way? If he wished to estrange the members of the Roman court, to say nothing of the nobility and people, could he adopt a better plan? Was he devoid of all gratitude towards the Cardinals, who, entertaining the kindest feelings towards him, had *unanimously* elected him to be Pope? He certainly had enemies enough, without giving cause for an increase of their number. But let us apply the case in our own days. Let us suppose that an Archbishop of Westminster declares, in public as well as in private, that he has a greater affection for some obscure country chaplain than for any other person, not only in England, but in the world. Would not many persons feel themselves very much offended by being made so little of? Would they not doubt if the Archbishop was in his sane mind, when he went belling about a particular friendship for which no one, perhaps, but himself could see any good

grounds? Or let us suppose that a Governor-General of India declares, in public as well as in private, that he has more regard for some obscure clerk in the Civil Service than for any other person in existence. Would not all classes, from the highest to the lowest, be indignant at such a supercilious slight, or rather at such an unwarrantable insult? And would not this Governor, so wanting in common sense, so unobservant of etiquette, be speedily recalled, never again to be placed in a position requiring the exercise of prudence or courtesy?

But what makes the matter worse is that Adrian's mother was living at the time. This we know from Salisbury's letter No. 134, written about 1164, in which he speaks of her as leading a poor life. What therefore would the Romans think of a Pope who declared, in public as well as in private, that he had a greater affection for an obscure cleric, lately a mere college grinder, than for his own mother? Would not some be found to say that such a Pope was an unnatural monster? and to ask, is this the way for a Pope to show how he regards the Fourth Commandment? Salisbury himself knew the duty of a son towards a mother; for in letter No. 179, to his brother Richard, he says: 'Remember me very kindly to those whom you know, but most affectionately to my mother;'¹ and when, in 1170, he returned to England, after an exile of seven years, one of his first acts was to visit his mother on her dying bed. Besides, gratitude is a theme on which Salisbury often expatiates: how then is it that if he reprehended some faults in Adrian, he said nothing of gratitude towards parents? And what must have been the anguish of Adrian's mother if she heard Salisbury proclaiming through the province of Canterbury that Pope Adrian had a greater affection for him than for her! Would not such a blow be enough to break a mother's heart? And can it be supposed that Salisbury was so ungrateful towards his kind benefactor Adrian as to strike such a blow?

Here let me relate a little story that I have read of our

¹ 'Vale, et officiose saluta quos noveris salutandos, sed affectu praeceptuo matrem.'—(Migne, P.L., vol. 199.)

present illustrious Pontiff, Pius X, who, as everyone knows, is of humble origin. While he was one day giving audience to a foreign bishop, he took out his watch to see the time. The bishop, noticing that the watch was a most miserable one, worth about five shillings, immediately held out his own gold watch, begging the Pope to accept it, and give him the old one in return. But the Pope soon let him know that he would not part with that old watch for any other watch in the world, because it was a present made to him long years before by his mother.

Among the letters of John of Salisbury, there is one (No. 200) addressed to Bishop Walter, about 1167, which throws a much truer light on his relations with Pope Adrian than chapter xlii. at the close of the *Metalogicus* does. I shall place the two passages side by side, that the reader may judge between them :—

FROM CHAPTER XLII. OF THE
'METALOGICUS.' AN. 1159.

In fact, although he had his mother and a uterine brother, he loved me more than them. He declared, in public as well as in private, that he had a greater affection for me than for any other person in the world. He had formed such an opinion of me that he was delighted to open his heart and conscience to me, as often as opportunity offered. Though Roman Pontiff, he was pleased to have me as guest at his table; in spite of my reluctance, he required that one plate and one cup should be in common between us. At my request he gave Ireland to the illustrious King of England, Henry II, to be possessed by hereditary right, as his letters prove to this day.

FROM LETTER TO BISHOP
WALTER. AN. 1167.

It gives me great confidence in addressing you that he whose memory is benediction, our most Holy Father Adrian, who set you a strong pillar (as it is hoped) in the holy Roman Church, loved me with a special grace of charity more than any of my fellow-countrymen, and thought well to compare my misfortunes with the events of his own life. This affection of his for me became gradually known to us both, and to a few other persons. But if his death, which the Christian world now mourns, had not occurred so soon, it would have become more generally known.¹

¹ 'Magnam mihi praestat apud vos audendi fiduciam, quod ille, cujus memoria in benedictione est, utriusque nostrum Pater sanctissimus

Here, in the letter to the bishop, Salisbury does not say that Adrian loved him more than any other person in the world, but more than any of his fellow-countrymen, which (*conterraneis*) may mean only his companions of the kingdom of Kent. No allusion here to such intimacy as eating from one plate and drinking from one cup. No mention here that Adrian declared, in public as well as in private, that he had an extraordinary love for Salisbury, greater than for any other human being, even his own mother. On the contrary, it is said that the Pope's affection for him was known only to a few persons. This shows very clearly that the Pope, whatever his affections were, did not allow them to become inordinate; and he never changed till the time of his death. And would not the Pope's affection for him seem to have exceeded all bounds if it were proclaimed to the world that, simply at John's request, Adrian handed over Ireland to Henry II, to be possessed by hereditary right? The reader can decide for himself which of the two accounts he believes to be the true one, and which the false; for both cannot be true.

Father Thurston urges that chapter xlii. of the fourth book of the *Metalogicus*, as being the final one, ends by asking prayers, and that this was an ordinary method with John of Salisbury. Now, in the six other pieces that we have from John, three, namely, the *Polycraticus*, the *Entheticus*, and the *Life of St. Anselm*, end this way; two, *De Membris* and the *Life of St. Thomas*, do not so end; and, with regard to the remaining one, *De Septem Septenis*, the last page has been lost, so that we cannot tell how it ended. There is nothing wonderful in the fact that the *Polycraticus*, John's chief work, treating of so many philosophical, religious, and historical subjects, and also the *Life of St. Anselm*, should each end with a request for

Adrianus, qui vos in sancta Romana fortissimam (ut spes est) columnam plantavit Ecclesia, me speciali quadam charitatis gratia prae caeteris conterraneis diligebat, et fortunae meae casus sortis suae eventibus connumerandos arbitrabatur. Haec ipsius ad me affectio nobis ad invicem et aliis interim paucis innotuit. Sed nisi eum fata praepropere, quod nunc luget orbis Christianus, e medio rapuissent, jam innotuisset e mundo.'

prayers; but it is truly remarkable that the *Life of St. Thomas*, a man with whom John was so intimate, ends without the slightest invocation of this glorious martyr—at whose tomb the greatest miracles were daily wrought, and of which John declares himself an eye-witness. Hence the fact that chapter xlii. ends with a petition for prayers is no proof that the work did not end with chapter xli.

But there is another hypothesis that we may make, and although Father Thurston has some fault to find with me for making an hypothesis, I notice that he does not hesitate to make one himself occasionally. Let us then suppose that chapter xli. was not intended by John to conclude the book. We have good grounds for making this supposition, because in chapter xlii. a reason is offered to explain why the book came to an abrupt or sudden end (*quæ causa fuerit finiendi librum*). It is quite possible, and indeed probable, that Book IV. of the *Metalogicus* was never completely finished by John. But to understand the justice of this view, we must examine the dates of various events in his life.

(2.) Taking Migne's *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 199, as our guide, we learn from the Introduction that John of Salisbury was born about 1120, went to France about 1136, and, after some twelve years of diligent study there, paid a visit to England. This brings us to 1148. Hastening back to Paris, he spent a short time there, and then retired to a monastery of which his friend Peter de Celles was abbot. From this place, it is said that, after three years, he passed into the service of Theobald, Archbishop of Canterbury. We have now arrived at the year 1151. Still some doubt remains whether John was ever or much in the service of Theobald, and among the letters said to have been written by John for Theobald the earliest date attributed to them is 1155. Besides, John tells us elsewhere, as we shall soon see, that he made many great journeys, such as crossing the Alps ten times, and it is not easy to know at what period of his life they are to be placed. A curious remark occurs in the prologue to the first book of the *Polycraticus*, which does not serve to throw much light on his occupations.

'It grieves me,' he says, 'to have now spent nearly twelve years in trifles—me, who was so differently brought up.'¹ Does this refer to the years between 1148 and 1159? At all events, we learn that in 1159 he presented his *Polycraticus* to Thomas à Becket, and shortly afterwards became secretary to him. Both of them becoming exiles from England through the tyranny of Henry II, John seems to have quitted the service of Archbishop Thomas in 1165; for in an letter (No. 142) to his friend Hunfrid, he says: 'Please give me your advice on these matters, and know for certain that I am resolved to be a courtier no longer. My lord of Canterbury is fully aware of this; since I have withdrawn from his company, though I do not withhold from him my fidelity or my charity.'²

The *Polycraticus* is divided into eight books, and the *Metalogicus* into four. The latter work was certainly written after the former, as may be learned from chapter x. of its first book: 'But of these matters we have treated more at large in *Polycraticus*.'³ If we are to believe chapter xlii. of the *Metalogicus*, this work was finished a little after the death of Pope Adrian, that is, in 1159. But such a story is highly improbable. All these different books seem to have been made public at intervals, according as they were completed. Hence, we read in the prologue to the third book of the *Polycraticus*: 'I have become an enemy to many, by giving out these trifles.'⁴ And in the prologue to the seventh book, John shows a considerable unwillingness to proceed any farther, since he addresses some one in authority thus: 'If therefore you wish that I should write, give me knowledge, or rather implore it from Him who is the Lord of all knowledge, that I may know what to write; allow me sufficient time;

¹ 'Jam enim annis fere duodecim nugatum esse taedet, et poenitet me longe aliter institutum.'

² 'Placeat itaque vobis mihi super haec rescribere consilium vestrum, sciatisque pro certo, quia mihi propositum est, ut non sim de caetero curialis: et hoc ipsum bene novit dominus Cantuariensis, a cujus me subtraxi consortio, sed nec fidem subtraho, nec charitatem.'

³ 'Sed de his latius dictum est in Polycratico.'

⁴ 'Hostis multorum fio, dum ineptias nugatorum excutio.'

and free me from the troubles of domestic want.’¹ After the appearance of the first book of the *Metalogicus*, it seems to have been vigorously attacked by some one named Cornificius; for John, in his prologue to the second book, says: ‘However, we are not yet done with logic, which . . . Cornificius, like a blind man groping at a solid wall, impudently attacks, and more impudently condemns.’² In the prologue to the third book he says: ‘It is now nearly twenty years since the pangs of poverty, and the advice of friends whom I could not disregard, withdrew me from the benches and the wranglings of those who profess logic.’³ He then goes on to tell that he has scarcely ever since been able to give an hour to philosophy. He has crossed the Alps ten times; roved a couple of times through Apulia, in Southern Italy; transacted business for his superiors and friends in the Roman Church; and, owing to various causes that turned up, wandered round about England and France many times. These things, and the like, he says, prevented him from applying to literary pursuits.

But the chief thing to be noted here is that, as he quitted the schools in 1148, since which time nearly twenty years have elapsed, it is now about the year 1168 when he is writing the third book of the *Metalogicus*. This statement is diametrically opposed to that in chapter xlii. of the fourth book, by which it is made to appear that the whole work was finished in 1159. In the same prologue to the third book, John shows, by several remarks, that he is beginning to feel the effects of age, and that it is hardly fair to expect him to continue to write. At length he agrees to resume the task, and, as he says, to relate ‘such old things as

¹ ‘Si itaque vis ut scribam, da, vel potius ab eo qui scientiarum dominus est, scientiam impetra, unde scribam, da tempus expeditum, et necessitatum domesticarum exclude molestias.’

² ‘Nondum tamen absoluta est logica, quam . . . Cornificius, parietem solidum caecati more palpans, impudenter attentat et impudentius criminatur.’

³ ‘Anni fere viginti elapsi sunt, ex quo me ab officinis et palaestra eorum qui logicam profitentur, rei familiaris avulsit angustia, et consilium amicorum quibus non obtemperare non potui.’

occur to his memory from the studies of youth, because they bring back a pleasant time to the mind.'¹

The prologue to the fourth book of the *Metalogicus* speaks of new interruptions. He is compelled, he tells us, to return to the matter that was laid aside; for his increasing years, his priestly duties, etc., required other occupations. 'But since the rashness of a bitter rival,' he adds, 'can never be at rest, and you [*query*, who?], with whose wishes I ought to comply, ask my opinion, I shall give it as briefly as possible, and as time will permit. It would be pleasant, if I may use the words of Seneca, to go back to the old times, and to look at better days, did not the trouble that comes partly from wandering about, and partly from another solicitude, weigh down the mind. Since, however, it seems good to you to scrutinise the conflict between me and Cornificius,² I descend, against my will, and, as it were, dragged, to wrestle in the arena. It is needless to say more.'

A beginning such as this does not give very good hope of a speedy ending: just as when we see a man staggering under a heavy load, we doubt if he will carry it far. A work begun very reluctantly is apt to be often laid aside, if not quite abandoned. Thus several years may have elapsed before much progress was made with the fourth book. Now John, having plenty of occupation from 1170 to 1176 as a simple cleric of the Church of Canterbury, and still more from 1176 till his death in 1180 as Bishop of Chartres, it is quite possible that at the time of his death he had arrived no farther than chapter xli., which he did not intend to be the final one, although in an emergency it might suit.

¹ 'Ergo procedat oratio, et quae antiquatae occurrent memoriae de adolescentiae studiis, quoniam jucunda aetas ad mentem reducitur, compendiose percurrat, etc.'

² 'Sed quoniam temeritas aemuli non quiescit, et tu, cui mos gerendus est, opinionis meae sententiam quaeris, quae pro tempore licuit, succincta brevitate percurram. Jucundum enim fuerat, ut Senecae verbis utar, in antiqua redire tempora, et ad annos respicere meliores, nisi amaritudo, quae partim ex meatu, partim ex alia sollicitudine incumbit, animum praegravaret. Quia tamen visum est tibi meum et Cornificii examinare conflictum, invitus, et quodammodo tractus, in hujus palaestrae descendo arenam. Sed haec hactenus.'

The *Metalogicus* seems to have been regarded as a rather dry and tedious work, so that few copies of it ever existed. Father Thurston admits as much himself; for he tells us that, having examined a number of catalogues of French libraries, he 'met with more than a score of copies of the *Polycraticus*, without discovering a single one of the *Metalogicus*.' And as the work *De Septem Septenis* has come down to us with its last page lost, why may not the last page or two of the original *Metalogicus* have been torn off, and replaced by a forgery?

Many of the above-mentioned circumstances helped to facilitate the forgery of chapter xlii. Besides, was there anything to prevent Henry II, who knew how to wait till the stage was clear, from borrowing the manuscript, especially when John was leaving for Chartres, and never returning it? Hence I am at a loss to know how Father Thurston can undertake to say that 'upon no theory can the *Metalogicus* have been written later than 1165, even if the last chapter be a forgery,' and that 'there must have been copies made under the author's eye.' Moreover, as John was only sixty years of age when he died, he may have expected to live many years more, in which he could finish the book to his satisfaction.

In chapter xlii., John is made to say: 'At my request, he [Pope Adrian] gave Ireland to the illustrious King of England, Henry II, to be possessed by hereditary right, as his letters prove to this day.' Now, Father Thurston, to reconcile this story with another that three bishops and an abbot were sent a formal embassy to Rome for the same object, says that 'the envoys may have used the aid of John, and John may have worked with them to secure the success of their mission.' Supposing such to have been the case, would it not have been a most disgraceful act of John to take all the glory of the transaction to himself, without allowing any share of credit to the men who, as it is said, were specially commissioned to attend to it? Have we any reason to believe that John was such a fool as to indulge in boasting that must soon expose him to universal ridicule, if not indignation? Would Father

Thurston treat his colleagues thus in an affair of the most memorable importance? If not, I think that I may safely protest against his attributing such conduct to John of Salisbury, who is generally admitted to have been a virtuous and honourable man.

Father Thurston, in the second part of his essay, abounds so much in speculation, and brings forward so many authors who disapprove of his own views, that I do not intend to follow him through every point. But I shall endeavour to summarise briefly a few remarks.

When he says: 'On the whole it must be admitted that the balance of authority has been adverse to the genuineness of the Bull' (Adrian's), I have little reason to contend with him.

His assumption that Giraldus, who wrote in 1188, Ralph de Diceto, in 1199, and Roger de Wendover before 1235, all derived their knowledge from independent sources, will commend itself to few.

He does not show that the document from which Baronius quoted was of any more value than a work of Matthew Paris; and, as for the sheet or sheets mentioned by him, they could hardly be called a *codex*.

Speaking of Adrian IV.'s grant, and a confirmatory one from Alexander III, his remarks do not add much to the credit of the latter. 'Medieval chroniclers,' he says, 'were not so minutely critical as to apply the tests which prove to a modern scholar that the second of these letters is almost certainly spurious.' He does not prove that the other three letters attributed to Alexander can be relied on. Indeed, the iniquitous conduct of Henry II, continued for years and years, as described in the letters of Alexander III to St. Thomas of Canterbury,¹ and in those of the latter to the former,² seems quite sufficient evidence to render it incredible that the Pope would entrust to such a king the spiritual and temporal destinies of the Irish nation.

Referring to Giraldus as an historian, he says: 'As for Giraldus, we may fully admit that a writer of his lax views

¹ Migne, *P.L.* vol. 200.

² *Ibid.*, vol. 190.

would not feel the slightest difficulty about inventing a document, such as Dermot's letter, if he thought it would adorn his history.'

He seems to insinuate that Adrian was somewhat of a sordid or mercenary disposition, in hunting for Peter's Pence, since he says that 'it would have been a noteworthy stroke of policy on Henry's part to play up to the new Pope's known predilections by spontaneously proffering the tribute.' This aspersion, which implies the betrayal of Ireland for a bribe, is entirely contrary to the character of Adrian, whose extraordinary merits sufficed to raise him to the pontifical throne. We may learn as much from the motto adopted by Adrian, and which appeared in his Bulls: 'My eyes are ever towards the Lord.'¹ Are not these the words of a soul whose only desire is to please God? Certainly no one can read the letters of Adrian² without being struck with admiration at the noble principles he everywhere lays down for the guidance of conduct.

Even a Protestant professor in the University of Chicago, Mr. Thatcher, after all his researches in Rome, Paris, Vienna, etc., makes the following acknowledgment in his *Studies Concerning Adrian IV* (p. 19):—

There is no proof that he was inclined to favor his native land at the cost of St. Peter. He never was influenced in his papal policy by his nationality. As Pope he labored for the whole Church, not for the aggrandizement of a single power, even though it were his native country. He had a high, sane, and true conception of his office. He was a fine exponent of the universal character of the papacy.

The same learned author speaks of the celebrated 'Bull,' thus (p. 28): '*Laudabiliter* cannot be regarded as a trustworthy source of information on any point. It must be rejected as totally worthless.'

In a note, Father Thurston says: 'Medieval scholars do not seem to have been very scrupulous about fabricating charters or bulls, where they were prompted by motives of interest, but we do not think that mere literary hoaxes were

¹ 'Oculi mei semper ad Dominum' (Ps. xxiv. 15.)

² Migne, *P.L.*, vol. 188.

common in the twelfth century.' Literary or not matters little—forgeries were common. Evidence of this may be seen in John of Salisbury's letter No. 61, written by him as Secretary for the Archbishop of Canterbury, to King Henry, and also in letter No. 129 to Alexander III, which concludes thus: 'Please let us know with what punishment the falsifiers of your letters are to be visited. For it is difficult, at each new occurrence of this kind, to await the decision of your Majesty.'¹

The examples that Father Thurston brings forward to show that many of Adrian's letters, such as those taking dioceses, etc., under the protection of the Holy See, resemble one another in the formula of the first lines, are correct enough. But his examples in regard to other letters² are highly unsatisfactory. I am sorry to say that they offer only a most miserable support, if any, for his argument.

The Abbé Chaillot does not deny that among the letters of Pope Adrian many, treating of ordinary official matters, bear a similarity to one another: how could it be otherwise? He speaks only of the Roman *Bullarium*, in which the more important letters are to be found. But let us hear the Rev. W. B. Morris, of the Oratory, on this subject:—

In the Roman *Bullarium* we find twenty-one Bulls of Adrian IV. They are all concerned with questions of ecclesiastical privileges. Five bear the seal or *Bulla* of the Pope; eighteen are signed by the Pontiff himself; but all, without exception, give the name of the Chancellor by whom they were delivered. Amongst these the editor of the *Bullarium* of 1739, on the authority, as he tells us, of Giraldus Cambrensis and Matthew Paris, introduces a letter from the Pope to *some English King*; no name of said king being given. The letter bears upon it neither seal, date, nor evidence of delivery; it is addressed to no one, signed by no one, and hence it has neither beginning nor end.

It cannot be said that the absence of signature, etc., is, by itself, sufficient to invalidate the document; but it is very

¹ 'Praeterea nobis, si placet, rescribite qua animadversione feriendi sunt corruptores litterarum vestrarum. Difficile enim est ad singula hujusmodi quae emergunt, majestatis vestrae consilium expectare.'

² Migne, *P.L.*, vol. 188, col. 1483, 1586, 1607; 1485, 1508 1547, 1581, 1587, 1600; and 1470, 1581.

remarkable in the present instance, as the Bulls of Adrian IV are distinguished by their singularly rigid formality.

In the *Patrologia* of Migne (vol. 188) we find two hundred and forty-seven documents which are attributed to Adrian IV. Amongst them there are ten which are unsigned and informal. Of these, some are fragments, and all are papers of transitory importance, the original form of which it was no one's interest to preserve: whereas the 'Bull' was Henry's only title-deed to a kingdom. At the same time, in each and every one, with the exception of the 'Bull,' we find an intelligible, legal statement of the case, with the proper names and addresses of the persons concerned.¹

Well may it be asked if there is any court of justice in the world, that would not regard a document like the alleged 'Bull' as a manifest imposition.

The more I reflect on the character of Pope Adrian IV, as drawn in Father Chaillot's treatise, which alone of all the works that I have seen offers anything like a key for every difficulty, the more I am convinced that it would be a happy day for Ireland if all Englishmen were as fair-minded as their countryman Nicholas Breakspeare. I cannot believe that the charges which have made the name of Adrian odious to many are grounded on truth.

W. M'LOUGHLIN.

¹ I. E. RECORD, vol. vi., an. 1885, p. 626.

THE DEVOTION OF THE NINE FRIDAYS

CERTAIN minds—not excluding even those that are devout—in certain circumstances come within the grip of an hallucination, in virtue of which they mistake a candid friend for an uncandid enemy, and discriminating approval for veiled unqualified condemnation. I venture to prophesy that some people who may chance across this paper—even though they have the patience to bear with it as far as the last word—will run away with the idea that I hold a brief against the devotion of the Nine First Fridays. I trust, however, that more balanced minds will not so grossly misconstrue my aim, nor so unduly wrench words from their context. For I make no concealment of my faith in the matter. I stand by the devotion of the Nine Fridays. I believe it to be, in itself, a good and beneficent observance. And I wish my readers to understand at the very outset that anything I may say is said in the hope that my words may help them to practise this devotion with surer profit to themselves, and with truer honour to the Sacred Heart of our Lord Jesus Christ.

It is scarcely necessary for me to state that the devotion of the Nine Fridays owes its origin, if not its continuance, to a revelation supposed to have been made by our Divine Lord to the Blessed Margaret Mary Alacoque. It is called the revelation of the Twelfth or Great Promise.

I have confessed that I hold the devotion of the Nine Fridays to be good and profitable—but such confession does not necessarily imply that I am prepared to make a profession of faith in the revelation on which the devotion is founded. For faith, though blind, in that it does not see the truth of what it cleaves to, yet is not wholly blind. Perhaps I may put the true idea of faith in a more concrete way by saying that faith, though blind, must feel its way. It is a free assent of the mind, an obedience; but true faith is always a reasonable obedience. Its assent is not

indeed grounded on reason, but it must have a reasonable warrant.

What does this imply? Speaking generally, it postulates two conditions for believing in a private revelation. For reason demands that, before believing anything on the authority of God, I must make sure, as a first and most evident condition, that the words which He is now supposed to have addressed to an individual do not in any way contradict the revelation He has already made to His Church. Having satisfied myself on the question of principle, I must seek for certainty as well on a question of fact—that is, I must have positive conclusive evidence from history that such a private revelation has been actually vouchsafed.

Is a private revelation admissible at all? Does it not seem barred by an impossibility? For it is a dogmatic axiom that revelation ceased with the Apostles. This initial difficulty vanishes when it is understood that the axiom in question refers only to public revelation, and does not concern itself with any revelation which is of a private character.

How, then, is the public or private character of a revelation determined? How is its ultimate character to be recognized? I do not introduce these questions as pegs whereon to hang a pen-picture on speculative analysis. The answer involved means something practical and far-reaching. For by the public or private character of a revelation is determined the Church's attitude towards it, and, by consequence, our obligation of believing, or our freedom to disbelieve or to call in question.

By a public revelation is understood one made solemnly by God to the Church in the person of her accredited public representatives. It is circumscribed within the limits of the divine deposit of faith, committed to the sacred guardianship of the Spouse of Christ, to be unfolded with the solemnity of definition, or with the equivalent solemnity of universal belief or universal authoritative teaching, according to the time and the degree unerringly suggested by the Holy Spirit. All such revelation is ultimately

destined to become a public rule of faith for the universal fold of Christ.

A private revelation, on the other hand, is one made to a private individual without any of the appurtenances of sacred solemnity, and is not necessarily intended to be a guide, either in thought or action, for the general body of the faithful. It is quite unofficial in manner of communication, in character, and in purpose. It may sometimes be meant ultimately for the many who believe; but the lines of communication along which it passes are quite unofficial, and it does not bear upon its face the stamp of an official seal. The Church teaching does not definitely stand sponsor for its genuineness, its divine origin and character, nor does she ever impose it as a binding rule of belief. No, not even though the person to whom the revelation is supposed to have been made, is one who has been, by her solemn definition, numbered amongst the saints, and whose public veneration is become obligatory to the furthestmost bounds of her jurisdiction.

A private revelation is, therefore, possible, but not of necessity faith-compelling. Whether it ever imposes, of itself, an obligation of believing is not a matter of certainty, and is a question which, for this very reason, would not repay discussion here. Is a private revelation belief-worthy? Is it ever possible to exercise in its regard the virtue of divine faith? Of such possibility there can be no doubt whatever. But an act of divine faith is a very exalted homage, and must, therefore, be all the more securely guarded. Its antecedent justification is summed up in the double conviction that a voice is speaking to me, and that the voice is the voice of the living God.

I now proceed to consider the particular revelation suggested by the title of my paper :—

On a certain Friday [wrote Blessed Margaret Mary¹] in the month of May, 1688, during Holy Communion, my divine Master spoke these words to His unworthy slave, if she mistake not : 'I promise, in the exceeding mercy of My Sacred Heart, that Its

¹ Lett. 82, apud *Le Regne du Cœur de Jésus*, Tom. v., chap. vii.
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all-powerful love will grant to all those who shall communicate on Nine First Fridays of the month, consecutively, the grace of final repentance; they shall not die under My displeasure, nor without receiving the last Sacraments; My divine Heart shall be their secure refuge in their last hour.'

Do these words of mighty promise square with theology and dogma—for if not, then they are not the words of God? I have scarcely put the question when I am confronted with a very disconcerting canon of the Sacred Council of Trent which runs thus: 'If anyone say, with absolute and infallible certainty, that the gift of final perseverance will be his without fail, except he have so learned from special revelation, let him be anathema'¹

If we contrast these solemn words with the words of promise we seem to be listening to two opposing voices; and the commanding and decisive voice of the Infallible Council must of necessity prevail. And the unerring voice of the Church seems to silence the fallible voice of the saint of Paray-le-Monial, in tones of double command. For it states, firstly, that final perseverance is a gift of God; and, secondly, that no one, except on the strength of special revelation, can lay antecedent and undoubting claim to its possession.

Final perseverance is a gift; something, that is, to which no one, no matter how good or holy, no matter how long a time he may spend in God's service, can dare to lay a claim as a just reward of service rendered. The just man, it is true, has a right to heaven. But this right is only conditional—conditioned by the contingency that he will not lose the justice which he possesses, or, if he should, that he shall have regained it before the moment of death. But that he should win the indefeasible right to persevering holiness, or to such a happy issue at the end of life, is, in the present dispensation of divine Providence, beyond the power of even sanctified human effort, beyond the power of length of days with nobility of service.

But if we turn to the words of the twelfth promise, they seem to say that anyone who has done the Sacred Heart

¹ Sess. vi. can. xvi.

of our Blessed Lord the comparatively trifling service of receiving Holy Communion in its honour on nine consecutive First Fridays, has thereby secured, beyond the possibility of dispute, a title and a claim, not merely to the grace of a happy death, that is, of final perseverance, but also to the additional privilege of the reception of the last Sacraments.

Is a satisfactory explanation possible? It is much to be regretted that some authors, even of repute, who advocate the divine character of the great promise, treat this aspect of the question with a looseness of terminology which is confusing—I might even say, misleading. They baldly state that by the due performance of the Nine Fridays a claim to a happy death is established—and vouchsafe no further explanation.

Now, in the face of the decree of the Council of Trent, a claim, in any strict sense of the term, is inadmissible. 'Claim' and 'gift' are not indeed terms of necessity mutually exclusive. But they imply a relation which is very unusual between man and man, and which must be considered altogether unique as between the Creator and the creature. That is, a strict contract of gratuitous promise may be possible, even between God and man, but its actual existence would take a lot of proving.

It follows, I think, that a strict claim to a happy death can scarcely be based solely on the divine promise. If, therefore, such claim be admissible at all, it must be the result not merely of the promise but likewise of the supernatural service rendered to the Sacred Heart. In other words, it can only be the claim of strict merit, and final perseverance becomes a strict reward, a wage, and loses all title to the name of gift!

Is all claim, therefore, excluded? Not necessarily. For, though no perfection of act and no length of service can win the grace of final perseverance from God as a strict reward of justice—since such reward must be proportioned to the service done, and final perseverance is a privilege so great as to be beyond the measure of human endeavour, even when uplifted by grace—still, some special

form of service may be so pleasing to the Almighty as to induce Him to promise something more or less by way of reward, but which far exceeds the measure of what such service can justly lay claim to. It is not divine justice rendering to us according to our strict deserts, but divine love and mercy and generosity stooping down to meet our littleness. The Creator must be true to Himself, and what He has promised that He will most surely do. If we do the little service we are at liberty to say that we have established a claim to the reward exceeding great, provided we confess that the reward has not been earned, and that our claim is founded only on His mercy and His goodness and His truth. This I conceive to be the relation between the performance of the Nine Fridays and the wonderful graces promised.

Before I pass on to the other difficulty suggested by the canon of Trent, I think it better to consider a difficulty very much akin to the one I have been just discussing. It is founded not on any particular utterance of the Church, but rather on the general economy of God in relation to the soul of the individual; and seems to point to the conclusion that it is not in accordance with the supernatural providence of God, to promise final perseverance, either as a reward or as a gift, to any one act or any set of acts. I cannot do better than put it in the words of St. Alphonsus:¹

You will, perhaps, ask, why God, who desires to give me the grace of perseverance, does not grant it the first time I ask it? The holy fathers assign many reasons: God does not bestow the gift of perseverance as soon as it is asked; first, because He wishes to prove our confidence; secondly, because He wishes that we should esteem it highly and desire it earnestly. . . . Thirdly, that we may not forget Him; if we were already assured of perseverance and salvation, and had no further need of God's assistance to preserve His grace, we should soon forget Him. . . . Fourthly, that persevering in prayer, we may be more closely united with Him by the sweet chains of love. 'Prayer,' says St. Chrysostom, 'which accustoms us to converse with God, is a strong bond of divine love.'

All these reasons surely seem to militate very plainly

¹ *On Prayer*, chap. vi.

and very strongly against the promise supposed to have been made to Blessed Margaret Mary. I quite admit that they establish a *prima facie* case against it—but I hope to be able to make a very good case for the defence, and, I think, a convincing defence at least on this head.

I shall submit my evidence in considering the reply to the charge that the promise runs counter to the decree of the Council of Trent, which declares that no one can know, with infallible certainty, that he shall obtain the grace of final perseverance, except he has learned so from special revelation.

If the Catholic who receives Holy Communion on nine consecutive First Fridays can satisfy himself with absolute certainty that he has fulfilled the conditions of the promise, it follows, as a matter of course, since God is Truth, that he has established, with absolute certainty, a claim to the grace of a happy death. But is any such absolute certainty with regard to the fulfilment of the conditions possible? A little consideration will show that it is not.

For this certainly postulates the indisputable existence of two conditions—first, that his predominant intention in receiving has been to honour the Sacred Heart of our Blessed Lord, and, second, that he has on each occasion received Holy Communion with the necessary disposition of soul.

The question of intention will more opportunely suggest itself for consideration somewhat further on. I merely observe here, that from the very nature of motive or intention, its home and environment and atmosphere,—as also from the stubborn testimony of experience,—unerring certainty as to right intention seems absolutely impossible.

What of the more fundamental postulate, namely, worthy reception? Can we, with absolute certainty, declare our freedom from the guilt of mortal sin? The answer is not long in coming, and from lips no less sacred than the inspired lips of St. Paul: 'I am not conscious to myself of anything—yet I am not thereby justified. He that judgeth me is the Lord.' Were St. Hilarion, after seventy years of holocaustic service of his divine Master,

put the question, Are you free from the guilt of mortal sin?—he should have had no choice but to give the answer given by the venerable Maid of Orleans to a similar question: ‘I know not for certain, but I trust, by God’s mercy, that I am.’

Catholic truth in this matter cannot afford to deal in the airy confidence characteristic of early Protestantism, and not unknown to the Methodism of to-day—an unctious self-satisfaction which is both a pardon for sin committed and a licence to commit sin! The truth of faith may lay claim to a hopeful trust and a halting certainty which we call moral; but absolute security—apart from special revelation—it dare not flatter itself with. Were it even tempted to do so, it would be arrested by the swift, challenging voice of the Holy Ghost, speaking words which are heart-searching and are for all time: ‘No man knoweth whether he is worthy of love or hatred.’

I think I may now sum up my plea for the defence. Let me suppose that the revelation in question is an undoubted historical fact, and, furthermore, that I have faithfully fulfilled the external conditions, and, to all seeming, devoutly—what can I show for my effort in terms of the Divine Promise? As I have already pointed out, any claim to the grace of a happy death, which I may have won is not the claim of strict merit, not the claim of the wage-earner, but at most, a claim on the truth and generosity of the Most High God, Who, in His bounty, has made the promise and, in His truth, must abide by and fulfil His plighted word.

But even this lesser claim I cannot make absolutely secure. For no matter how devoutly I may seem to myself to have received the Lord’s sacred Body and Blood, there must remain the haunting fear—or, I would rather say, the haunting shadow of fear—lest, even at the moment of receiving, my soul may have been found not clothed in the wedding garment of charity. There is, of course, what is called the testimony of a good conscience; but, we have the word of St. Paul himself for it, that such testimony does not justify, that is, it is not final. Therefore, let me

have done my part ever so zealously, I can, at best, but hope that I have won the grace I have striven for.

Since, however, absolute certainty is out of the question, the wisdom of the Holy Spirit bids me still to strive and labour, still to work out my salvation in holy fear ; holy fear, which closes the door against over-confidence and pride ; which, far from being the parent of despair, is rather the life-breath of humble, clinging hope. Where eternal interests are at stake, the holy Fathers warn us, no security can be too great. I must still remember God and keep near to God ; united to Him by faith, and hope, and charity of thought and word and deed, and by prayer, which is the echo of faith, the cry of hope, and the securest bond of love.

The theological bearing of the twelfth promise raises such important issues, and inculcates so many practical lessons of a character a little too apt to be forgotten by modern devotion, that I offer no apology for having entered into the discussion, even though the matter is long since a *res judicata*. For judgment has been already given. The revelations made to Blessed Margaret Mary, including the promises, were duly examined and approved by the Sacred Congregation of Rites, and the approval confirmed by Pope Leo XII, in the year 1827. From which approbation, this at least follows, namely, that the promises contain nothing at variance with the divine deposit of faith committed to the keeping of the apostolic Church, and that, consequently, as far at least as the claims and limitations of dogma are concerned, Catholics are quite at liberty to accept them as revealed by God.

The Twelfth Promise, then, is theologically orthodox, and, so far, secure. Is it authentic ? Is it an historical fact ? Is the historical evidence in its favour convincing ? Is the evidence such as to engender that moral certainty which is the minimum required as a postulate for an act of faith in any revelation, whether public or private ?

The saint herself seems to have already given the answer, and negatively. For she qualifies the fact of the revelation by the clause 'if I mistake not,' which suggests the im-

pression that she was not quite certain of the revelation herself. We know, however, otherwise that this clause was inserted on the advice of her superior, and to imply, not any subjective doubt of fact, but her readiness to submit in all these things to the judgment of ecclesiastical authority.

To handle the question of historical fact, that is, of the authenticity or reality of the revelation, with the expectation of arriving at a certain conclusion, would be, in the present conditions of evidence, simply to grasp at the unattainable. Such an effort in dialectics is quite outside the scope of this paper, whose end is not academic but practical. However, I cannot well afford to ignore the subject altogether. I therefore reproduce what is at least a very moderate estimate of the net result of many and varying findings. It is by way of extract from a letter written to the *Catholic Times*, by Father Hull, S.J., in the latter part of last year :—

Are the revelations of the Blessed Virgin Mary really divine revelations ? Answer : Some people think they *certainly* are *in toto* ; others, that they *certainly* are *in substance* ; others, that they *most probably* are, either *in toto* or in substance. The Church does not guarantee them infallibly, either *in toto* or in substance ; and we are left to human evidence to decide for ourselves.

Is the evidence sufficient to give the full certainty required for divine faith ? Answer : Some think so, while others think not. Those who think so will naturally formulate an act of divine faith ; while those who do not think so will abstain from such an act of divine faith.

Can we get further, and settle the matter definitely, once and for all ? Answer : Those who think so are free to hold their own opinion. Those who think not are free to hold their own opinion. Each position is legitimate.

History, I believe, repeats itself. And I make no doubt but that this borrowed announcement with which I have identified myself will cause a flutter in some stray devotional hearts which may not heretofore have felt the shock of such unholy scepticism. Judging from some counter-manifestations which appeared at the time, Father Hull must have set many pious people praying for his return

from the borderland of heresy, and further than the borderline of rank impiety. To obviate a repetition of such disaster, I hasten to make a concession.

Let me grant that I am not prepared to make an act of divine faith in the Twelfth Promise, that the historical evidence in its favour does not seem to me convincing enough to warrant my so doing. Let me go further and suppose that conflicting evidences result in an even balance of probabilities. What ought my action to be?

It is related of the later Mr. Cecil Rhodes that his formula of belief—rather of unbelief—was: There is a fifty per cent. chance that there is a God. But though he thus agreed in theory with the folly of a great many, he drew a rather wise conclusion. For, since there may be a God—as he thought—it is better be on the safe side, and so live that, if, as a matter of fact, God does exist, we may one day be prepared to meet Him.

Now, I say, there is at least an even probability that our Divine Lord has promised the unspeakable gift of final perseverance—the grace which crowns all other graces, and without which all other graces are vain—to all those who receive worthily Holy Communion on nine consecutive First Fridays in honour of His Sacred Heart. Therefore, if we pay Him the tribute of this homage, there is *at least* an even chance, on this title alone, that we have secured the one thing we have been born to win, namely, the eternal salvation of our soul. It surely follows that, if we be not fools, we will grasp that chance and not let it slip. Nay, I dare to say, that the Christian who would be deterred from ‘making the Nine Fridays,’ because he or she is not certain that the revelation was really made, would stand a very poor chance of winning the prize even though the revelation were certainly authentic. A bold statement, you will say; but I flatter myself that before I have done I shall have brought forward evidence sufficient to suggest that the assertion has not been made too heedlessly.

There are priests who, basing their conclusions, they declare, on results, regard the devotion of the Nine Fridays with very little favour. It is possible that a prejudice, which

is not of God, may colour the views of some of them. Any new form of devotion which means added work bears on its face the stamp of counterfeit to the laggard. His logic is of a piece with the zealous logic which here and there defends the devotion of the lighted candle with a strenuousness of advocacy not unknown to the devotion of finance. But I refuse to believe that the selfish consideration of convenience is accountable for the attitude of the body of priests who are simply resigned to the devotion in question—and sometimes with a very bad grace.

They fail to see anything in it but a transfer of devotion from the First Sunday to the First Friday, with the hope forfeited of gaining a plenary indulgence.¹ They point to some who seem to consider the performance of the Nine Fridays such a secure guarantee of salvation as to dispense from the necessity thenceforth of any strict observance of God's commandments. Others, they declare, become participators in the devotion because it is the fashion; others, to win the good opinion of those whose opinion they value as a sentimental or commercial asset; and the great majority, because it is a cheap and easy way of winning a place in God's eternal kingdom.

Purely destructive criticism in this matter is surely quite inadmissible. The devotion of the Nine Fridays is an established fact, which we cannot afford to ignore, and to depreciate which would unquestionably mean to run the risk of incurring a very unenviable responsibility. That the devotion is abused is a thing very much to be deplored, but such an eventuality is evidently no test of the reality or unreality of the Twelfth Promise. It was prophesied of old that Christ, our Lord, was placed for the ruin and the resurrection of many, and these words will ring prophetic to the end of time. The sacred army of Christ is never without a band of disreputable camp-followers; and no devotion, how true and how holy soever it may be, can hope to be secure against the encroachments of those who would prostitute it to base purposes, or who, through

¹ A plenary indulgence may be gained on the First Friday, but only by members of a Sodality of the Sacred Heart.

ignorance^{*} and want of real faith, do not know how to handle a holy thing holily. It is for those whose office is to guard the interests of Christ, to guard and feed His flock—it is for them to warn off the pious hypocrites, and, by instruction and exhortation, to help the ignorant and the thoughtless to a better realization and appreciation of the truth and sacredness of the devotion of the Nine Fridays, and to insist especially on its divinity of purpose.

Yes, this above all—its divinity of purpose. For this is an aspect of the devotion in regard to which there seems to prevail a widespread and most fatal misunderstanding. Indeed, it is chiefly with a view to calling attention to this misunderstanding that I have begun to speak about the devotion at all ; and I should wish to speak a very earnest word or two about the matter now.

Ours is an age of steam and electrons ; of haste and rush and hurry, let it be work or play ; of express trains and holiday trips and cheap tickets. Whether these things be unmingled blessings in the order of nature or no—their parallel would unquestionably mean something like an unrelieved curse in the order of grace. And yet, the order of grace—the world of devotion—appears to be daily catching up a little of the infection. Devotion is mostly a thing taken up at intervals and in a rush—but devotion as a rule of life is every day becoming rarer and more rare. And the run on cheap tickets—if I may transfer the expression without irreverence—is a growing evil, too. The aim of modern devotion, at its best, seems to be, to gain the greatest amount of spiritual benefit at the least possible inconvenience. I am not asserting that such an ideal is in itself false. But I cannot well regard it as the highest—it does not touch the ideal of Christian perfection. And it may sometimes prove suicidal.

Yes, I repeat, suicidal ; and I need not travel beyond the scope of this paper for crushing testimony. The Twelfth Promise has, I fear, been grossly misconceived by many earnest devotees, and with results which are the reverse of satisfactory. If the Promise be true and divine, it means that our Blessed Lord, in the excess of His mercy,

has promised the crowning grace of a happy death to all those who worthily receive Holy Communion on nine consecutive Fridays, in honour of His Sacred Heart. From which it follows that, in order to stand even a chance of winning the favour promised, one's *principal* intention in communicating should be to honour the Sacred Heart of Christ our Lord.

But, what view does selfish devotion take of the words of promise? With its characteristic haste and superficiality of spiritual apprehension, it fails to rightly weigh or understand the conditions. It is quick enough to grasp the fact that the grace of a happy death is promised to those who receive Holy Communion on nine consecutive First Fridays. Here is a promise which, to all seeming, bids fair to realize its ideal of the greatest possible good with the least possible trouble. It determines at once to make the plunge, and so, with a wondrous show of piety and a feeling of settled security it 'makes the Nine Fridays,' in order to gain the grace of a happy death—and thereby over-reaches itself. For I deliberately assert—and my assertion is but the expression in another form of what is admitted even by writers who hold the revelation in question to be an incontestable fact—I assert that if the majority of those who make the Nine Fridays do so principally—much more if exclusively—in order to win the grace of a happy death, they are casting their nets on the wrong side of the boat, and not at the Master's bidding; they are failing to comply with an understood, but essential condition of the promise.

To take part in the devotion of the Nine Fridays in the spirit intended and demanded by our Blessed Lord is not such an easy thing as it seems, and selfish devotion, as such, can never compass it. In this matter, the devotion of the child which does its parent's behest to win the sweetmeats promised to fulfilment, will surely not suffice. Something better, something nobler, something higher is needed; there is need of something unselfish, namely, the devotion and the love of a friend. Such devotion to Christ the Lord, our Friend, is confessedly the highest privilege of man;

and it is a necessary condition for rightly fulfilling the requirements of the Twelfth Promise.

How many possess it of those who so blithely and confidently participate in the intoxication of the Nine Fridays ? How many ask for it ? ' Ask and you shall receive.' How many who possess it habitually, yet, through ignorance or owing to some strange oversight, fail to introduce it as a motive of the performance of this particular devotion, and so effectually spoil their chance of winning the prize !

The consideration embodied in this last statement will possibly serve to explain a difficulty which is sometimes urged against the authenticity of the Twelfth Promise. It is a difficulty founded on fact. On the one hand, to those who rightly fulfil the conditions Christ has promised not merely a happy death, but the further privilege of receiving the last Sacraments. On the other hand, it is within the experience of priests, that souls, of whose sanctity they could entertain very little doubt, and of whose genuine and disinterested love of Christ they could bear equally undoubting witness—have made ' the Nine Fridays ' devoutly, and yet have died without having been made partakers of the lesser privilege promised.

The fact is certainly rather disconcerting ; but it is not inexplicable, when it is remembered that the proper fulfilling of the conditions implies not merely (1) the state of grace in the act of communicating ; and (2) a spirit of unselfish devotion to our Lord and to the interests of His Sacred Heart ; but also (3) it demands that this spirit should be a living, acting, ruling influence, should be not only a condition of mind but a dominant force, from the beginning to the end.

That our state and our spirit and our motive have been of the proper character and level, we can never truly believe without wavering, or assert without hesitancy. Motive, too, is such an intangible thing, and self is so engrossing and so insinuating even when we seem to have raised ourselves above ourselves. Whosoever, therefore, is led by the spirit of God in making the Nine Fridays will indeed do his best to obtain purity of heart and exaltation of

motive. But, being wise with the wisdom of the Holy Ghost, he will not—when he has fulfilled the conditions as well as may be—sit down and rest, flattering himself with a false security. For, he can never be sure of himself, of the state of his soul, or of the force and the play of conflicting motives. He will console himself indeed that he has tried to do something disinterestedly for his Master and his Friend; and, as to the reward, though he may not have changed hope into certainty, he has, at least, confirmed and enlarged his ground of hope.

And he will surely try again—and yet again. For each renewal of effort will bring with it not merely augmentation of merit, but also, according to the economy of divine rewarding, a stronger hope of that purity of heart and will which alone can make the accomplishment of the conditions of promise secure.

Herein lies the answer to an objection quaintly put by a venerable prelate who did not regard the devotion of the Nine Fridays with too unlimited favour. ‘Nine Holy Communion are very good,’ he used to say, ‘but ten are better than nine, and eleven better than ten.’ Quite so; but eighteen are better than ten, and twenty-seven is a more satisfactory total than eleven.

D. DINNEEN.

THE MORALITY OF ENGLISH SOCIALISM

THE conversion of the working-classes of Great Britain to the Socialist creed has been a long cherished hope among its believers on the Continent. They rightly conclude that if the leading industrial nation were to range itself under the Socialist banner an enormous impetus would be given to the movement throughout the world. In comparison with some countries Socialist ideas have not made great progress in England. But latterly there has been quite an outburst of activity. Propaganda work on the platform and in the Press, demonstrations and organizing have been going on apace, and with some show of success. A large increase of strength in some of the Socialist bodies has to be admitted. And at the present time an earnest appeal is being made to British labour to identify itself with the cause of Socialism.

It seems, then, an opportune moment to make an examination of the principles and proposals of the Socialist programme in order to see how far they agree or disagree with Christian morality, and what attitude Catholic working-men should adopt towards this new gospel.

Much confusion and not a little mischief are caused by the frequent employment of the word Socialism to express widely different ideas. In this essay it is used in what seems its only legitimate sense, *i.e.*, as the equivalent of Collectivism. Whatever it may have been formerly used to denote, nowadays, common usage has stamped it as signifying a peculiar and comprehensive remedy for social evils, which proposes to transform not only the industrial system, but even the entire moral order on which Christian society has hitherto rested.

In his *Quintessence of Socialism*, Schäffle says: 'The Alpha and Omega of Socialism is the transformation of private and competing capitals into a united and collective capital.' John Stuart Mill writes: 'What is characteristic

of Socialism is the joint ownership by all the members of the community of all the instruments of production, which carries with it the consequence that the division of all the produce must be a public act performed according to rules laid down by the community.' Bradlaugh gives this definition of Socialism : ' It denies individual private property and affirms that society organized as the State should own all wealth, direct all labour, and compel an equal distribution of all the produce.'

In these definitions we have the essential doctrines of the gospel, preached by the powerful Socialist organizations existing in practically all European countries, comprising many millions of workers and of which Marx and Lassalle were the principal authors. The word Socialism has been appropriated by them to express their special theories and custom has sanctioned the use of the term in that sense. This was the one and only meaning of the word recognized by Pope Leo XIII, when in his encyclical on the *Condition of Labour*, he examined and condemned the teachings of Socialism. This, then, ought to be regarded as its true sense ; to use it in any other is a misleading abuse of language.

No one can be strictly considered a Socialist, who does not hold the central doctrines of collective ownership and control. There are measures advocated by Socialists and by them pronounced Socialistic, which are not so, unless they are regarded as steps towards the Socialist ideal or as forming part of a national scheme of re-organization. We are not Socialists because we are in favour of necessary legislative restrictions of individual liberty in order that we may thereby protect the general and permanent physical and moral interests of the community. Again, State regulation of industry, taxation of incomes, municipal or national ownership and administration of businesses, such as railways, the post office, gas, tramways, etc., are not really Socialistic, nor evidences of society drifting, as is so often said, towards Socialism. No doubt they may be fitted into a Socialist scheme. But as the facts show, they are quite compatible with the existing

social order and, as long as the right of private capital stands unchallenged and intact, they cannot be called Socialist.

Having thus cleared the ground, we may proceed to describe the principal doctrines taught by the three bodies of English Socialists, viz.: the Social Democrats, the Independent Labour Party and the Fabian Society. These three organizations are substantially in agreement as to principles and ideals; their differences chiefly regard the methods by which that ideal can best be realized.

THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATS

The Social Democratic Federation was founded in London, in 1881. It boasts about a hundred branches in the chief industrial centres of England and Scotland. There are no means of ascertaining the total membership, but it is very probably not large. It poses as the only genuine representative of Socialism, the other two associations having departed from the pure gospel of Karl Marx. Its organ is *Justice*. Quelch, Hyndman, Bax, and Karl Pearson are its principal leaders.

The central doctrine of the Social Democrats, as laid down plainly in their catechism, is, that the only remedy for the misery and oppression which are the lot of a vast and increasing number of the working-class is to be found in a radical transformation of the industrial system. Collective ownership and collective production must supersede capitalist private ownership of the means of production in order to put an end to social wrongs and introduce an era of social peace and well-being. In their opinion, the struggle against exploitation and on behalf of social equality is exclusively a working-class movement. Any co-operation or alliance with those who are interested in maintaining the principle of private ownership is a blunder and a crime, which will assuredly delay their emancipation. They must be organized, then, as an independent army, whose aim is to make themselves the dominant factor in the State. Having constituted themselves the ruling class and got all political power into their hands they will abolish all dis-

tinctions of class, seize all private capital, and transfer it to the State, which will administer it in the equal interest of the whole community.

We can better understand the irreligious basis of the Social Democratic Utopia by a brief survey of the views of Karl Marx, who is still the inspired prophet of this section.

Marx was one of the school of heathen Humanists so vigorously and so justly denounced by Bishop Keppeler in his contest with the rising forces of German Socialism and Materialism. The Humanism of that period was nothing else than a particularly gross form of Materialism. The sum of its teachings was: There is nothing above man, neither God, priest, or king; there is nothing in man save the concrete being of flesh and blood; the only sources of information are the senses and they give no clue to the existence of God, 'the idea of whom has been the keystone of a perverted civilization.' Not only is there nothing above man, but no human being should be less than man, *i.e.*, none ought to suffer degradation or to be condemned to a life of misery. For all had equal rights to share in the benefits of society. And happiness here and now was the sole end of man's existence and the natural, indefeasible birthright of every individual.

Obviously the tendency of these doctrines was strongly Socialistic. Only in a collectivist State was there any possibility of these supposed legitimate aspirations being satisfied. Consequently, a re-organization of society, on collectivist lines, was a necessity imperatively demanded by the principles of social justice. Marx's theory of value was intended to supply the scientific basis for the Socialist claim to equality of condition. The present economic order rested on the assumed natural rights of private capital. The conclusion of his analysis of capital and value was that private property in the means of production was unjust, that capitalism was founded in spoliation, and continues as a gigantic system of robbery and oppression. He proved, to his own satisfaction at least, that ordinary manual labour measured by time was the sole producer

of all wealth ; ' that all wealth is due to labour and to the labourer all wealth is due,' and that the wealth of all classes not earned by manual labour was robbery. The complete dependence of the workers on the capitalist for the opportunity to earn their daily bread forced them to submit to his terms and to accept whatever remuneration he was pleased to grant. And a bare subsistence wage, far less than their due, was all that they received of the wealth which on account of their labour wholly belonged to them. While the remainder, the surplus value or the product of their unpaid labour, was continuously and unjustly appropriated by the capitalist.

Evidently, according to this argument, there was no sacredness attaching to the laws by which private property was protected. They were merely cunning devices invented by the capitalist with an eye to his own interest, and their only sanction was the political power which the privileged classes had gathered into their hands. By force and fraud had they obtained their wealth, and by right of superior force would the proletariat in due time justly dispossess them. Forcible seizure of goods so unlawfully acquired was not robbery, but a righteous restoration to the lawful owners—the people at large

But this act of expropriation, which was the first step towards the nation's emancipation, was only possible when through organization the labouring class had become the supreme political force in the State. Having reached that point, they would lay hands on all productive wealth, collectivise it, and compulsorily organize for production and distribution the entire nation, which would then consist of one class only,—a universal association of workers.

And with this transfer of material wealth, it is to be observed, every individual is brought under the absolute control of the State and becomes the servant, indeed, the slave, of an industrial republic. Any independent activity based on personal rights is straightway at an end. Body and soul he is the property of society, which disposes of him at will. He must conform in all respects to

the regulations of a materialistic commonwealth, which regards him merely as an instrument, whose only business is to contribute his due share to the temporal well-being.

Such a pagan conception of the functions of the State and of individual rights was the logical outcome of Marx's materialist philosophy. He was not content with showing that material conditions have a considerable influence on moral and intellectual development. He insisted that they were the sole cause of it all. He refused to assign to the intellectual and spiritual factors any appreciable influence in shaping or guiding the progress of mankind. So he is credited with having discovered working in society a principle of evolution, analogous to that perceived by Darwin in the organic world. That principle he identified with the economic forces, which successively evolved the various forms of civilization, and which were moving irresistibly in the direction of the collectivist ideal.

On his showing, therefore, religious institutions, morality, the constitution of the family, and all social relations were nothing more than the effect of the prevailing conditions of production, distribution, and exchange. These conditions have invariably produced hostile classes and in their conflict all the changes, the ideas, and institutions of society have originated. The ruling ideas at any particular epoch are merely the ideas of the ruling class, which has imposed them on the rest of the community. Moreover, as the economic system in the course of its evolution necessarily assumes new forms and new functions, the moral and religious ideas, which spring therefrom, must change also. There is nothing then divine or absolute in religion or morals. Like capital, they are only historical categories. They are provisional rules, adapted to a particular stage of the development of the social organism. It was necessary that they should be evolved out of the actual industrial conditions, and it is equally inevitable that they should lose their authority and disappear when those conditions change. And the promise is made to us that 'religion will finally vanish when the practical relations of life

become intelligible and reasonable' under the Socialist *régime*.

This materialist conception of history with its open rejection of everything supernatural, forms an essential part of the economic theory of the Social Democrats, and in a slightly less degree of the two other Socialist organizations in England. The avowed aim of the Social Democrats is to set up a labour State, which will have absolute power to regulate all our activities, physical and moral, and to determine all our social relations, without regard to personal choice, the claims of conscience or the authoritative commands of the Church. It is quite impossible to fit Christian principles into their proposed scheme. They are indeed an obstacle to the realization of their project. Their catechism, their newspaper, their pamphlets and speeches make no concealment of their materialistic bias. Bax, who is a reliable exponent of their views, says: 'Socialism is a religion, but not in the Christian sense. Indeed, it utterly despises the other world with all its stage properties, *i.e.*, the present objects of religion. Socialism affirms the unity of human life abolishing the antithesis of matter and spirit of this world and the other.' On the fundamental question of justice, which arises in the expropriation of the capitalist, Bax accurately expresses the opinions of the three English Socialist parties:—

The social idea of justice is crystallized in the notion of the absolute right of community to the possession and control of all wealth not intended for direct individual use. Hence the confiscation of such property is the first expression of Socialist justice. Justice being henceforth identified with confiscation, and injustice with the rights of private property, there remains only the question of ways and means.

Again, Karl Pearson, speaking of all forms of English Socialism, writes:—

The Socialist's theory of Morality is based on agnosticism, and his aim is to make this life as pleasant as possible. Socialism starts from the thought that the sole aim of mankind is happiness in this life. The State is the centre of the Socialist Faith. His polity is his Morality and his morality is his Religion.

THE INDEPENDENT LABOUR PARTY

The Independent Labour Party, though not assuming the name of Socialism, is yet distinctively Socialist in its tenets. Very probably, its leaders feel that their views are likely to find a readier hearing and acceptance, if they are not too plainly described as Socialistic. In any case, as Sidney Webb informs us, this society had its rise among the Social Democrats and Socialist League clubs of the North of England.

It has adopted, however, a more reasonable and practical policy than the Social Democrats; it shows less revolutionary frenzy and fanaticism, and it does not openly betray such a violent antagonism to religion. But there is no difference between them as to the ultimate condition of things to which they hope to direct society. So the amended constitution of the Independent Labour Party, in 1894, declared its object to be 'the collective ownership and control of the means of production, distribution and exchange.'

The leading spirits in the originating of the movement were Keir-Hardie and Cunningham, and, more recently, Snowden, Tillett, Glasier, etc., have been important factors in its successful development. It is composed of men who were dissatisfied with the lack of political enterprise among the trade unions, and despaired of any radical measure of reform from middle-class Liberalism. At the same time they saw that the democratic institutions of this country, if skilfully used, gave the forces of labour abundant opportunities for shaping the character and the course of the legislation. The Independent Labour Party was, therefore, formed for the purpose of voicing the claims of the working-classes, and, at the same time, using them as a lever for the advancement of their special views on Socialism. Unlike the Social Democrats, they do not insist upon the Marx theory of value as their root-principle, nor do they think it wise to follow the example of rigorous German Socialism in preaching a class war, and in refusing all alliances for immediate remedial measures with men or parties, who differ from them on the subject of private property. They perceive that the

perfect realization of the Socialist hope is afar off ; that it can only be reached by slow and gradual modifications of the existing social order, and, therefore, without abandoning their distinctive opinions as to the right and final solution, they use parties and the State in order to introduce minor measures which will restrict what they call class-robbery, and by raising the standard of life will make the workers more effective promoters of their ideal.

In their clubs and pamphlets, in their organ, the *Labour Leader*, and in their platform addresses they assiduously disseminate the seed of Socialism. They busy themselves also in organizing demonstrations and agitations, partly to intimidate the governing class and partly to provide an object lesson of the truth of their contention that the capitalist system of industry is obsolete and utterly incapable of directing and developing the enormous productive forces of to-day in a manner beneficial to the public.

The success of this movement has been remarkable. Starting, as an organized body, in 1894, it has now 250 branches in England and Scotland, with a membership of over 25,000. Socialists have, in the past, made frequent attempts to capture the trade unions, but, beyond barren resolutions in favour of the nationalisation of land and capital, little success has been achieved. The Independent Labour Party's latest development has been to induce a number of trade unions, representing 1,000,000 workers, to combine with itself and the Fabian Society in the Labour Representation Committee, for promoting labour representation in Parliament. The chief credit for the creation of this new organization is due to the Independent Labour Party which, with the Fabians, exercises a dominant influence in its councils. It is highly probable that in the next Parliament a strong labour party, Socialist in principle or in tendency, will be the authorized mouthpiece of the workers of Great Britain.¹

The leaders of the Party do not concern themselves over-much with abstract theories of conduct and society. But, at times, they are forced back upon the first principles on

¹ This was written in December, 1905.

which they ground their system. Then, their agreement with the Marxist appears. It is evident that, in their opinion, the only working theory for practical men is Monism. There may be a God and a future life, or there may not. This, however, is certain, that all men have an equal right to this world's advantages ; pleasure is man's only end, and, therefore, it is imperative that the conditions of society should be such as to ensure a certain minimum of comfort for everyone. Now, they argue, the capitalist mode of production of its very nature, as its workings demonstrate, entirely excludes a vast multitude from any portion of real happiness and condemns them to lives of hideous destitution, hopeless misery, and degradation. The selfish principles of competition and private property have been tried and found wanting. They stand condemned as out of date and ruinous in their effects. The logic of events demands the substitution of the alternative, altruistic principle of Socialism which relies on brotherly co-operation not on a pitiless, internecine competition, which institutes common ownership, for the general good, in place of private ownership and enjoyment, and which will guarantee to each person an equal share, according to requirements, of the produce of labour, to which all, according to their capacity, contribute by their toil.

The teachings of Christianity have no part in the construction of their ideal republic. The idea of a supreme Legislator, of a revealed moral code, of God-given, inalienable rights and of divine ordinances prevailing in society are all undreamt of in their philosophy, and are indeed wholly incompatible with it. They hold that the people is as competent to transform the moral order on which society rests as it is to change the administration, or to decide under what form of government it will live. The State has plenary power to legislate for itself, and to ordain the rules for private and public conduct. The moral law they recognize is not from above : it is of the earth, earthy. 'Things,' so they say, 'make their own morality.' 'What is good in economics is good also in morals.' These are their axioms. Assuming, then, the perfection and the justice of their proposed economic system, they must discover or

invent a moral code adapted to it. Obviously, as they admit, the old Christian principles cannot be accommodated to such an un-Christian ideal as Socialism aims at. And, in fact, it is to utilitarian and evolutionary ethics that they consistently appeal as the moral basis of their scheme.

That the above description does not misrepresent them will be clear from a few quotations taken from pamphlets issued by the Independent Labour Party press. 'If you want information about the Independent Labour Party,' advises one of the leaflets, 'read the *Clarion* and the *Labour Leader*. These will tell you what Socialism means, and will keep you in touch with the great international Socialist movement.' Now, the grossly materialistic character of the philosophy of the *Clarion* and the violent and vulgar attacks upon Christianity it combines with its Socialist preaching are notorious. Snowden, the chairman of the party, makes the significant statement that the 'Independent Labour Party is the counterpart of continental Socialism'—an admission of its irreligious tenets and tendency. According to the same authority, 'the churches are the forces of superstition at war with reason;' 'Christ is not a Divine Teacher for the Socialist, nor is His law to be the rule of conduct in the new religion which is to be a political religion.' Modern science, another pamphlet tells us, bears witness to the truth of Socialism. 'It is the only arrangement consistent with Nature's laws,' for has not evolution demonstrated that the survival of the fittest is the supreme aim, and does not the struggle for existence sanction those rules of action as highly moral, which secure to the individual or society the largest measure of material satisfaction? As this writer implies, Socialism will reproduce the conditions, the ideals, and rules which an infidel science pretends to show prevail in the animal world, and which clearly have no tincture of true morality about them. We are not surprised to learn from still another pamphlet that 'Socialism will involve a revolution in religion and morals,' and that it is as yet undecided whether Kant and his categorical imperative or the system of Comte is to furnish authoritative moral guidance in the Socialist commonwealth.

THE FABIAN SOCIETY

The Fabian Society consists of Socialists. This is the first statement of their official programme. And they are profoundly 'convinced of the necessity of vesting the organization of industry and the material of production in a State identified with the whole people by complete democracy.' This Society is most active and influential in London. Its members are recruited principally from the educated middle-class. Branches are maintained, though not with any marked success, at most of the universities. In point of numbers the Society is not imposing, for the official returns of 1904 gave 739 as the total on the rolls. But they attach no importance to mere numerical growth. What they do insist on is, that their members shall be earnest and capable promoters of the cause. In spite of the smallness of their numbers, it is true, as Sidney Webb asserts, that 'the Society exerts a considerable influence by the participation of its members in nearly all reform movements, by their work at the universities and in the fields of journalism.'

In their policy and principles they approximate closely to the Independent Labour Party. But, whereas the latter hope to achieve their end by direct parliamentary action, the former adopt an educational rôle, mainly, *i.e.*, a steady policy of permeating public opinion with Socialist ideas.

Bernard Shaw is their chief literary figure, but their most eminent authority on social questions is Sidney Webb, undoubtedly a man of mark in London's municipal affairs. Instead of maintaining an organ of their own they take advantage of every opening in the public Press, and as at least fifty of them are expert journalists, the effect of their activity in this direction must be considerable. The volume called the *Fabian Essays* contains an authentic exposition of their views, and has had an extensive sale. Lectures and pamphlets are freely used, and the extent of their influence in London can be measured by this that, in 1892, the Progressive Party of the London County Council went to the polls and won an overwhelming victory, on a programme of a pronounced Socialist character, written

by Sidney Webb, and, at the same time every Fabian who ran as a Progressive was elected. It may be truly said that the spread of collectivist ideas in England during the last twenty years is principally due to the Fabians.

When the party was first formed, in 1883, its members were all in favour of revolutionary methods, and looked for the speedy downfall of the old *régime*. Time and experience have moderated their hopes and taught them to labour and to wait patiently for the attainment of their ideal. It has been borne in upon them that violent organic changes are impracticable, and that society is too large and complex a machine to be suddenly re-modelled on a Socialist plan. They profess, moreover, to have learned from Comte, Darwin, and Spencer, the vital truth that society is an organism, and that if growth is inevitable, yet it must of necessity be slow and gradual. So now they look forward to the gradual evolution of the new from the old, by peaceful, constitutional modifications of the existing order, which will keep pace with the growing enlightenment of the people.

Judged by the nature of the measures they advocate and the reformers with whom they frequently act, they seem hardly distinguishable from advanced Radicals. There is, however, this important difference, that, while Radicals uphold private enterprise, the Fabians labour to extinguish it. And their ultimate aim, and, still more, the theories on which they ground their case, put them in a class apart.

They believe with the Social Democrats that only a thoroughgoing transformation of society can cure its many grievous evils and establish social justice. But they are eager to dissociate themselves from the Marxian theory of value, as constituting the chief argument in favour of the proposed change. They base their indictment of the capitalist system, and their demand for its extinction on the appalling misery and injustice apparently inseparable from it, which render a decent human life impossible for the toiling millions.

The first business of the State, they repeat, is to secure a comfortable livelihood for all its members. A society

which fails in this, the prime reason of its existence, is fit for nothing but to be destroyed. Now society, as at present organized, with each individual free to follow his own private interest, regardless of others—free, also, to accumulate private property by the exploitation of his fellows, has proved a gigantic and frightful failure. It has benefited the few at the expense of the multitude, and presents us with the revolting spectacle of riches and luxury accumulating at one pole and poverty, misery, and squalor at the other.

What is the remedy? Abolish complete individual liberty and private ownership in the means of production; 'substitute regulated co-ordination among the units for blind anarchic competition;' 'let society be reorganized by the emancipation of land and industrial capital from individual and class ownership, and the vesting of them in the community for the common benefit.' In their remedy for the evils of the time the Fabians are of one mind with the Social Democrats and the Independent Labour Party.

But how is this huge transfer of property to be accomplished without a grave breach of the law of justice? Forcibly to deprive private owners of their goods, without adequate compensation, is, to the ordinary mind, a flagrant violation of the command 'Thou shalt not steal.' The Fabians, no more than the other Socialist bodies, are not disturbed by the fact that the Almighty has fixed His canon against spoliation. Divine prohibitions have no value for them; and their ideas of justice are substantially the same as those already quoted from Bax. Yet, out of deference to popular prejudice, they promise to give, not compensation, but some measure of relief to those dispossessed. They do not recognize any obligation of justice, because they deny that the capitalist has any true right to his wealth.

As the Fabian essayist says, 'private property was unjust from the beginning.' This dictum is based upon the assumption, which with them is fundamental, that each individual has an equal right to all the advantages of society. Private property, which involves inequality, is a violation of that original right. Further, private property is an appropria-

tion by the individual of wealth or the instruments of production which are strictly the property of all, and such wealth can only be acquired by the individual wrongly pursuing his own interest instead of the general good of the community. This brings us to their root idea, viz., that society is in the most rigid biological sense an organism, wherein every member best promotes his own happiness and ought so to promote it by making the welfare of the whole his principal aim. It is from this deceptive analogy that they deduce utterly false views of man's relations to the State, which, if acted upon, would destroy every vestige of personal liberty and freedom of conscience, and would deliver us up to the governing majority to be used simply as wealth producing instruments for the good of all.

It cannot then be doubted that Socialism proposes something more than an economic reconstruction ; it necessarily involves a complete revolution in our religious and moral ideas. The express declarations to be found in the *Fabian Essays* put this beyond doubt. We are informed that 'the social system based on religion and a common belief in a divine order has broken down.' A materialist philosophy, which regards sensible phenomena as the ultimate reality, will mould the principles which are to dominate the collectivist commonwealth. And 'this morality will be the highest yet known' ! 'It will be in accord with the commonly accepted canons of utilitarian ethics.' The oft-quoted principle of evolution is invoked to furnish a natural explanation of Christian morality and to provide the new standard and the new laws of a superior ethics. Religious or personal morality has no place in their scheme. In fact, conduct of a moral character is impossible, we are told, until man enters into relations with his fellows. Right and wrong are identical with social and anti-social. Morality or immorality can be predicated only of those actions which experience has proved to be conducive or injurious to the common good. The Fabian 'knows nothing of the natural right of liberty or equality.' The supreme and only source of right and power is the State. Men's lives will be governed without regard to God's

authority, and 'all their relations to other individuals and to society will be determined by an all powerful State,' with utility its ruling principle and aim.

This doctrine of State absolutism is clearly contained in the propositions, 'The State is an organism, paramount and prior to the individual of every generation.' 'Though the social organism is evolved from the union of individual men, the individual is now created by the social organism, of which he forms a part; his activities belong to the activity of the whole. Its persistence, then, is accordingly his paramount end.' Again, 'We must rid ourselves of the vain conceit that we are independent units' with personal ends and obligations apart from the State. In the democratic republic we are merely creatures or instruments for the production of wealth just as the ruling power determines. Not only must we throw all our powers and the fruits of our labour into the common stock, for the general benefit, but our ideals the most sacred, our liberty of action, our rights of conscience, the duties of religion must all be surrendered or subordinated to the commands of a State that knows not God.

In their programme, the Fabians say they have no distinctive opinions on the marriage question or religion. The foregoing quotations from the *Fabian Essays* reveal very distinct opinions on morality, and in the *Essays* the views expressed on marriage are precise and un-Christian enough, in all conscience, though no doubt these opinions are not confined to Socialists. For instance, we read that the Christian idea of marriage is only the outcome of the institution of private property, and that free love or temporary unions will replace the sacred indissoluble bond of Christian marriage. The father will be relieved at once of his rights and responsibilities, in regard to his children. These are born into full citizenship and become the property of society, which rears and educates them, and, later on, fixes their life's duty in the commonwealth. And the wife, released from her economic dependence upon man, will be free to live her own life unhampered by any obligation to husband or children.

The teachings of Socialism on such topics are repugnant to the Christian conscience. They would desecrate and defile the home and family life and pollute the very springs of individual or national righteousness. Under their sway, as Schäffle rightly says, 'man would become a mere refined animal, society a refined herd or a superior race of dogs and apes.'

It has been necessary to enter into the details of the Fabian doctrines for several reasons. The society stands for moderate and reasonable Socialism. It has been spoken of by Professor Ely as an ethical Socialism, and individual Catholics have at times been led to believe that it contained the sound principles of social reform. Then, though the least numerous of Socialist bodies, it is by far the most influential, in this country. In friendly circles its writings are supposed to have proved the feasibility and righteousness of the collectivist system. Without exaggeration the Fabian Society may be called the brains of the Independent Labour Party. That Party embodies its principles and ideas, employs its critical and constructive arguments, and is applying its methods in politics with palpable and ever-increasing success. In combating and exposing the irreligious spirit of the Fabian gospel, we are also striking at the Independent Labour Party, which, owing to its alliance with the Fabians and the trade unions on the Labour Representative Committee, seems destined to exercise a marked influence on the economic and religious notions of the working-classes of England and Scotland.

Socialism has two specially objectionable features which reveal its un-Christian character. They are its doctrines of utility or expediency and the absolute supremacy of the State.

The Socialist knows no higher law or aim than expediency. He takes it for granted that society's actions will be guided always by that one consideration. It is the criterion which proves the value of all things. Consequently, laws, institutions, the rights of individuals and minorities, the Church itself may at any time be legitimately abolished or radically changed, whenever the majority judge that they

serve no useful purpose or think that their removal will not result in injury to the State. Once, then, the sovereignty of expediency is admitted and we sever the spiritual tie, which unites us to a higher law and its divine Author, our freedom of action and that most fundamental liberty—the liberty to obey the commands of conscience—are placed in jeopardy, and may at any moment be extinguished by a hostile majority in the so-called interest of the public. Yet, to this pass we must come in the Socialist republic. The very idea of an inviolable power, residing in the person, prior to and independent of the State, is a contradiction of its root-principle. The whole doctrine of natural rights is, to their minds, nothing but a survival of the superstition of Christianity. It supposes—an incredible thing—that there is a law higher than expediency, a nobler aim than a pleasant life, and a fount of privilege and power other than the State.

But the cardinal error of collectivism and the parent of many other mischievous notions is its false conception of the relation of individuals to society. 'Socialism of its very nature absorbs the individual into the State in such a way as to sacrifice his rights to its authority.' This is an essential feature of all forms of real Socialism, and it puts an end to morality because it destroys all personal freedom and responsibility. In its early days the Christian religion vindicated the inherent rights of conscience against the unholy tyranny of pagan Rome, which claimed authority to dictate the belief and control the religious practices of its subjects. Socialism would sacrifice the rights that the Church has won and must continue to defend, and proposes to erect a State, with unlimited power in the civil and ecclesiastical spheres.

In our description of Fabianism we have seen that fact strongly insisted upon. In their view the State does not exist to furnish opportunities for personal development or to defend our rights. No, the individual exists for the sake of society, and his principal function is the promotion of the temporal well-being in any way the governing section may determine. To this conception of man's nature they

attempt to give a scientific authority. They borrow from biology the idea of an organism and then, passing over essential differences, apply it in an unqualified sense to the State. Then, we are not surprised to read that 'the relations of individuals to the social organism are on a par with the relations of cells to an animal organism or of the members of an animal body to the whole.' This monstrous doctrine, to which Socialism would give effect, implies that man is not a person, a free moral agent, with God-given rights and duties independent of the State. Rights cease to have any meaning. As Gronlund says, 'there are none save what the State gives ;' and he adds, truly enough, that 'this conception of the State, as an organism, consigns the rights of man to obscurity,' as it certainly reduces him to a condition of physical and moral slavery. For the ruling majority is absolute, and 'it may decree whatever it thinks expedient.'

Could it be established, Socialism would prove a more frightful despotism than any of the pagan governments of old. Not a remnant of freedom would be left. The nature of our work, its place, time, and reward, would be fixed for us. The State would dispose, at pleasure, of our persons, our faculties, and our property. It would lay its impious hands on the family and destroy its unity and stability. The masses of mankind would be placed completely at the mercy of a small and highly centralised body of organizers and administrators, whose judgments would have the force of infallible pronouncements and who would be armed with irresistible power to enforce their ideals and compel the observation of their laws.

We are told by Socialist writers that religion will be a private affair and no concern of the State. But they always take it for granted that once Socialism is enthroned in power religious belief will soon evaporate. And it is evidently impossible that the Church and a State which both claimed to be supreme and conflicting directors of the mind and conscience on the most momentous matters should long co-exist. An omnipotent collectivism would not long brook a spiritual authority which spoke in God's name,

which always and necessarily disputed its jurisdiction and the truth and justice of its fundamental principles, and which was therefore a constant menace to its stability. In order to save itself the State would have to try to suppress and destroy the Church.

‘Every social fabric must be grounded on a system of fundamental opinions’ capable of exposition and rational defence. We have seen that collectivism has an intellectual basis, but one which assumes throughout the falsity or the Christian standpoint and is fatal to true morality.

We can conclude, then, with certainty, that the collectivist remedy for social evils cannot be sound or socially useful, since its implications and consequences are so directly opposed to religious truths. No society can rest and prosper on a lie. As the Duke of Argyll pertinently says: ‘In mathematical reasoning the “reduction to absurdity” is one of the most familiar methods of disproof. In political reasoning the “reduction to iniquity” ought to be of equal value.’

In the face of the proposed revival of a pagan society, it becomes more and more necessary to emphasize the doctrine of man’s spiritual dignity and moral freedom, and the unassailable basis whereon they rest. The existence of a personal God, whose essence is absolutely moral, is the fundamental truth, which can alone safeguard our rights from unjust attack. The obligation to obey the laws, which he has imposed upon our conscience, carries with it the power and the right to obey. Our rights then, are not given and cannot be taken away by the State. They have their origin and authority in the supreme Author of our being. Their validity is bound up with the sovereign rights of God, and are therefore absolute and inalienable. It is in this Divine right that we find the broad and strong foundation of our freedom and of all the rights of man.

English Socialism commits its disciples to principles which cannot be reconciled with the Christian faith. Inseparably bound up with it is a false materialistic philosophy. In the name of science—a word more abused than liberty—its adherents boldly claim the right to revise

and revalue all the old standards of morality. Experience shows that it thrives and propagates best in the corrupt soil of materialism. Its natural allies are the Secularists. Its irreconcilable foe, and the most formidable obstacle to its progress, is the Catholic Church. It is, in fact, not merely a party of social reform but a wing of the infidel army, operating among the working-classes, doing its utmost to sow mistrust and hatred of religion, and to excite the hope and belief that the amelioration of the condition of labour depends on the success of materialism. Herein lies its chief danger. Its future success in Great Britain as an organization of men pledged to believe in and to work for the triumph of the distinctive Socialist creed may not be important. But there is good reason to fear that it may do much mischief in spreading an irreligious spirit and weakening the foundations of belief among men whom it may not succeed in converting to its economic heresies.

J. J. WELCH.

THE MOTTO OF PIUS THE TENTH

IT is nearly three years since Joseph Sarto, Patriarch of Venice, was raised from his high and sacred office to fill the highest office on earth—to become Christ's vicar and Peter's successor. The new Pope, soon after his election, selects the motto of his pontificate; it serves as a constant reminder and a guiding star to him during the weary and responsible years of his rule; often during the time that the destiny of the Church is entrusted to the Pope, will he be constrained to look back upon the resolution he took, when God called upon him to feed the sheep of the fold; from the retrospect he will derive new courage and resolution to cultivate the vineyard of the Lord, despite the fact that it may be overgrown with briars and thorns. Great importance is, therefore, naturally attached to the motto of the Pope; it is said, that it reveals the mind and character, and the line of thought and action along which the new Pope will move. Be this as it may, it is pretty well admitted, that the motto of Pius X—'The Restoration of all things in Christ,'—indicates the mind and character, the spiritual policy, that Pius X will pursue, till God calls him to his reward.

Pius X did not select his motto haphazardly, nor for convenience' sake; his choice of a motto was the outcome of experience, thought, deliberation, prudence and prayer; he knew the magnitude of the task imposed upon him by his divine Master; he saw, even then, looking out into the world from his prison heights of the Vatican, that the predominant spiritual evil of our times is indifference, insensibility to things spiritual; God the Creator, Christ the Redeemer and the benefits of redemption, receive the attention only of the few, while the many live without any thought of the supernatural life. Educated men in the name of science and history draw conclusions—remember their own private opinions—against the teaching

of the Church, and proclaim their conclusions with thunder and applause to the world as a dogmatic facts; others less gifted than they, but whose zeal in a wrong direction, and whose hatred of the Catholic Church is invariably in inverse ratio to their knowledge, seize hold of such conclusions, and push them for all that they are worth. Books, novelettes, periodicals, magazines, newspapers teem with allusions to the conflict of the Catholic Church with science. But would that the evil ended here! the very foundations of Christianity are sapped nowadays; the virgin birth of our Lord is treated as a myth; His Resurrection explained away and denied; and logically, though impiously, the Divinity of Christ is questioned—if not openly negatived.

Such is the state of mind and feeling that Pius X had to face, when called to be the vicar of Christ. How was he to resist and stem the tide of unbelief, how was he to crush it? By pointing out to men the 'way, the truth, and the life.' Already in the history of the Church, the darkness of paganism and infidelity has fled before the 'light of the world.' And so it will again; Jesus is still with us, in our hands, and in our power; we are to make Him known, to become His heralds, and as certain as light is dispelled by darkness, and that error, however strong its resistance may be, is overcome by truth, so certain will unbelief and indifference be overcome by faith and earnestness, and the denial of the Divinity of Christ will be overcome by the fervour and the earnestness of those who profess it.

Pius X chose for his motto 'The Restoration of all things in Christ' to combat the evil, unbelieving tendencies of the times. He is persuaded that the best way to overcome coldness and indifference and unbelief, is by the heartfelt love and devotion of the faithful to the Second Person of the Blessed Trinity. During the short period of his pontificate he has frequently called the faithful to imitate the life of Christ; he has granted richer indulgences to the invocation of His holy name, and to the cult of His Sacred Heart. Let me give a few instances

out of many, to show with what zeal Pius X has laboured to make the name of his Master loved. Last June, 1905, he showed the same zeal and interest in the great Eucharistic Congress held at Rome, as he did at the congress seven years previous when as Patriarch, he presided over the deliberations of the Congress; but now in virtue of his authority he was able to go a step further than he could then; at one of the sessions of the Congress, blessed and encouraged by him, it was officially announced that the Pope has authorized the insertion in the Litany of the Saints, the petition, 'Through the Institution of the Most Holy Eucharist, Deliver us O Lord.'¹ Quite recently he granted certain indulgences to the clergy of some dioceses, on the petition of their bishops, who read the Divine Office before the Blessed Sacrament, and it is asserted that the Pope strongly recommended this method of reciting the Divine Office.²

There is another instance of how much the Pope wishes to keep Jesus before our hearts and minds, that I shall give before coming to his recent decree on frequent communion. In June, 1904,³ the Holy Father granted an indulgence of seven years and seven quarantines for the recital of 'Sacred Heart of Jesus have mercy on us,' three times, after every Low Mass (after the customary prayers); the indulgences being gained by the celebrant saying, 'Sacred Heart of Jesus' and the congregation answering, 'Have mercy on us.' Thus by the most touching of invocations, richly indulgenced, Pius X has laboured to draw the faithful towards Christ. But by a still more recent, and a more important, and far-reaching decree, Pius X is labouring assiduously to establish all things in Christ, through frequent union with Him in the Holy Eucharist. He has by his authority exhorted the faithful to frequently receive this life-giving sacrament; he has dispelled the scruples of the confessor, as well as those of the penitent with regard to the dispositions necessary

¹ Cf. the *Tablet* of June 10th, 1905.

² The Clergy of the diocese of Aberdeen, cf. *Tablet*, July, 1905.

³ Cf. the I. E. RECORD.

for frequent communion ; old time disputes on this matter have been laid to rest for ever. From all this, it is manifestly clear, that it is the wish nearest to the Holy Father's heart to have our Divine Lord kept prominently before the minds of the faithful by popular devotions and pious ejaculations, and especially by frequent communion. Thus will error and unbelief be kept in check and restrained, while truth and faith will grow and expand.

Leo XIII eloquently voiced these sentiments with regard to the fruits of the Holy Eucharist being the best means to overcome the evils of the time :—

But whereas in past times particular articles of faith have been made by turns the object of attack, the seat of war has since been enlarged and extended until it has come to this ; that men deny altogether that there is anything above and beyond nature. Now nothing can be better adapted to promote a renewal of strength and fervour of faith in the human mind than the mystery of the Eucharist, the 'mystery of faith,' as it has been appropriately called. . . . And in order that human reason may the more willingly pay its homage to this great mystery, there have not been wanting, as an aid to faith, certain prodigies wrought in its honour, both in ancient times and in our own. . . . It is plain that by this Sacrament (the Eucharist) faith is fed, in it the mind finds its nourishment, the objections of rationalists are brought to naught, and abundant light is thrown on the supernatural order.¹

We have then the weight of the authority of two Popes of our own time, one of whom has gone to his reward, and his successor, who is yet young in the office of guiding the destinies of the Church, summoning the attention of the faithful to the necessity of frequent union with our Lord in the Blessed Sacrament of the altar. It will devolve on the shoulders of the priests to make the fruits and efficacy of this sacrament better known. Those portions of Sacred Scripture, the words of promise and the words of institution, will have to be explained to the faithful ; the real Presence, and the manner of Presence of Jesus in the Blessed Sacrament, will have to be brought

¹ *Encyclical on the Most Holy Eucharist*, 1902 (Burns & Oates).

down to the level of the people ; the children at school must be taught from their tender years the Divinity of Christ, and His perpetual presence in the Holy Sacrament. This will involve great labour and sacrifice on the part of the priests, but as Leo XIII well puts it, what better service could priests render for the grace of their priesthood :—

For priests to whom Christ our Redeemer entrusted the office of consecrating and dispensing the mystery of His Body and Blood can assuredly make no better return for the high honour which has been conferred on them, than by promoting with all their might the glory of the Eucharist, and by inviting and drawing the hearts of men to the health-giving springs of this Sacrament and Sacrifice, seconding thereby the longings of His Sacred Heart.¹

In these countries, especially since the Church has emerged from the rigours of the Penal times, the priests have done a giant work to make our Lord better known and loved in the Blessed Sacrament of the altar. In England especially, beset as she is with a Protestant atmosphere, devotion to the Blessed Sacrament has wonderfully spread and caught the hearts of the faithful. Cardinal Wiseman gave a great impetus to this devotion in England ; he was the greatest champion of the real Presence, since the days of the Reformation or probably before it. By the famous lectures of his delivered in London churches, he set all England astir ; he was denounced from Protestant pulpits and by the public Protestant Press, but he had sown the good seed, and by the careful nurturing it received at his own hands and those of his episcopal brethren, the devotion to the Blessed Sacrament extended rapidly. The old priests, whose memory carries them back sixty years, will tell you how rare an occurrence it was then to have Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament on the Sunday afternoon, and it was rarer still to have Benediction in the evening.

How things have changed since then ! Cardinal Wiseman and his brothers in the episcopate exhorted, encouraged,

¹ *Encyclical on the Most Holy Eucharist.*

with all their zeal and authority, more frequent Benedictions. To-day it is a genuine pleasure and satisfaction to take up the *English Catholic Directory*, and see for oneself the adoration that our Lord receives in this Protestant country. In almost every parish there is Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament on week-days as well as on the Sunday afternoons and evenings. Benediction is a very popular devotion with the people, it is short and bright, the mystic candles surrounding the Blessed Sacrament, together with the fact that it is a devotion that lends to the congregation taking an active part in it, has made Benediction one of the most attractive devotions of the Catholic Church for non-Catholics as well as Catholics.

And yet, strange to say, the rite of Benediction is of comparatively recent growth in the Church.¹ Its history is both interesting and instructive. In the eleventh century Berengarius, a French priest and writer, denied the doctrine of transubstantiation. His teaching was condemned at the Synod of Paris,² and afterwards at Tours, and by Pope Nicholas II and Leo IX. Up to this time the Elevation of the consecrated species did not take place in the Western Church immediately after the consecration in the Mass, but before the *Pater Noster*, a custom that still survives in the liturgy, and is now known as the little elevation. As a protest against the impious heresy of Berengarius,³ the sacred species of bread was elevated immediately after the consecration; the Elevation of the chalice in the same manner as now obtains came in a little later on. The faithful rejoiced at the opportunity offered them to profess their faith in the Blessed Sacrament; the Elevation after the consecration spread throughout the entire Church, prominence was given to the Real Presence, and to devotion to our Lord in the Blessed Sacrament, and soon this devotion to the Blessed Sacrament received a new impetus through

¹ Cf. York's *Roman Liturgy*, Alzog, vol. iii, p. 153; *The Catholic Dictionary*.

² In 1051.

³ *Roman Liturgy*.

the instrumentality of very pious persons in France and Italy. They began to feel that the 'mystery of faith' and love should be commemorated like the other great mysteries and festivals of the Church's calender.

In this movement, France the land of so many errors in connexion with the Blessed Sacrament, led the way; the heart of Italy responded to this religious movement in honour of the Blessed Sacrament. Reverence for the Blessed Sacrament became deeper and deeper; the custom of ringing the bell to call attention to the fact that the Blessed Sacrament was being carried along to the sick was soon introduced. 'All the arts vied with each other in celebrating the Blessed Sacrament; paintings the most perfect, and hymns the most divine, inspirations of Christian genius and love, were laid upon the altar by the gifted and noble sons of the Church.'¹ The custom of receiving Holy Communion under the species of bread and wine died out; reverence for the Blessed Sacrament; the danger of accidents from the general use of the chalice, strengthened by the teaching of theologians, all contributed to introduce the rule that now obtains of receiving under one kind only.

'Robert, Bishop of Liege, was the first to give full expression to the profound and universal sentiment of devotion towards the Blessed Sacrament of the altar, by instituting in 1246 a special feast in its honour;'² in the year 1311 the Œcumenical Council of Vienna extended this feast to the universal Church; St. Thomas Aquinas wrote the beautiful office of *Corpus Christi*, and from that time until the present day the feast of *Corpus Christi* is looked upon as the most beautiful and solemn feasts of the Church's year. Everywhere the feast of the Blessed Sacrament was celebrated with the greatest piety, pomp and joy. Abbot Gasquet, in his *Eve of the Reformation*, records the Corpus Christi procession at Winchester in the year 1435.³ The mayor and corporation joined in the

¹ Alzog.

² *Idem.*, *loc. cit.*

³ Taken from the archives at Winchester.

procession of the various guilds to honour the Blessed Sacrament ; it was a day of rest, of piety, given over to God.

Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament was of later introduction ; it is the outcome of the Corpus Christi processions. *The Catholic Dictionary* records the testimony of the learned Thiers,¹ for saying, that he nowhere could find traces of the ritual of Benediction before the fourteenth century. From that time on, however, Benediction at the end of processions of the Blessed Sacrament became common, and at the beginning of the sixteenth century, when the Blessed Sacrament was again the object of attack, Benediction, as we now have it, became very common, and we have already seen how popular this devotion became with the faithful in these countries. It is a devotion that should be cultivated and extended ; it affords splendid opportunities for the faithful to learn the love of God and the Divinity of His only begotten Son ; it lifts up the minds and the hearts of the faithful at the end of the day's or week's work to the one true God and ' Jesus Christ, whom He has sent.' Let the faithful have Benediction frequently ; they will appreciate it ; they will gain by it ; I am conscious, that I am unable to put the beauties and the fruits of Benediction before my readers, and so I make no apology to quote at length the eloquent words of Cardinal Newman on this subject, in the hope that they may inspire my brother priests to frequently give this special devotion to their flocks :—

I need hardly observe to you, my brothers, that the Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament is one of the simplest rites of the Church. The priests enter and kneel down ; one of them unlocks the tabernacle, takes out the Blessed Sacrament, inserts it upright in a monstrance of precious metal, and sets it in a conspicuous place above the altar in the midst of lights for all to see. The people then begin to sing ; meanwhile the priest twice offers incense to the King of Heaven, before whom he is kneeling. Then he takes the monstrance in his hands, and turning to the people blesses them with the Most Holy, in the form of a cross, while the bell is sounded to call attention to the

¹ *Traité de l'exposition du Saint Sacrement de l'autel.*

ceremony. It is our Lord's solemn benediction of His people, as when He lifted up His hands over the children or when He blessed His chosen ones, when He ascended up from Mount Olivet. As sons might come before a parent before going to bed at night, so, once or twice a week, the great Catholic family comes before the Eternal Father, after the bustle and toil of the day, and He smiles upon them, and sheds upon them the light of His countenance. It is a full accomplishment of what the priest invoked upon the Israelites, 'The Lord bless thee and keep thee, the Lord show His face to thee and have mercy on thee, the Lord turn His countenance to thee and give thee peace.' Can there be a more touching rite, even in the judgment of those who do not believe it? How many a man, not a Catholic, is moved on seeing it to say, 'Oh that I did but believe it!' when he sees the priest take up the fount of mercy and the people bent low in adoration. It is one of the most beautiful, natural, and soothing actions of the Church. . . .¹

JOHN O'DOHERTY.

¹ Newman, *Present Position of Catholics*, Lecture 6.

SUPPRESSION OF THE TEMPLARS

THE age of chivalry has passed away, and indeed it may be made the subject of serious doubt whether such an age ever had any real and tangible existence. No doubt in every age men's manners decay and fall from worse to worse; we remember well that our fathers were constantly lamenting the changes which were taking place in their times, and sighing for a return of the manners of the days in which they were young, and we in our turn, the patriarchs and lords of the present day, lament the utter absence of true chivalry among our younger brethren, and thus it will go on to the end of time. The old sigh for the return of the good old times, and the young revolt and bring in new methods and new ideas which they warrant are up-to-date; and then in their turn these methods will be condemned by their children as antiquated and be unceremoniously displaced. All this chopping and changing in existing manners and customs explains the constant longing for an imaginary past, the age of chivalry which never really existed. No doubt the aristocratic spirit, and a certain assumed superiority in manners by a fraction of the community, has always existed, but this is at best a poor substitute for true chivalry, which in the shape of an era of loyalty, valour, true love, and disinterested self-sacrifice has never fully existed, except in a modified form in the religious world, in the Middle Ages, among such institutions as the Knights of St. John, the Knight Templars, and among others whose duty it was to protect the sacred places of the East from the incursions of Islam. Chivalry in those days was a direct fruit of the Crusades, and it had some sort of existence at the end of the eleventh century, but if we may believe history, even chivalry, and the spirit of self-sacrifice and love of religious discipline then so deeply rooted, at any rate in the military orders of the Church, sustained a rude shock and passed

away ingloriously, and not without causing grave scandal to all succeeding ages and times.

A huge and revolting calamity occurred in the fourteenth century. The year 1312 saw the total abolition and suppression of the great order of Knight Templars. Following close on the formation of the Hospitallers, two celebrated chevaliers, named Hugh des Payens and Godfrey de St. Aldemar, with seven confrères founded in the year 1118 another military order which, taking its name from the Temple of Solomon, came to be known as the Order of the Temple. So poor at first were its members that they were unable to receive novices, and, as depicted on their arms, one horse was made to serve for two knights. In 1128, St. Bernard composed for them an austere rule in which provision was made for the usual religious vows, a fourth being added, viz., a vow to protect pilgrims from the unbeliever. In common, therefore, with other religious orders, the Knights possessed no private poverty, and their wills were merged in that of their superior. Other details of their rule, however interesting they may be, do not belong to the scope of our enquiries—it is sufficient to say that by the tenor of their vows they were bound to live a holy life, and were reminded by their rule that ‘living or dead they belonged to the Lord.’ Soon money and provisions were showered in from all parts of Europe, many wills were made in their favour, and even kings and princes donned the white mantle. At the close of the twelfth century the wealth of the Templars was so great that their landed estates in different parts of the world numbered nearly 10,000. No doubt wealth and prosperity had turned their heads, and they were even accused of entering into an alliance with the Mohammedans, of warring with the adjacent Christians, and of refusing to contribute to the ransom of St. Louis. It is clear, therefore, that accusations were made against the Templars before the time of Pope Clement V and Philip IV of France, but these charges, serious as they were, pale into insignificance when compared with the huge and revolting crimes with which they were rudely and publicly confronted later on.

These charges can be principally reduced to four heads :
1. The postulants on their entry to the Order were commanded to deny Christ and to spit upon the crucifix. 2. Obscene signs accompanying the entry were made. 3. So doing was a prevalent practice in the Order. 4. An idol with a golden head, a long beard and fiery eyes was habitually adored. There were other charges, but these were the principal. Such being the state of affairs, let us now make an impartial enquiry to ascertain whether these charges were true. For the most part the Order has been condemned, though by no means universally, by Catholic historians, because it is a consolation to find that, even among these writers, their cause was espoused by such great men as Dante, Boccaccio, and St. Antoninus, the Dominican Archbishop of Florence ; their cause has been almost unanimously supported by Protestant historians, whose learning and sympathy would naturally be with the persecuted Templars, and against the supposed tyrannical methods of the Pope and the French King.

The Templars were quietly living in their priories, and enjoying the security and privacy of their lives, when an occurrence quite unforeseen took place, which suddenly brought the entire Order into the fierce light of publicity.

Philip the Fair had for a long time looked upon the vast estates of the Templars with a covetous eye, and hoped to get possession of their wealth to enable him to prosecute his war with Flanders, and at length a most favourable opportunity for the accomplishment of his purpose presented itself. Squinus de Flexian, a former Prior of Montfauçon, an abandoned Templar, was cast into prison on account of the profligacy of his life and his persistency in heretical doctrines. Here he made the acquaintance of Nasso a Florentine, also a prisoner. These two being naturally anxious for their liberty and safety, concocted the famous charges against the Templars, and offered to disclose strange and revolting secrets, and when the accusations of the worthy pair reached the ear of Philip, he immediately ordered them to be brought before him

and questioned. As a result of this iniquitous information and examination, proceedings were set on foot.

On the feast of St. Denis in October, 1307, all the Templars in France, including the Grand Master, James Molay, who was then in Paris, were by order of the King arrested and cast into prison, and accused of the horrible and incredible charges above mentioned which had been hurled at the heads of the Order on the unsupported testimony of two abandoned criminals. An enquiry was accordingly commenced in various parts of France by the civil courts, and certainly without the least sanction of Pope Clement V, who was annoyed at the high-handed measures of the King, and suspended the authority of his inquisition, and ordered the cause of the Knights to be heard by the ecclesiastical courts, and the persons of the Order thus imprisoned, and their property which had been confiscated by the King, to be delivered up to the hands of two Cardinals specially deputed for the purpose.

But this action of the Pope (August, 1308) came too late, irreparable mischief had been done, confessions incredible from their inherent absurdity were extracted from many Knights by a method of the most exquisite torture, and even these were in numerous instances speedily followed by recantations. This French Star Chamber, improperly and illegally constituted, and without the slightest jurisdiction over the Templars, had been sitting and obtaining its evidence, and while it is claimed on the one hand that confessions inculcating them were made freely by a large number of their body, including the Grand Master himself, we are told on the other that the tortures employed to extort damnatory evidence were so terrible, that one Knight, named Aylmer de Villars, afterwards affirmed that he would, while undergoing such agony and pain, have admitted, if necessary, that he was guilty of the murder of our Lord.

No doubt, as above stated, the Pontiff, though unfortunately somewhat tardily, appointed an ecclesiastical commission to re-examine the accused, and to try, as it were, the whole case *de novo*, but in France, at any rate,

the mischief had worked its way, and the accused, though released from the fear and the pressure of torture, were already deeply involved by their previous confessions of guilt, and were, moreover, afraid that a retraction might involve them in fresh guilt and cause them to be treated as relapsed heretics and burnt at the stake.

What were the brethren to do? What were the Grand Master, the Grand Priors and other dignitaries of the Order to do? What did they do when they found themselves confronted by the court which the Pope had convened at Paris for the orderly and judicial enquiry into the accusations brought against them? What did they do? Why! then a thousand swords leaped as it were from their scabbards to defend the honour of their Order—now those who had so basely and in fear of torture and death deserted her, were eagerly waiting to retract their awful calumnies and kiss her feet like the repentant Magdalene of old. Indignantly and in tears did these warriors deny their former base calumnies suggested to them, and extracted from them by the torturing knaves of the cruel King. Not guilty! they cried with an unanimous voice. But Philip was ready, his rage against the Order knew no bounds, and he, their self-constituted and illegal accuser, now descends into the arena and becomes their judge. On Wednesday, the 13th May, 1310, fifty-four defenders of the Order who had formerly confessed their guilt were brought out as relapsed heretics into a field behind the Abbey of St. Antoine and there committed to the flames. Then was enacted one of the most tragic and pathetic scenes it has ever been the lot of an historian to chronicle. James Molay, the Grand Master of the whole Order, majestically stood forth and with the most impassioned and convincing eloquence told the whole truth :—

Standing [says he] at the threshold of death, when the slightest deviation from truth is fraught with danger, I declare before heaven and earth, that I have committed the most grievous of crimes, and exposed myself to a terrible death, because, mistaking the fair words of King and Pope, and

wishing to escape painful torture and save my own life, I have borne false witness against my Order. I will not be brought by fear of death to give utterance to a second falsehood. If such be the price of my life I had rather die than submit to so great an infamy.

¶ Guy of Auvergne made a similar recantation. A curious coincidence closes this awful tragedy. The King and Pope, both cited by Molay to appear before the tribunal of God, died shortly afterwards, the latter on April 20th and the former on September 29th, 1314. Meanwhile a general council had been appointed by Clement to meet at Vienne, and it was then that the Pope, acting on his own authority, abolished the whole Order on the 22nd March, 1312. It is unfortunate that all the acts of this council have not come down to us, and that many passages have been, as the learned Dr. Alzog says, falsified, consequently it is impossible to obtain an authentic statement of the affairs of the Templars, and the verdict of history in their regard is the reverse of uniform.

It seems to us, however, that if their cause be dispassionately discussed, and judicially examined by the fierce light of modern criticism, and even with well-directed common sense, a great deal that is obscure may without any sacrifice of the truth, and even on the broad principles of law and justice, be decided in favour of this unfortunate and once highly prosperous body of men. We cannot help seeing all along that the good faith and impartiality of the prosecution were tainted. Philip usurps the rôle and becomes the prosecutor or rather the persecutor of a body of men, whose actions as members of a religious order should have been judged by the Pope alone in his ecclesiastical courts. Philip hated the Templars because they had refused to enrol him as a member of their Order, because they would not sign his appeal against Pope Boniface VIII, because he wanted their riches to enable him to prosecute his war against Flanders, and because they had stood out with the people to prevent his proposed debasement of the coinage. Admittedly, Clement was on very intimate terms with him, and no doubt owed his elevation to the

Papacy then established at Avignon to the influence of the French King.

The Templars being a religious order, and as such subject only to the jurisdiction of the Pope, were illegally arrested and their goods illegally confiscated. The process which brought about their imprisonment was bad, the natural order of things being reversed—they were first arrested and then charged. So much for the character and procedure of the prosecution ; now for the process and the witnesses. Unfortunate, indeed, would be the lot of any one of us if he were liable to be thrown into prison on the bare testimony of two abandoned and profligate men already lying in gaol, and even under sentence of death. Yet in this case these men were eagerly sought after, implicitly believed, and immediately and without farther ado released from prison and pardoned ; moreover, it must be further noticed that not one of the accused Knights was given an opportunity of confronting these worthless witnesses or of subjecting them to the legitimate and necessary process of cross-examination. These witnesses for the prosecution mysteriously disappear from a scene in which they should have acted a leading and a very principal part. We submit, therefore, that the legal process from its inception was bad for '*quod de jure ab initio non subsistit, in tractu temporis non firmetur.*'

The prosecution relied on criminals as their chief witnesses, and never consented to allow these criminals to be produced and examined in open court. It further seems curious that the Templars, men well acquainted with the ways of the world, as many of them must have been, should have themselves condemned these informers (or, at any rate, one of them) to prison for immorality and heresy, if indeed the consciences of the Grand Master and the priors in the Order were deeply sullied and tainted with the same sins and in a grosser and a more abominable degree. It is also worthy of remark that in other countries than France, viz., in England, Germany, Italy, and Spain, where the Knights were subject to no torture, they were unanimously acquitted of all the graver and more

abominable charges brought against them. No! let us be just, these men all belonging to the highest grades of society may have been imprudent, and like other religious orders relaxed in discipline, and there may have been among them individual members guilty of worldliness, drunkenness—the proverb has come down to us, ‘boire comme un Templier’—and impurity, but we cannot allow that on the worthless evidence of a brace of criminal informers the history of the whole Order should be shrouded and steeped in vice and iniquity; we are therefore entitled, and justly so, to give them the benefit of the Scotch verdict ‘non-proven,’ or the ‘non placet’ of the House of Lords.

One word more. Has the Order of Templars any corporate existence now? As a religious order of the Church, certainly not; though there is no doubt that successors to Molay were regularly appointed for some considerable time after his downfall, and that in England and Scotland representatives of the Order lingered on and directed the affairs of their English-speaking brethren from prison. But this state of affairs could not continue long, and the end was coming fast. Persecuted by the civil power and anathematized by the Church, the Order was bound, sooner or later, to seal the end of its own existence and to sign its death warrant.

H. A. CROSSE.

Notes and Queries

THEOLOGY

THE INSTANT OF DEATH

REV. DEAR SIR,—As the question, When does death supervene? is being much discussed at present, and has an important bearing on the administration of Extreme Unction, I shall feel much obliged if you will kindly state what should be done in case of a person who, to all external appearance, is dead.

SACERDOS.

The importance of the question raised by our correspondent is evident, since the eternal salvation of many souls depends on the exact moment of death. When we remember that, leaving aside the case of martyrdom, baptism is absolutely necessary for the salvation of children who have not yet reached the use of reason, and also that sacramental efficacy is required for those adults who are in the state of mortal sin, and who have only imperfect contrition, we can realise the vast importance of knowing how long after life has *apparently* ceased the necessary sacraments can be conditionally administered. If the dying person can hold converse with the priest, or even if he, though unconscious, still clearly lives, the duty of the priest presents no difficulty which we need delay to consider. But what is his duty when all external appearances of life have disappeared?

That latent life remains for some time is now the opinion of medical science; how long it remains no one can definitely tell. There is a period beyond which latent life does not continue, but it is impossible to point out the exact moment within that period when life finally ebbs away. It is evidently the duty of the priest to conditionally confer the appropriate sacraments until it is certain that death has supervened.

In regard to a newly-born foetus it is held generally by medical experts that death is not certain till putrefaction, not in its incipient but in its somewhat advanced stages, has appeared. Cases have been known when, after many hours, even after a day or two, infants that were left for dead revived.

It is more difficult to determine the time when death has certainly taken place in the case of adults. Death is a gradual process, and, undoubtedly, life may remain for a more or less lengthened period after its external appearances have ceased. Latent life, according to expert testimony, remains much longer in the case of those who are stricken down suddenly than in the case of those whose death follows a lingering illness, when the constant waste which has already taken place quenches the vital spark at a comparatively early time. Yet life often remains, even in such cases, for more than half an hour.

Whether death is sudden or arises from protracted sickness, it is not certain, even in adults, till putrefaction has appeared in its advanced stages.

The apparent cessation of respiration and of the beating of the heart is not a certain sign of death. Doctors generally hold that when the heart has certainly ceased to beat life is extinct, but it is practically impossible to tell when that has occurred ; and, moreover, there are some experts who hold that even after the complete cessation of the heart-beats the soul may still remain to perform the lesser vital functions. It is evident, then, that in this cessation there is no certain sign of death.

Congealed blood cannot be looked on as affording a sure indication of death, because there are some who still live, choleric for instance, and whose blood will not flow when a vein is pierced.

Cadaveric rigidity is generally regarded as a certain sign of death, but it is not always easy for the inexperienced to know when that is present, since rigidity coming on after spasms, asphyxia, etc., is often mistaken for the *rigor mortis* by those who are not experts.

There remains putrefaction, which must be considered

as the only certain sign of death—not the incipient mortification which sometimes takes place in gangrene for example, but the more or less advanced putrefaction which is present usually after 24 or 26 hours have elapsed from the moment when, to all external appearance, death has taken place.

In proof of these statements we refer our readers to the many authorities which are quoted by Antonelli : *Medicina Pastoralis*, pp. 255-282 ; Sanford : *Pastoral Medicine*, Appendix, pp. 223-235 ; Ferreres, in *American Ecclesiastical Review*, August, 1905-January, 1906. Father Ferreres asked the Catholic Medical Society 'Academia de los Santos Cosme y Damián' of Barcelona to express an opinion on the differences between real and apparent death. For our purpose it will be sufficient if we quote some of the conclusions at which the Academy of SS. Cosmas and Damian arrived :—

Resolved 7.—The opinion of Brouardel, which maintains that we possess no sign, or combination of signs, to determine with scientific certitude the moment of death, is correct.

Resolved 10.—The so-called cadaveric rigor commences at a time more or less removed from the instant of what is commonly called death, as its appearance is influenced by the disease or lesions that caused death, by the surrounding temperature, etc. A statistic study by Niederkorn has shown that in two-thirds of the cases examined rigidity set in from two to six hours after the so-called instant of death ; after twenty-five hours it is completely established, and after thirty-six or forty-eight hours it disappears.

Resolved 11.—Before the appearance of putrefaction, no indication or combination of indications exists that will establish with absolute certainty the presence of death.

Resolved 13.—The greenish hue of the abdomen, which as a rule appears as the initial mark of mortification, presents itself more or less promptly, according to the medium surrounding the body, and the external temperature, and in the case of newly-born infants, according to their actual previous breathing capacity.

Resolved 14.—Generally, after twenty-four or twenty-six hours have elapsed from the so-called moment of death the signs of mortification become unmistakable, and putrefactions appear more quickly during the summer.¹

¹ *American Ecclesiastical Review*, Nov. 1905, p. 491.

The practical conclusion to be drawn from what has been said is that both in the case of newly-born infants and in that of adults who are apparently dead, the Sacraments ought to be conferred conditionally till advanced putrefaction has set in. Conditional absolution can always be given to baptized adults without scandal. As for Baptism of children and unbaptized adults, and Extreme Unction of baptized adults, there sometimes arises a danger of bringing religious rites into contempt, since people who are present may be in complete ignorance of the medical opinions which warrant the administration of the Sacraments in the circumstances. This danger can be averted generally by a few words of explanation at the time, and by the instructions which a priest gives when, on Sundays and Holidays, he teaches his flock the doctrine of the Sacraments which Christ left for the salvation of men.

J. M. HARTY.

LITURGY

WHETHER PROPHECIES MAY BE CURTAILED ON HOLY SATURDAY?

REV. DEAR SIR,—In your opinion would it be right or justifiable to omit the Prophecies on Holy Saturday for the sake of making the ceremonies shorter, less tedious, and more attractive; in churches where the ceremonies are gone through by one priest, without sacred ministers? What about saying only a few of the prophecies, or, *e.g.*, part of each prophecy? Would you approve of, or think either justifiable or commendable for reasons given above?

ONE INTERESTED.

We do not think our correspondent would be justified in omitting any part of the Prophecies on Holy Saturday for the reasons stated. The *Memoriale Rituum*, which was drawn up by Benedict XIII to meet the precise circumstances contemplated in this query, represents the low water mark in the direction of curtailing, or abbreviating the ceremonies of such functions as that of Holy Saturday.

If what the *Memoriale* prescribes is not possible, then the ceremony had better be omitted altogether. Now the reading of the Prophecies, and of the *Orationes* and *Tractus*, is distinctly enjoined. Moreover, the Congregation of Rites decided that in a Solemn Mass the Prophecies must be chanted in their entirety. It was customary in some places for the chanters to stop as soon as the celebrant had finished. This practice was condemned.¹ This decision, to our mind, would afford an *a fortiori* argument against the practice suggested by our correspondent.

UNITY OF PRAYER IN A LOW MASS DE REQUIEM ON
ANNIVERSARIES

REV. DEAR SIR,—In the April number of the I. E. RECORD it is stated that 'if a *missa lecta* is permitted by the current rite only one prayer is recited' on anniversaries whether in the strict or wide sense of the word. On the point my difficulty is that that rule seems to be against the rather recent decree according to which the *first* prayer must be *pro uno, vel una defuncta*, two more prayers, at least, to follow. That is to say, many Masses for anniversaries, in the wide sense of the word, are asked; in fact, perhaps, most of the Masses we receive are asked on such occasions. I believe the practice is to say at least three prayers.

W. O'R.

The occasions, on which the Masses mentioned by our correspondent are requested by the friends of deceased persons, are not *anniversaria late sumpta* in the liturgical sense of this phrase. 'Anniversaria late sumpta vocantur illae missae *de Requiem*, quae celebrari solent a Religiosis communitatibus a Canonicorum Collegiis, a confraternitatibus aut ab aliis quibuscumque piis sodalitatibus, pro confratribus defunctis, semel in anno, die fixo vel mobili ad libitum, etiamsi iste non sit dies anniversariis ab obitu.'² It is only, of course, Solemn Requiem Masses that enjoy

¹ S.R.C.D., n. 3104 (d. vig.)

² Van Der Stappen, *De Rub. Min.*, d. 363.

the privilege of being said as Anniversaries in this wide sense, on certain days, that would exclude an ordinary *Missa Quotidiana*, but, if the day set aside for the celebration of an anniversary of this kind happened by accident to be one that admitted a *Low Requiem Mass*, then this latter Mass would enjoy the same privilege as the *Solemn Requiem* as far as the unity of the prayer is concerned, provided it was said for the same intention.

P. MORRISROE.

DOCUMENTS

**RESOLUTIONS OF THE CATHOLIC CLERICAL SCHOOL
MANAGERS' ASSOCIATION****ANNUAL MEETING OF THE CENTRAL COUNCIL**

This meeting was held in Dublin, on Tuesday, June 5th. Present :—Right Rev. Dean Byrne, V.G., P.P., Dungannon ; Very Rev. J. Curry, V.F., P.P., St. Mary's, Drogheda ; Right Rev. Mgr. O'Farrell, V.G., P.P., Ardagh ; Rev. P. Keown, Adm., Monaghan ; Very Rev. T. O'Donnell, P.P., Antrim ; Very Rev. D. Mallon, P.P., Warrenpoint ; Very Rev. P. Finnegan, Vic. Cap., Ballyconnell ; Right Rev. Mgr. Murphy, D.D., V.G., P.P., Maryborough ; Very Rev. Canon O'Hea, P.P., Ballybrack ; Very Rev. Canon Phelan, V.F., P.P., Slieverue ; Very Rev. Canon Whitty, P.P., Lady's Island ; Right Rev. Dean Keller, V.G., P.P., Youghal ; Right Rev. Mgr. Hallinan, V.G., P.P., Newcastle ; Right Rev. Mgr. O'Leary, V.F., P.P., Clonakilty ; Very Rev. Dean Shinkwin, V.G., P.P., St. Patrick's, Cork ; Very Rev. Canon Scanlon, V.G., P.P., Birr ; Very Rev. Canon Flynn, P.P., Ballybricken ; Very Rev. J. J. Duan, V.F., P.P., Murroe ; Very Rev. Dean Barrett, V.G., P.P., Headfort ; Very Rev. Father Corcoran, P.P., Portumna ; Right Rev. Mgr. O'Hara, V.F., P.P., Crossmolina.

Apologies for unavoidable absence were received from :—Right Rev. Mgr. M'Glynn, V.G., P.P., Stranorlar ; Very Rev. J. Doherty, P.P., Carndonagh ; Dean Carmody, V.G., P.P., Tralee ; Mgr. Kelly, V.G., P.P., Athlone ; and Mgr. Fahy, V.G., P.P., Gort.

The above, together with Very Rev. Dean Stanton, P.P., Swinford (Achonry), constitute the entire Central Council, as elected by the Provincial Councils for the next three years.

At the commencement of the meeting, Dean Byrne was proposed and seconded as Chairman for the next three years, but he refusing to allow himself to be elected, Mgr. Keller was appointed Chairman for that period.

Dean Keller accordingly took the chair, and, in returning thanks for being appointed, expressed the satisfaction he felt at

seeing the Catholic Clerical Managers of the National Schools of Ireland united in an association for the defence of denominational teaching and the advancement of Primary Education.

It being regretfully announced that Mgr. O'Donnell had resigned the treasurership, and had ceased to be a member of the Central Council, Canon O'Hea was unanimously elected Treasurer for three years. Father Curry was also unanimously elected Hon. Secretary for the same period. It was then resolved that there be an Assistant Treasurer and an Assistant Secretary, and Mgr. Murphy and Father Duan were unanimously elected to these positions respectively.

It was ordered that the following be added to the Rules of the Association:—

'That it shall be the duty of the Secretary or, in his default, of the Assistant Secretary, to convene the annual meeting, at which he ceases to hold office, as well as the other annual meetings of the Central Council.'

'That it shall be the duty of the Provincial Secretaries to convene similarly the Provincial Councils, and of the Diocesan Secretaries to convene similarly the Diocesan Councils.'

The Council then decided by a majority of votes that, with the permission of the Bishops, 'the constitution of the Central Council be so altered that the Provincial Secretaries be ex-officio members of the Central Council.'

FEMALE ASSISTANT TEACHERS.—STRUCTURAL ALTERATIONS.

After discussion on the question of Female Assistants, and on that of the structural alterations that are being recommended all over the country by Inspectors by direction of the Board of National Education, it was unanimously resolved:—

'That we object to the appointment of female assistant teachers in boys' schools under masters, and recommend Managers not to appoint any. That we urge on the Commissioners to permit that, instead, junior assistant male teachers, with suitable salaries, be appointed in boys' schools with averages of between 35 and 50 pupils.'

The circulars recently issued by Inspectors urging internal alterations in school buildings, or additions to schools, with the object of providing separate class-rooms, were then discussed, and the Council decided that the question was one for individual managers.

OTHER RESOLUTIONS UNANIMOUSLY ADOPTED.

I.

(a) 'That we have followed with very great interest and pleasure the action and speeches of Mr. John Redmond and the Irish Parliamentary Party and Catholic Members of Parliament for Irish constituencies on the English Education Question. We rejoice to see them proving themselves so sound and determined on it, and we trust their efforts will result in protecting the Catholic youth of England from losing their Catholic schools and from being deprived of Catholic teachers. We feel that the speeches of the Members of Parliament we refer to, furnish the Catholic Managers and people of Ireland with satisfactory assurances that such guarantees for Catholic education as exist in the present system of Primary Education in Ireland, will have staunch upholders should an attack, in any future attempt at legislation, be made upon them.

(b) 'That a copy of this resolution be forwarded to Mr. John Redmond, as the Chairman of the Irish Parliamentary Party, and to each of the other Members of Parliament to whom it applies—*i.e.*, all Irish Nationalist Members of Parliament.'

II.

'That in view of the lamentable exodus of some of the best and most efficient young teachers from our National Schools to England and Scotland, we demand that the payment of Irish teachers be raised to the standard upon which the salaries of English and Scotch teachers are regulated.'

III.

'That in the interests of education, as well as for the purpose of reviving and perpetuating the National Language, we reiterate our demand that a reasonable time be given in all National Schools for the teaching of Irish within the official school hours to all classes of pupils; and we are deeply disappointed by the proposed wretched remuneration promised by the Chief Secretary for Ireland.'

IV.

'That, as a new Government has recently come into office, our Secretary be directed to bring under the notice of the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland the profound and widespread dissatisfaction that exists amongst the Catholic Clerical School Managers at the continuance in office of Dr. Starkie, Resident Commissioner, who unwarrantably slandered us in a public address delivered in Belfast in 1903, by the aid of garbled and distorted official documents, not then, nor for months after, available by the public. In that address he sneered at our exertions to erect and adorn our churches, and almost avowed

his desire to deprive us of our position and powers as school managers. His conduct, unrepented of, makes impossible the existence of such good-will and cordial feeling as the interests of education require between the virtual head of the Education Department and the managers of the vast majority of the schools of Ireland.'

V.

'That our Secretary be also directed to bring under the notice of the Chief Secretary the persistence of the Board of Education in maintaining 127 (b), and the other Amalgamating Rules of the New Code, to the destruction of innumerable male schools in the rural districts of the country, and in spite of the remonstrance of almost all the school managers and teachers of Ireland and of a majority of the Catholic Commissioners of National Education.'

VI.

'We protest against the extravagant grants given for the Model Schools and for the house of residence connected with Marlborough Street Training College. We urge upon our M.P.'s to insist on justice being done to the Training Colleges of Belfast and Limerick, and until that is effected we request them to block the unpaid balance of the lavish sums promised for the erection of the residence for teachers in connection with the Marlborough Street Training College.'

VII.

'We call for equitable financial treatment for the National Schools of Ireland, and we ask the Government to apply to primary education the unexpended portion of the Development Grant.'

VIII.

'That it is expedient that a deputation from the Central Council of our Association wait upon the Chief Secretary to put before him our views on important matters in connection with primary education, particularly the financial aspect of the question, and that a committee be appointed to arrange for an interview as soon as convenient. That Monsignor Keller, Monsignor Byrne, Monsignor Murphy, Monsignor Kelly, Monsignor O'Halloran, Canon O'Hea, and Father Curry be appointed to constitute this committee.'

IX.

'That we welcome the journal, *Our Schools*, an Irish school journal started for the express purpose of maintaining denominational teaching in the primary schools in Ireland; and we trust priests, Catholic teachers, and other educationalists will give it their support as long as it remains faithful to the principles enunciated in its prospectus.'

X.

'That the Secretary be directed to ask Mr. J. Redmond and the other Nationalist M.P.'s to raise the question of Dr. Starkie's retention and of the amalgamation of Schools on the Estimates, or other suitable opportunities, and that we urge our M.P.'s in our several localities to attend on the occasions and to support Mr. Redmond.'

XI.

'That the Secretary be directed to request the Board of National Education to order that the Inspectors give notice of their annual examinations to the Managers that they may be present, or duly represented.'

A cordial vote of thanks to the Chairman brought the meeting to a close.

The members of the committee appointed to interview the Chief Secretary are to forward to Father Curry, on paper, their views of the matters to be laid before Mr. Bryce.

**ST. FRANCIS XAVIER, PATRON OF THE PROPAGATION
OF THE FAITH**

**BREVE QUO OPERI PROPAGATIONIS FIDEI PATRONUS CAELESTIS
DATUR S. FRANCISCUS XAVERIUS HUIUSQUE SOLEMNE AD
RITUM DUPLICEM MAIOREM EVEHITUR**

PIVS PP. X

AD PERPETVAM REI MEMORIAM

In Apostolicum subiecti munus, atque in ipso christiani sacerdotii vertice divinae clementiae dono collocati, longe maiorem profecto sollicitudinem sustinendam suscepimus, quam quae Romani vigilantia gregis contineatur. Excessurus enim e terris Christus Apostolos iussit, et in his Petrum praecipue, quem non modo dignitate, sed etiam caelestis gloriae studio praelucere ceteris voluit, gentes edocere universas, salubremque doctrinae novae praedicationem ad remotissimas quasque aut immanissimas orbis partes afferre. Porro divinis praeceptis obsequentes Decessorumque Nostrorum clarissima exempla sectantes, nihil esse magis officio Nostro consentaneum arbitramur, quam ut, si quae ad patefaciendum Evangelii lumen atque ad proferendos Ecclesiae terminos videantur conducere, iis voluntatem omnem gratiamque impertiamus. Inter haec autem utilitate atque overa praestat opus illud, summa laude dignum, quod a *Fidei propagatione*, nobile nomen accepit. Huius origo operis divino plane instinctu in medios homines

profecta videtur. Nam fidelis Ecclesiae populus, quum non in praedicanda Christi doctrina haberet sibi demandatam provinciam, consultum Dei providentia est ut stipe ac subsidiis Evangelii praecones iuaret. Suasit hac de causa caritas, qua in Redemptorem Christum optimorum hominum pectora urgebantur, fideles ex omni gente ac natione coalescere in unum, conferre ex opibus aliquid in expeditiones sacras submittendum, sociata etiam prece administris sacrorum succurrere, atque ita id assequi quod votorum summa esset, divini nempe regni in terris incrementum. Compertum autem apud omnes est id genus sodalitatem praeclare de propaganda christiana fide meruisse. Quod enim suppeteret unde catholicae doctrinae nuntii ad dissita ac barbara loca contenderent, beneficia illuc Religionis nostrae humanique cultus allaturi, tam nobilis coetus tribui largitati debet. Hinc initia salutis innumeris populis parta; hinc fructus animarum comparati tanti, quantos nemo aestimet rite, nisi qui effusi per Christum sanguinis virtutem pernorit, hinc, contra quam expectari a disiunctis hominum viribus posset, Evangelii evulgandi nlegi mire obtemperatum. Haec Nobiscum sodalitatis promerita reputantes, nullo non tempore sensimus in coetum insignem Nos studio ferri, nec vero illi pro tenui adiumenti parte defuimus, maiora tamen animo spectantes, si facultas, Deo propitio, daretur, Iam quoniam id Nobis Omnipotentis Dei benignitas dedit, ut ex hac Petri Cathedra spiritualia fidelibus commoda dispertire possemus, praetermittere nolumus, ut quem supra laudavimus coetum peculiari quodam benevolentiae argumento honestemus. Quae cum ita sint, omnes et singulos, quibus Nostrae hae Literae favent, a quibusvis, excommunicationis et interdicti, aliisque ecclesiasticis sententiis, censuris, et poenis, si quas forte incurrerint, huius tantum rei gratia absolventes, et absolutos fore censentes, Auctoritate Nostra Apostolica, praesentium vi, ut cum externis Sodalitatis praesidiis tutela quoque et gratia de superis congruat, Sanctum Franciscum Xavierum caelestem eidem Patronum eligimus, damus, eique volumus omnes honorificentias tribui caelestibus Patronis, competentes; huiusque diem festum, ut ad amplificandam ipsius celebritatem humanae quoque observantiae ampliorisque liturgiae accessio ne desit. Apostolica similiter Nostra Auctoritate per praesentes ad ritum Duplicem Maiorem, servatis rubricis, apud universam Ecclesiam provehimus. Est huic Caeliti cum Opere *Fidei Propagandae*

ratio quaedam singularis et propria. Etenim cum vitam Francisco ageret, tanto animum studio talique cum eventu ad imbuendos christiana veritate populos appulit, ut instrumentum Numinis electum in eo reviviscere non secus atque in ipsis Apostolis videretur. Quapropter spes Nos bona tenet, coetum hunc nobilissimum maiora in dies incrementa, deprecatore Francisco, fore suscepturum, atque etiam ubertate fructuum, numero Sodalium omniumque, qui stipem conferant liberalitate ac diligentia eo deventurum brevi, ut hanc eminentem atque apparentem rem praestet, sicut a Christo est Ecclesia condita, in qua salus credenti omni paretur, ita *Sodalitatem Fidei Propagandae* esse divino consilio excitatam, ut nondum credenti Evangelii lumen affulgeat. Quam quidem ad rem multum procul dubio proficient Catholicorum voluntates, etsi disiuncte ac privatim liberales se praebebunt ad munera: verum nihil erit ad utilitatem praestantius quam si decuriati Catholici viri conferant quemadmodum est prudentia summa provisum. Scilicet quae minus inter se vires cohaerent, minus valent ad caussam; valent vero quamplurimum coniuncta et colligata ordine studia. Illas recte facere dicemus, ista etiam rite. Servator autem et instaurator humani generis Christus, cuius sanctissimo propagando nomini coetus incumbit, tegat gratia praesidioque opus: qui enim non auro vel argento, sed pretioso Filii Dei sanguine redempti vivimus, divinam imprimis spem contendere cum magna prece debemus. Haec mandamus, praecipimus, decernentes praesentes Litteras firmas, validas, efficaces existere et fore, suoque plenarios et integros effectus sortiri et obtinere, illisque ad quos spectat et spectare poterit in omnibus et per omnia plenissime suffragari, sicque in praemissis per quoscumque iudices ordinarios et delegatos iudicari et definiri debere, atque irritum et inane si secus super his a quoquam quavis auctoritate scienter vel ignoranter contigerit attentari. Volumus autem ut praesentium Litterarum transumptis seu exemplis etiam impressis, manu alicuius Notarii publici subscriptis, et sigillo personae in ecclesiastica dignitate constitutae munitis eadem prorsus fides adhibeatur, quae adhiberetur ipsis praesentibus, si forent exhibitae vel ostensae. Non obstantibus Constitutionibus, et Ordinationibus Apostolicis, ceterisque contrariis quibuscumque.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum, sub annulo Piscatoris, die XXV Martii MDCCCIV, Pontificatus Nostri anno primo.

A. Card. MACCHI.

**CAN A CLERIC SUPPLY THE PLACE OF SUB-DEACON
OR CHAPLAIN?**

DECRETUM.

**DE CLERICO, LOCO SUBDIACONI VEL CAPPELLANI, IN MISSA
MINISTRANTE**

Quum nonnulla dubia huic Sacrorum Rituum Congregationi proposita fuerint circa servitium Clerici, qui aliquando vel loco Subdiaconi in Missa solenni, vel loco Cappellani in Missa ab Episcopo vel ab alio Praelato lecta, vel etiam in Missa cantata absque Ministris inserviat, eadem Sacra Congregatio, audito voto Commissionis Liturgicae, ut dubia ipsa omnino diluantur haec statuenda et in posterum observanda decrevit :

1. Clericus ad munus Subdiaconi obeundum in Missa solenni, nunquam deputetur, nisi adsit rationabilis causa et in minoribus ordinibus sit constitutus aut saltem sacra tonsura initiatus.

2. Clericus pro Subdiacono inserviens, alba super amictu, cingulo et tunica absque manipulo sit indutus, atque omnia, quae ad Subdiaconum ex Rubricis spectant, rite expleat hisce tamen exceptis : (a) aquam ante Offertorium in calicem non infundat, quod in casu Diaconus praestabit ; (b) calicem ipsum infra actionem nunquam tangat, neque pallam ab eodem removeat aut super eum reponat ; (c) post ablutionem, calicem non abstergat (abstergente ipso Celebrante), sed tantummodo illum componat more solito et velo cooperiat cum bursa et ad mensam deferat.

3. Clericus qui loco Cappellani Episcopo vel Praelato in Missa lecta, aut alio Sacerdoti in Missa solenni sine Ministris inserviat, saltem tonsuratus esse debet, si alius Minister in sacris in promptu non sit.

4. Clericus ipse omnia explere potest quae in Caeremoniali Episcoporum Lib. I, cap. xxix dicuntur, pro Missa ab Episcopo lecta, iis exceptis quae supra n. 2 prohibentur Clerico munus Subdiaconi obeunti. Insuper : (a) calicem ante Offertorium non abstergat ; (b) nec vinum nec aquam in eo infundat ; (c) nec patenam cum hostia, nec calicem Celebranti tradat.

5. Calix pro Missa ab Episcopo vel a Praelato lecta, sicuti et pro Missa cantata sine Ministris, velo et bursa coopertus in abaco statuatur, amoto abusu illum non velatum retinendi et ad altare discoopertum deferendi.

6. Calix ipse post Communionem a Celebrante rite abstersus

a Clerico ministrante suis ornamentis instrui poterit, ac velo et bursa coopertus in abacum deferri.

7. Si vero Clericus sacra non sit tonsura initiatus, poterit quidem ab Episcopo aut a Praelato in Missa lecta uti Minister assumi, sed eo in casu, calix velatus ante Missam, ad altare deferatur, et more solito in medio mensae super corporale statuatur; Clericus vero non tonsuratus ita se gerat ut in Missis a simplici Sacerdote celebratis. Poterit autem ad Missale Celebrantem adistere, folia vertere palmatoriam sustinere; calix autem, ab ipso Celebrante suo tempore abstersus et velatus, ac in medio mensae collocatus, absoluta Missa in Sacristiam deferatur.

Atque ita censuit et servari mandavit. Die 10 Martii 1906.

Super quibus facta postmodum Sanctissimo Domino Nostro Pio Papae X, per infrascriptum Cardinalem Sacrorum Rituum Congregationi Pro-Praefectum fideli relationi, Sanctitas Sua sententiam eiusdem Sacri Consilii in omnibus ratam habuit et approbavit, quibusvis privilegiis vel consuetudinibus, quae omnino abrogata esse declaravit, aliisque contrariis quibuscumque non obstantibus. Die 14 Martii 1906.

A. Card. TRIPEPI, *Pro-Praefectus*.

L. ✠ S.

✠ D. PANICI, *Archiep. Laodicen., Secretarius*.

**APOSTOLIO LETTERS OF POPE PIUS X DEFINING THE
METHOD TO BE OBSERVED IN THE TEACHING OF
SCRIPTURE IN SEMINARIES**

LITTERAE APOSTOLICAE IN FORMA BREVIS, QUIBUS RATIO STUDIO-
RUM S. SCRIPTURAE IN SEMINARIIS CLERICORUM SERVANDA
PRAECIPITUR

PIUS PP. X

AD PERPETUAM REI MEMORIAM.

Quoniam in re biblica tantum est hodie momenti, quantum fortasse nunquam antea, omnino necesse est, adolescentes clericos scientia Scripturarum imbui diligenter; ita nempe, ut non modo vim rationemque et doctrinam Bibliorum habeant ipsi perceptam et cognitam, sed etiam scite probeque possint et in divini verbi ministerio versari, et conscriptos Deo afflante libros ab oppugnationibus horum hominum defendere, qui quidquam divinitus traditum esse negant. Propterea in Litt. Encycl. *Providentissimus*¹ recte decessor Noster illustris edixit:

¹ Cf. *Acta Leonis XIII Pontificis Maximi*, vol. xiii., pp. 326-364.

'Prima cura sit, ut in sacris Seminariis vel Academiis sic omnino tradantur divinae Litterae quemadmodum et ipsius gravitas disciplinae et temporum necessitas admonent.' In eamdem autem rem haec Nos, quae magnopere videntur profutura, praescribimus :

I. Sacrae Scripturae praeceptio, in quoque Seminario impertienda, ista complectatur oportet : primum, notiones de inspiratione praezipuas, canonem Bibliorum, textum primigenium potissimasque versiones, leges hermeneuticas ; deinde historiam utriusque Testamenti ; tum singulorum, pro cuiusque gravitate, Librorum analysim et exegesim.

II. Disciplinae biblicae curriculum in totidem annos partiendum est, quot annos debent alumni Ecclesiae intra Seminarii septa commorari ob sacrarum disciplinarum studia : ita ut, horum studiorum, emenso spatio, quisque alumnus id curriculum integrum confecerit.

III. Magisteria Scripturae tradendae ita constituentur, quemadmodum cuiusque Seminarii conditio et facultates ferent : ubique tamen cavebitur, ut alumni copia suppetat eas res percipiendi, quas ignorare sacerdoti non licet.

IV. Quum ex una parte fieri non possit, ut omnium Scripturarum accurata explicatio in schola detur, ex altera necesse sit omnes divinas Litteras sacerdoti esse aliquo pacto cognitae, praeceptoris erit, peculiares et proprios habere tractatus seu *introductiones* in singulos Libros, eorumque historicam auctoritatem, si res postulaverit, asserere, ac analysim tradere : qui tamen aliquanto plus, quam in caeteris, in eis Libris immorabitur ac Librorum partibus, quae graviore sunt.

V. Atque is ad Testamentum vetus quod attinet, fructum capiens ex iis rebus, quas recentiorum investigatio protulerit, seriem actarum rerum, quasque hebraeus populus cum aliis Orientalibus rationes habuit, edisseret ; legem Moysi summatim exponet ; potiora vaticinia explanabit.

VI. Praesertim curabit, ut in alumni intelligentiam et studium Psalmorum, quos divino officio quotidie recitaturi sunt, excitet : nonnullosque Psalmos, exempli causa, interpretando, monstrabit, quemadmodum ipsi alumni, suapte industria, reliquos interpretentur.

VII. Quod vero ad novum Testamentum, presse dilucideque docebit, quatuor Evangelia quas habeant singula proprias tamquam notas, et quomodo authentica esse ostendantur ; item

totius evangelicae historiae complexionem, ac doctrinam in Epistolis ceterisque Libris comprehensam exponet.

VIII. Singularem quandam curam adhibebit in iis illustrandis utriusque Testamenti locis, qui ad fidem moresque christianos pertinent.

IX. Illud semper, maxime vero in novi Testamenti expositione, meminerit : suis se praeceptis conformare eos, qui postea voce et exemplo vitae erudire ad sempiternam salutem populum debeant. Igitur inter docendum commonefacere discipulos studebit, quae sit optima via Evangelii praedicandi : eosque ex occasione diligenter Christi Domini et Apostolorum praescripta alliciet.

X. Alumni, qui meliorem de se spem facient, hebraeo sermone et graeco biblico, atque etiam, quoad eius fieri possit, aliqua alia lingua semitica, ut syriaca aut araba, erunt excolendi. ' Sacrae Scripturae magistris necesse est atque theologos addecet, eas linguas cognitatas habere, quibus libri canonici sunt primitus ab agiographis exarati, easdemque optimum factu erit si colant alumni Ecclesiae, qui praesertim ad academicos theologiae gradus aspirant. Atque etiam curandum, ut omniubus in Academiis de ceteris item antiquis linguis, maxime semiticis, sint magisteria ' (Litt. Encycl. *Providentissimus*).

XI. In Seminariis, quae iure gaudent academicos theologiae gradus conferendi, augeri praelectionum de Sacra Scriptura numerum ; altiusque propterea generales specialesque pertractari quaestiones, ac biblicae vel archeologiae, vel geographiae, vel chronologiae, vel theologiae, itemque historiae exegesis plus temporis studiique tribui oportebit.

XII. Peculiaris diligentia in id insumenda erit, ut secundum leges a Commissione Biblica editas, delecti alumni ad academicos Sacrae Scripturae gradus compareantur : quod quidem ad idoneos divinarum Litterarum magistros Seminariis quaerendos non parum valebit.¹

XIII. Doctor Sacrae Scripturae tradendae sanctum habebit, numquam a communi doctrina ac Traditione Ecclesiae vel minimum discedere : utique vera scientiae huius incrementa, quaecumque recentiorum solertia peperit, in rem suam convertet, sed temeraria novatorum commenta negliget : idem eas dumtaxat quaestiones tractandas suscipiet, quarum tractatio ad intelligentiam et defensionem Scripturarum conducat : denique

¹ Cf. *Acta Pontificia*, vol. ii. pp. 201-203.

rationem magisterii sui ad eas normas diriget, prudentiae plenas, quae Litteris Encyclicis *Providentissimus* continentur.

XIV. Alumni autem quod scholae praelectionibus ad hanc assequendam disciplinam deerit, privato labore suppleant oportet. Quum enim particulatim omnem enarrare Scripturam magister prae angustiiis temporis non possit, privatim ipsi, certo ad hanc rem constituto spatio in dies singulos, veteris novique Testamenti attentam lectinoem continuabunt; in quo optimum factu erit, breve aliquod abhiberi commentarium, quod opportune obscuriores locos illustret, difficiliore explicet.

XV. Alumni in disciplina biblica, ut in ceteris theologiae, quantum nimirum e scholae praelectionibus profecerint, periculum subeant, antequam ex una in aliam classem promoveri et sacris ordinibus initiari possint.

XVI. Omnibus in Academiis quisque, candidatus ad academicos theologiae gradus quibusdam de Scriptura quaestionibus, ad *introductionem* historicam et criticam, itemque ad exegesim pertinentibus, respondebit; atque experimento probabit, satis se interpretationis gnarum ac hebraei sermonis graecique biblici scientem.

XVII. Hortandi erunt divinarum Litterarum studiosi, ut, praeter interpretes, bonos lectitent auctores, qui de rebus cum hac disciplina coniunctis tractant; ut de historia utriusque Testamenti, de vita Christi Domini, de Apostolorum, de itineribus et peregrinationibus Palestinensibus: ex quibus facile locorum morumque biblicorum notitiam imbibent.

XVIII. Huius rei gratia, dabitur pro facultatibus opera, ut modica conficiatur in quoque Seminario bibliotheca, ubi volumina id genus alumni in promptu sint.

Haec volumus et iubemus, contrariis quibusvis non obstantibus.

Datum Romae, apud S. Petrum sub annulo Piscatoris, die XXVII Martii anno MDCCCXVI, Pontificatus Nostri tertio.

A. Card. MACCHI.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

CATHOLICS AND THE NATIONAL UNIVERSITIES: By the
Rev. David Hunter Blair, Bart., O.S.B., M.A. Magd.
Coll., Oxon. London : Burns and Oates, 1906. Price
6d. net.

THIS is a very interesting pamphlet. There is nobody in Great Britain better qualified than Sir David Hunter Blair to give an opinion on the success or failure of the experiment recently made by English Catholics in deciding to go to the English Universities. It must be borne in mind, however, that the circumstances are very different in England from those of this country. Catholics in England are a very small minority of the population, and could hardly expect that they could obtain from the State a special University for themselves. In Ireland Catholics are the vast majority. In England the spirit of the Universities is very far indeed from being as narrow and as hostile to Catholicism as that of the Universities of this country. And yet Father Blair is not so very enthusiastic about the results in England. Here, for instance, is what he has to say on the study of philosophy at Oxford :—

' I should like to say a few words on the philosophical side of our Greats, or *Literae Humaniores* school at Oxford, high honours in which are deemed a greater distinction than in any other, and which naturally attracts the most brilliant and promising of our students, Catholic and well as non-Catholic. If I may formulate a conclusion before adducing reasons, here it is. I consider it would be a grave responsibility to advise a Catholic youth to take this school at Oxford, unless he had either already studied philosophy from a Catholic standpoint, or had some one at Oxford to refer to who knows both points of view. The teaching of philosophy at Oxford is not so much anti-religious, as it is inclined to suggest that a man may and can with advantage dispense with religion. Quite apart from the question of their truth or falsity, the Oxford philosophical tenets are presented to students, with all the accessories of culture and learning brought to bear on them and adorn them and illustrate them, totally independent of any supernatural sanction ; and hence the tendency is to lead students to think that there is no need of religion, that it need not be taken into

account. The point of view of the Catholic philosopher is not so much opposed as entirely neglected. What is then the danger to a Catholic youth sitting at the feet of these Oxford philosophers? Obviously, that he may learn to do without religion in practice as well as in theory; that religion may cease to occupy the all-important place, to have the vital hold upon him, that it has had all his life hitherto. A man might, and indeed does, go through the whole course of philosophy as taught at Oxford without ever realizing that the scholastics have (as an historical fact) taken Aristotelianism and given an exposition of it in the phraseology of dogmatic religion; that is, have given a metaphysical substructure to revealed truths. Of course he might find this out from his own reflection and reading, but it would be independent of, I may say in spite of, his tutors and his lectures; the fact that philosophy may subserve revealed religion is left entirely to his own devices to discover. Herein, it seems to me, is the risk of advising or encouraging an inexperienced young Catholic—to whom the Oxford philosophy is the only philosophy of which he has ever known anything, or will ever know anything—to read for this particular school.

On the study of history at Oxford here is what he says :—

‘It has been said, and said, I think, too lightly, that a Catholic youth will naturally discount the anti-Catholic bias which from time to time peeps out in the historical lectures which he hears, and that no impression saving a passing sense of irritation or discomfort is made on his mind by such statements (to cite only two which were repeated to me within the last few weeks) as that ‘the Pope would have been willing to grant Henry VIII any number of divorces had it not been for the influence of Charles V,’ or (this was in a lecture on the Natural Law) ‘that all must admit Newman’s desertion of the Church of England to have been an act of deplorable moral weakness.’ I dissent from the comfortable theory that the Catholic student ‘discounts’ such statements as these, made *ex cathedra* by men whose views and teaching he is accustomed to respect and to accept. They may be and sometimes are a real *σκάνδαλον* to him—a real stumbling-block in his path; and it is because he is liable to encounter such stumbling-blocks that I have maintained that he should be fortified in the way I have indicated before entering on the study of history as it is taught at Oxford.’

On the moral dangers of the University the author is no less emphatic. In comparison with the atmosphere to which a Catholic is accustomed the change is very marked :—

‘A different and a lower standard of morals, a widespread

indifference to religion, both among his companions and frequently among his tutors and teachers, that is often indistinguishable from professed agnosticism, a systematic self-indulgence and absolute contempt of the ascetic spirit which the Catholic religion has taught him is inseparable from the practice of true Christianity, an exaggerated admiration of physical powers and athletic achievement—a tendency towards what I may call sentimental æstheticism—these are only some of the pitfalls and quicksands which open before the feet of the newly-emancipated freshman as he starts on his University course, and which constitute a real moral risk to the young Catholic coming straight from a Catholic school or a Catholic home'

Of course Sir David Hunter Blair lays stress on the helps and safeguards that have been devised to minimise these dangers ; and on the whole he considers that so far the experiment has been justified by its results. The results, however, have not yet been tested by any very severe trial. We can only look on with interest and hope that the trial when it comes will be withstood.

J. F. H.

SELF-KNOWLEDGE AND SELF-DISCIPLINE. By B. W. Maturin, formerly of Cowley St. John, Oxford.
Longmans, Green & Co., 1905. Price 5s. net.

THE author of this volume is, we understand, a priest and convert, already well known as a pleasing and popular writer on spiritual and ascetic subjects. The present collection of contributions forms a most readable and valuable book. The chapters indicated in its title are developed in seven subsequent ones : 'The Seat of the Conflict,' 'The Discipline of the Will,—of the Mind,—of the Affections,—of the Body,' 'Mortification and the Supernatural Life,' and 'The Law a Preparation for the Revelation of Love.'

The whole is intended as a help to the spiritual life : and although of 'spiritual books' there is, perhaps, a superabundance, we extend a sincere welcome to this one ; for we think it is no ordinary one, and we expect it will meet with a wide appreciation from a large class of readers. We may recommend it to ecclesiastical students, to the clergy, to religious of both sexes, and to all educated lay people, who may need light and consolation in religious difficulties ; not that these classes should

not esteem and profit by the *Lives of the Saints* as much as, or more than, the ordinary faithful. They can and ought : example is better than precept for all alike ; and *good* lives of saints, which are happily multiplying, form the best spiritual reading for all.

But the classes just referred to will surely appreciate and profit by the theory of the spiritual life set forth scientifically and in the abstract, though with abundance of illustration and much individual feeling and sympathy by Father Maturin. The author's style is singularly pure and easy, his language is simple and well-chosen ; and he speaks about those most serious and all-absorbing realities of the soul's relations to its Creator, in a tone so familiar and confiding, so full of feeling and earnestness, that his pages have all the interest of a good novel, with the crowning charm and fascination that they speak not fiction but truth,—truth, great, deep, and vital. He leads you into the depths of the soul's religious experiences : and you feel as you move along that your guide is bringing you into contact with the inner life of a St. Paul or a St. John only through a revelation of his own personal intercourse with them in long-continued study and prayer and meditation. Will that inner revelation, that deep psychological insight and analysis, that self-examination in presence of Christ, our personal ideal, be understood by all, or only by those who have themselves ' tasted and seen ' ? By all, we think ; for it is made clear and simple ; and, though soul differs from soul, there is a wide common ground of spiritual experience which binds all together in the kinship of a common Christian sympathy and love.

The fundamental truths and principles that ought to direct our spiritual progress are here set forth with a freshness and suggestiveness that is striking and agreeable : the nature of moral evil, the scope and aim of mortification, the ' two laws ' in our ' members,' the relations of knowledge to virtue, of ignorance to vice, etc.

If we are all bound to advance in virtue we all need to look inwards and upwards from time to time, to take our bearings, to correct false steps and wanderings : a little quiet reflection on the contents of *Self-Knowledge and Self-Discipline* cannot fail to be of very material assistance to us in the discharge of this duty.

P. C.

ATLAS SCRIPTURAE SACRAE. Freiburg in Breisgau :
Herder. 1906.

THIS is the second edition of Dr. Reiss's well-known work brought up to date by Dr. Ruecker. It is admirably adapted for use either in private or in class. Names of places according to the Vulgate are printed in Roman type : the native Assyrian, Arabian, etc., in cursive. An index to the maps which occupies nineteen pages contains every name that Biblical students are likely to want. The ten maps are well coloured, and not overcrowded. In particular, Tabula V., the map of Assyria and Babylonia containing also insets of Ninive and Babylon (*i.e.* Borsippa, Birs-Nimrud, etc.), will be found of great utility. It is a pleasure to see that Dr. Ruecker keeps to the traditional site of Sion. But large plans of Solomon's and of Herod's Temples should have been added, and it would have been better to indicate each of St. Paul's journeys by a line of a different colour. As regards villages mentioned in Scripture, the site of which is at the present day a matter of discussion, the following instance will show how Dr. Ruecker judges. Emmaus he has no doubt about identifying with El-Kubeibe. This is, we may remark, Baedeker's opinion, but not that of Heidet (*Dict. de la Bible*, Vigouroux), nor of Conder (*Dict. of the Bible*, Clark), both of these authorities preferring to leave the location of Emmaus an open question. A great deal of course depends here on the opinion we form about the value respectively of the variants in St. Luke's narrative ('Sixty stadia,' 'A hundred and sixty stadia'). Dr. Ruecker was obviously not obliged to mention this, but it is evident that as regards the question in textual criticism he would side with Conder and Lagrange, and depart from Tischendorf.

R. W.

TEACHER'S HANDBOOK TO BIBLE HISTORY. By the Rev.
A. Urban. New York : Joseph F. Wagner. Price \$1.50.

AN excellent manual of Bible History suited to teacher and student alike. At a time like this, when the Higher Criticism has thrown a secular halo around the Bible, and when we are, in consequence, tempted to forget the primary purpose for which the sacred narrative was written, it is useful to turn to a book in which the critical position is entirely ignored and the

religious aspect dwelt on as it should be. The volume before us is one of the kind. It is intended for the pulpit rather than the study. Under the heads 'Preparation,' 'Narration,' 'Explanation,' and 'Moral Application,' the story is told again, in a style of simple eloquence, and the old, old lessons, that have been the comfort of the world for centuries, impressed again on mind and heart.

As a manual for the priest in the pulpit, or the teacher in the school, or the pious reader in his private devotion, the volume cannot be too highly recommended. In preparation for a sermon on any incident of Bible history no better authority can be consulted.

M. J. O'D.

PROBABILISMUS VINDICATUS. Fr. Lehmkühl, S.J. Freiburg in Breisgau : Herder. 1906.

ANY work from the illustrious author's pen will be read with attention, and particularly one on so important a subject as the respective merits of probabilism and equiprobabilism. St. Alphonsus is justly regarded as the great exponent of the latter system. His position is evident in the fifth and subsequent editions of his *Theologia Moralis*. (See the Editor's Preface first vol., page xix. ff. of the new edition, Rome, 1905 ; an edition which it would be hard to praise too much.) The saint was then able to say, *Tandem systema meum statui*, whereas in some earlier works he had been uncertain, and had repeatedly stated that he prescinded from the question of probabilism. However, even then some persons called him a probabilist, and this 'accusation' led to the following explicit declaration on his part : 'Taluni mi tacciano, dicendo ch'io sono probabilista. Io di nuovo mi dichiaro in questa breve operetta ch'io non sono probabilista, ne seguito il probabilismo, anzi lo riprovo' (Dichiarazione del sistema). And during the exhaustive examination of his works, which preceded the decree making him a Doctor of the Church, it was proved once more that equiprobabilism was his genuine system. 'Sanctus Auctor, ab anno 1762, systema aequiprobabilismi adeo aperte, dilucide, constanterque propagavit, ut omne rationabile dubium hac de re excludatur ; quod et amplissimus Censor concedit.' What satisfied the Promotor Fidei may well be considered sufficient proof.

But the erroneous notion still found defenders, and the controversy about the teaching of St. Alphonsus was revived four years ago between the then Rector of Freiburg University, P. Mandonnet, O.P., and P. Brucker, S.J., the distinguished contributor to the *Etudes Religieuses*. During the discussion, Père Brucker received from the Holy Office, and published for the first time, the authentic text of the Decree of that Congregation regarding Probabilism, 26th June, 1680, which Innocent XI. confirmed. Soon afterwards F. Arendt, S.J., wrote an article on the Decree, and the learned Redemptorists, Ter Haar and Wouters, replied in pamphlets. So far they seem to have the better of it, and it seems that while Lehmkühl's contribution is interesting, it does not alter the balance in favour of probabilism.

C. J. N.

DE INSPIRATIONE S. SCRIPTURAE. Fr. C. Pesch, S.J.
Freiburg in Breisgau : Herder. 1906.

THERE is no need to dwell on this truth, that whatever regards the word of God is of supreme importance. Rather let us consider that in consequence of the development of doctrine, the time seems to be approaching for a clearer understanding on our part of the Church's teaching on the nature of Inspiration. It is recognized as being one of the questions of the day. And ever since the promulgation of the *Providentissimus Deus* a lively discussion has been carried on, and eminent writers have taken very different views. The natural result of such discussion should be that erroneous notions will be discarded and the truth will become known. Father Pesch deserves the heartiest thanks of students for his able analysis of the views expressed respectively by Lagrange, Prat-Zanecchia, Van Kasteren, and Billot. He is quite familiar with the direction which the controversy has taken in recent years, and has himself been regarded as one of the most reliable authorities on the subject ever since the publication of his *Theologische Zeitfragen* in 1901, and of its translation, *Apparatus ad historiam coevam inspirationis*, 1903.

The stately volume (650 pages, 8vo), now before us, is the finished treatise; the pamphlet was only a preliminary essay on part of the subject. It is evident that great care has been

bestowed on the present work, indeed the learned author candidly acknowledges that its production occupied him for several years. It consists of two parts; the one historical, the other dogmatic. Beginning with those passages in the Old Testament which refer to one or more of the sacred books, and then taking up statements in Philo and Josephus, the author passes on to the New Testament. This section is followed by longer ones on the teaching of the Fathers (page 40, page 123), of Popes and Councils, and of theologians down to the Council of Trent. This part of the work will be found of special use. The relevant passages are quoted in full, and Father Pesch's explanatory paragraphs are both numerous and good. The same must be said of the summaries of the opinions held by theologians in the post-Tridentine and the post-Vatican periods. However, with regard to those modern authors, who have written in their vernacular tongue, it seems that a translation of their words into Latin was superfluous. Father Pesch would have spared himself some labour, and have given many of his readers pleasure if he had set down the original French or English. For instance, Cardinal Newman's theory would be presented to greater advantage, were some of his own classic passages quoted. The doctrinal part of the volume before us is the most important one. Here the student will find an excellent explanation of both the nature and extent of inspiration, and also of one of its attributes, 'inerrancy,' about which, unfortunately, a great deal of ignorance is prevalent in certain quarters at the present day. Father Pesch discusses also a question which deserves attention, viz., 'Sitne apostolatus criterium inspirationis?' It is to be hoped that his book will be widely read.

R. W.

THE CHRISTIAN FAMILY. By the Rev. Bertrand L. Conway, C.S.P. New York: Joseph F. Wagner. Price 75 cents.

THE volume is a collection of Seven Sermons adapted from the original of Mgr. D'Hulst, and dealing with the mutual duties and relations of husbands and wives, parents and children, masters and servants. As might be expected, the various subjects are treated with a degree of eloquence and feeling that will recommend them strongly to clergy and laity alike.

Some of the evils aimed at are, happily, to a great extent

unknown in this country. Liberalism of the Continental school has gained no foothold among us : nor do enlightened scientific theories on Marriage and Divorce meet with sympathetic response from Irish Catholics. But many points touched on are of world-wide interest, and, when dealt with, as they are here, in a spirit of Christian faith and sincere piety, must be, everywhere and always, productive of good effects.

The little volume—which is tastefully brought out by the publishers—will be consulted with profit by every priest and teacher who feels called upon to deal with the subjects it treats of.

M. J. O'D.

VAN BREE'S SECOND MASS (originally written for three men's voices) abridged, revised, and arranged for Four Mixed Voices in accordance with the Decrees of the S.C.R. By R. R. Terry. London : Cary & Co. Price 1s. 6d.

The editor mentions in a prefatory note that '*Van Bree's Mass* is not a masterpiece, but merely a popular and tuneful work. . . . Van Bree's "organ" part too, would be more fitly described as a harmonium or piano part.' Our opinion is that the tunefulness of this Mass is of a cheap and vulgar kind, and that the 'organ' part is not in accordance with the instructions laid down by Pope Pius X in his *Motu proprio* on Church music. We cannot recommend the Mass.

H. B.

LANCE AND HIS FRIENDS. By David Bearne, S.J.
London : Catholic Truth Society.

THIS is an excellent book for boys ; but old boys may read it also with pleasure and advantage. The Ridingleads are sure to be favourites with the younger folk, and they can have no better companions. Life in the Ridinglead household is the ideal life of the Christian family. High principle, straightforward dealing, kindness to the weak and poor, hard work, with plenty of healthy amusement, fun and games, mark the training of the boys, while in the parents we see true nobility undimmed and unsoured by poverty, a faculty of commanding without severity, and a thorough sympathy with childhood.

A YEAR'S SERMONS. By Pulpit Preachers of our own Day.
New York : Wagner. Price \$1.50.

THIS is a course of Sermons chiefly on the Gospels for the Sundays and some few feast days of the year. The collection is an interesting one, and may be found useful by those who wish to have in a compendious form examples of the kind of pulpit eloquence that commands success in our day. A synopsis of each sermon is printed immediately after the Scripture text.

THE FEASTS OF MOTHER CHURCH, WITH HINTS AND HELPS FOR THE HOLIER KEEPING OF THEM. By Mother M. Salome, St. Mary's Convent, The Bar, York. Burns & Oates, and Benziger Brothers. Price 3s. 6d.

THIS is a collection of bright, cheerful meditations and reflections suitable to the various feasts of the year, with many short dramatic presentations of the lives of saints. The work is illustrated.

THE PROBLEM OF EVIL. By the Rev. Sydney F. Smith, S.J. London : Catholic Truth Society.

THIS little volume of ninety-six pages presents clearly and fully the difficulty to faith offered by the existence in the world of physical and moral evil, and supplies a solution as satisfactory as may be found for this intricate problem of our being.

"*Ut Christiani sitis et Romani sitis.*" "As you are children of Christ, so be you children of Rome.
Ex Dictis S. Patricii, In Libro Armatus, fol. 9.

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PHILOSOPHY AND GEOMETRY

PHYSICAL SCIENCE may have progressed mightily since the days of Euclid and even since those of Kant, but the Greek sage and the German philosopher probably knew as much—or as little—about the nature of a straight line as we or our far-distant future descendants are ever likely to know. Where then, it may well be asked, is the utility of a discussion which is not likely to throw any further light on a well-worn subject? Moreover, a straight line is such an exceedingly simple thing! Surely there is no mystery about it: what further light can be wanted for it, or what is there in it to discuss? What good can come from provoking doubts and difficulties about the clearest and simplest notions we possess? Is it not very unreal, is it not a useless, or even a harmful waste of time, to go probing and analysing in the unmerciful if not irreverent manner of philosophers, the very root-notions themselves of human knowledge, in the vain hope of learning something more about its foundations?

With this attitude of the ordinary mind towards metaphysical discussions, we have a good deal of sympathy. Still it must not be forgotten that a discussion is not useless if it enables us to appreciate more fully the meaning of truths we already know. If it does not add to our knowledge, it will

often do something even better : it will add to our humility, by giving us a truer and more sober estimate of our very limited intellectual powers.

Then, too, it is invariably the simplest, most elementary, most universal, most evident truths that are most profound, that reach down into the deepest depths of our mental life. It is our most abstract ideas—of Being, Spirit, Matter, Quantity, Time, Space, etc.—that exercise the greatest fascination over the reflecting mind. It is around them the battle rages on whose issue depends the meaning man is to attach to his own life and origin and destiny,—the battle about the validity of human knowledge. And if some philosophers have—perhaps irreverently—questioned or doubted its validity, or wrongly interpreted its meaning, are not others bound to tread the same paths—with greater reverence and circumspection—and to remedy the evil effects of the morbid or mis-directed analysis to which the former have fallen victims? These few thoughts will furnish at least a partial apology for the pages that follow.

I.

Every student of philosophy is aware that since the days of Kant the nature of certain classes of judgments, and the manner of their formation, have been subjects of incessant dispute amongst philosophers. Those necessary and universal judgments of metaphysics and mathematics—self-evident axioms or principles as they are called,—are regarded by scholastic philosophers as *analytic*, by Kant and his followers as *synthetic*. That is to say, according to the scholastics, the objective concepts compared in these mental acts of judgment show forth to the intellect, when analysed, a necessary connexion with each other ; this necessity is *objective*, it is a property of the *data* before the mind : according to Kant, the formation of these judgments does not consist in the comparison of two abstract intellectual concepts, but in a *synthesis* or union of certain *data* given in the sense-intuition, with some one or other of certain forms or grooves of thought with which the understanding

is equipped, and which give to the contingent sense-*data* the element of necessity and universality which characterizes the judgment; this necessity is, therefore, purely *subjective*.

The question at issue between these two great schools of philosophy is one of far-reaching importance. It is not our purpose, however, to enter into its merits just at present, but rather to point out that in endeavouring to establish his position Kant undertook to show, by examples drawn from metaphysics, from mathematics, and from physics, that those necessary truths, regarded by the scholastics as analytic, are in reality not analytic at all. The influence of Kant's philosophy has drawn attention in a special way to the judgments he has taken as types. The support it has received and the opposition it has encountered have alike contributed to focus and concentrate philosophic thought, with a peculiar degree of intensity, on the real import of those fundamental judgments and concepts.

Opposition to Kantism has been sometimes more vehement than well-informed. One of the first attempts with which we are acquainted on the part of Catholic philosophers, to give a faithful, intelligent, and intelligible exposition and criticism of Kant's philosophy, is to be found in the philosophical writings, especially in the *Critériologie Générale*, of Monseigneur Mercier, late distinguished director of the Philosophical Institute in the Catholic University of Louvain, and recently appointed archbishop of the important metropolitan see of Mechlin. We do not think that what Monseigneur Mercier has written in criticism of Kant is on all points final or decisive: he would probably be slow to make any such claim for it himself: but having enjoyed the privilege of hearing his remarkable lectures and studying his *Critériologie*, under his own direction, we can say without hesitation that his appreciation of Kant's philosophy makes the study of it easy and even positively attractive to the student, and contains a great deal that is very instructive, not so much indeed from any fulness of treatment as from its very great suggestiveness.

II.

The example that Kant takes from Geometry, of a *necessary* judgment which is, nevertheless, as he contends, *synthetic*, not analytic, is the proposition, 'A straight line is the shortest distance between two points.' Mercier has no difficulty in showing that, whatever be the 'definition' of a 'straight line' the proposition in question is analytic, not synthetic. He goes on, however, to make some suggestive comments, well deserving of consideration, upon Euclid's 'definition' of a 'straight line.' In the course of those comments he contends that the proposition quoted by Kant, and accepted by modern geometers as a 'definition' of a 'straight line' is an analytic proposition, no doubt, but gives merely a *property*, not the *essence* or *nature*, of the 'straight line.' He writes as follows :—

'No proposition of *pure geometry* is analytic' says Kant. 'The proposition that "the straight line is the shortest between two points" is a synthetic proposition. My concept of that which is *straight* includes no quantitative element, but expresses a *quality*. Therefore the concept *shortest* is added by an act of synthesis to the subject *straight line*; no effort of analysis could derive it from that subject. Here, then, again, we must have recourse to the sense-intuition, it alone renders the synthesis possible.'

These few lines raise several difficulties.

Firstly, according to Kant, the predicate *shortest* cannot be derived from the subject *that which is straight*, seeing that the subject and the predicate belong to two different categories, the subject to *quality* and the predicate to *quantity*.

Kant is mistaken. Both the subject and the predicate belong to the same category of *quantity*. For, what is the subject? It is not the simple concept *straight*, which indeed might appear a quality, but *straight line*. Kant himself, moreover, says 'straight line' expressly, '*die gerade Linie zwischen zwei Punkten*.' But, the expression *straight line* denotes a *quantity*. The adjective *straight* in the context, denotes not a quality, but a specific difference in the genus *quantity*. *Line* is a generic notion; *straight line* is a *species* of the genus *line*; *straight* is the *specific difference* which, added to the genus *line*, forms the species, *straight line*. Hence the subject *straight line* and the predicate *shortest* belong both to the same category of quantity.

But,—someone might urge in favour of the Kantian thesis,—the predicate *shortest* contains the notion of *relation*. And the

category of relation is not contained in the subject *straight line*. Hence the mind adds it on synthetically.

This objection is analogous to the preceding one, and it is answered similarly. The proposition: 'Between two given points the straight line is the shortest' is misleading, because it is elliptical. Formulated explicitly the proposition reads: 'The straight line, *compared with other lines that are not straight*, is shorter than the latter, or, is the shortest of all lines between two given points.' There the subject is seen at once to contain the notion of relation. Hence the mind has no need to add it on synthetically.

The essential difficulty remains: how are we to derive from this subject: *straight line compared with other lines*, the predicate, *shortest*, by a simple process of analysis?

It would be an easy matter if we could define a straight line as many modern geometers do: the shortest path between two points.¹ Thus interpreted, the proposition laid down by Kant would be tantamount to the statement: between two given points the shortest line is the shortest. An analytic proposition certainly; but, more than that, a mere tautology!

It would be illogical, however, to employ against Kant, the definition of a straight line as the 'shortest path between two points.' For that definition is a *petitio principii*; it illogically subordinates an *absolute* notion to a notion that is *comparative*, and, therefore, necessarily derivative. The property of being shorter than any other attaches to the straight line only in virtue of a comparison between it and other lines that are not straight; but comparison logically presupposes the terms compared; hence the notion of 'straight' is logically anterior to the notion of 'shortest path between two points.'

'The shortest path between two points' cannot, therefore, be the definition of a straight line.

Euclid, knowing better, defined it: the line which rests equally on all its points. *Εὐθεία γραμμή ἐστίν, ἥτις ἐξ ἴσου τοῖς ἐφ' ἑαυτῆς σημείοις κείται.*

Euclid commenced by stating the simplest notions from which the notion of space results. He saw that, without a certain preliminary notion of space, the science of geometry would be impossible. Let us follow him.

Suppose a body which our senses perceive. After we have abstracted from all the physical properties of that body we still retain the concept of a magnitude divisible into parts; suppose the division completed, the indivisible element at which we are considered to have arrived is called the *point*. Every

¹ This is the definition given by classic authors, such as Legendre, Blanchet, etc. [This definition is adopted by Clarke as a basis of explanation in his *Logic*, p. 63.]

body in nature can, by the aid of a mental analysis, be thus represented by a *point*. 'The point is that which has no parts.'

Let two bodies be considered as two points, without, however, conceiving them to be in contact: between the two arises a relation of *distance* (*dis-stant*). That relation of distance between two points bears the name of linear distance or *line*. The line is, therefore, a relation of distance in one sense only, that of length. Euclid defines it: a length without breadth.

The relation of distance between two lines is a *surface*; the *volume* is the equivalent of the distance between two surfaces. Surface possesses length and breadth; volume possesses length, breadth, and thickness. This collection of relations of distance forms space of three dimensions. The number and measure of these relations give the measure of space.

Let us return now to the concept of line. The line being a relation of distance between two points, 'the points form the limits between which the line is comprised.'

But the line comprised between two extreme points may be found inserted in various ways. Either all the points of the line, for example of the line



bear to one of the extreme points A the same relation as the second extreme point X does, and that relation only, and in that case the line *rests equally on all its points*, and is said to be *straight*; or the intermediate points between A and X bear to the initial point A, a relation of distance different from that borne by X to A, and in that case the line



does not rest *equally on all its points*, and is no longer called straight.

But if we compare with a straight line AX, a line



whose intermediate points bear to the initial point A, a relation of distance *other* than that of the second extreme point X: that line ACX contains more relations of distance than the straight line AX, seeing that, besides the relation, in the sense of length, of the point X to the point A,—the only relation which the points of the straight line AX possess,—it [ACX] contains *other spatial relations*, those, namely, which its inter-

mediate points have, in the sense of height, with the extreme points A and X.

But the number and measure of relations of distance measure space. Therefore, the line which is not straight, containing a greater number of spatial relations than the straight line, measures more space than the straight line; inversely the straight line is the line that occupies least space, or, what comes to the same thing, 'between two given points the straight line is the shortest.'

That fundamental proposition of Euclidean geometry is, therefore, analytic.

No doubt, the predicate is not contained in the *essence* of the subject but it expresses a *property* which flows necessarily from the subject, so that the concept of that property cannot be defined without shewing forth the subject and the connexion, necessary, universal, and accordingly independent of all experience,—which the said property has with that subject.

In a word, the geometrical proposition brought forward by Kant, belongs to the second class of propositions in necessary matter mentioned by the scholastics.¹

.

III.

We have taken the liberty of quoting the whole passage in which Mercier deals with the proposition under consideration. It appears to us to establish quite conclusively against Kant the analytic character of that proposition. Cogent as it is, however, it will not fully satisfy the enquiring mind. Neither has it, we are sure, any pretensions to do so; for the concepts involved are exceedingly abstract and difficult to analyse adequately.

Even accepting the definitions and notions of Euclid, which are by no means clear, we cannot well understand how 'all the points' of a straight line would bear 'the same relation' to one extreme point as the other extreme point does.

Is it that each intermediate point would bear a relation of distance to the first point, *of the same sort merely*, as is the relation of the second extreme point to the first? And if so, does 'the same sort' of relation mean relation of linear

¹ Mercier, *Critériologie Générale*, Quatrième Édition, Louvain, 1900. pp. 221-5.

distance as opposed to relations of superficial or solid distance? Or does 'linear distance' in that case mean 'recti-linear distance'?

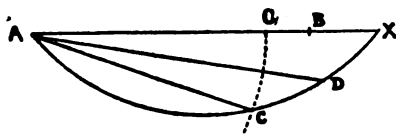
We take it that 'the same relation' means the same *sort* or *kind* of relation. We also assume that the relations in question must be linear as opposed to superficial or solid, seeing that the distant terms are two points: and so far the relations must be of the same sort. But are there different sorts of relations of *linear* distance? Is 'linear distance' a *species subalterna* under the genus 'distance,' containing under itself different *species infimae*, or is it a *species infima* itself, synonymous with *recti-linear* distance?

It is not easy from the passage quoted above to make out Mercier's view on this point, and yet it is of some importance, as will presently appear. Indeed to speak of a 'surface' as a *distance* between two lines, and of a 'volume' as a *distance* between two surfaces: to speak of those relations as *distances* of special sorts, different from *linear* distance, scarcely contributes to the clearing up of our concept of distance. It seems to us at least that distance simply, in the ordinary sense of the word, means *linear distance between two points*: and that all other sorts of distance are simply complications ultimately resolvable into that simple concept. We have no doubt either that, in the usual acceptation of language, when people talk about distance simply they mean *recti-linear* distance between two points. Of course when speaking of notable distances along the earth's curved surface they wish to mean and are understood to mean curvilinear distance. But by distance simply people mean rectilinear distance. The important point, however, is that the expression 'linear distance between two points' *may* have either the meaning of rectilinear distance or of non-rectilinear distance: that between two given points, besides the unique relation of rectilinear distance there can be a theoretically infinite number of relations of non-rectilinear distance; since a theoretically infinite number of curved or non-straight lines may join two different points without any one of them coinciding

with any other, and therefore without any one of the corresponding relations becoming identical with any other.

IV.

When, therefore, we compare the straight line AX, with any curved line ACX, between two points A and X, what can be the meaning of saying that the intermediate points of the latter 'bear to the initial point A a relation¹ *other* than that of the second extreme point X'? Are the relations here contemplated, relations of *rectilinear* distance? For example, is the contemplated relation of the intermediate point C to the extreme point A, in the line ACX



the relation of rectilinear distance represented by the straight line AC? We are not sure if this be Mercier's meaning, but taking it to be so, the relation of C to A is certainly *other* than that of X to A,—and that not quantitatively or numerically merely, but *specifically other*, *i.e.*, a linear relation of *another sort*. For we take two linear relations to be of *different sorts* when the lines representing them do not coincide; and we conceive two linear relations to be quantitatively comparable only when the lines representing them either *actually* coincide or *are imagined* to coincide. For example, the relations BA and XA, in the preceding diagram, would be quantitatively comparable in this way; the relations CA and XA, only by a stretch of imagination that would move CA through the sector ACC,, to the position C,A.

V.

Again, in the same context of the paragraphs quoted above, what can be the meaning of saying that 'the only

¹ Why not rather 'relations'?—has not each point its own distinct relation to A? Cf. *supra*, p. 102.

relation¹ which the points of the straight line AX 'bear to A, is 'the relation in the sense of length,' while the curved line ACX, possesses 'besides the relation in the sense of length of the point X to the point A,' and in addition to it, the 'other spatial relations . . . which its intermediate points [such as C] have, in the sense of height with the extreme points X and A'?

We presume that these relations 'in the sense of length' and 'in the sense of height' are meant to signify relations not of linear distance merely, but of *rectilinear* distance between the points compared: for, otherwise, each intermediate point, for example C, in the curve ACX, or C, in the straight line AX, could possess not one but a theoretically infinite number of relations of linear distance to A; and so, *all quantitative comparison of the two lines AX and ACX would be utterly fallacious*. And if it be objected that these relations of C to X, theoretically infinite in number, could not be all 'in the sense of height,' we answer by freely admitting that not even *one* of them could be in that sense, and by pointing out, moreover, that even if the relations in question be understood as relations of *rectilinear* distance, the one such possible relation between C and A is neither 'in the sense of height' nor 'in the sense of length,' but in an intermediate sense or direction of its own: neither vertical nor horizontal, but oblique. Nor is it quantitatively comparable to the relation of rectilinear distance XA unless, as we have already observed, it be imagined to change its sense from AC to AC,

So far, then, we have attained to this result, that if we regard the relations in question—the relations on the comparison of whose sums the whole question is to be decided—as linear relations merely, not rectilinear, *we can never quantitatively compare our two lines to see which is the greater*. And why so? Because, as *each* point on either line, for example B on AX, or C on ACX above, when compared with A or with X, gives rise to an *indefinite* number of

¹Or *relations*? Each intermediate point between A and X, C for example, possesses partially the relation of X to A,—or possesses a quantitative part of the whole relation of A to X.

relations of linear distance, it seems utterly futile to try to compare quantitatively the two lines, AX and ACX, by summing up the number of relations in each and comparing the results: how can you sum up each of two *indefinite* series so as to compare the sums? And besides that difficulty there is this one also, that throughout the whole process you are trying to sum up quantitatively, linear distances of different sorts,—of different senses or directions.

VI.

And now what about the hopes of a satisfactory solution if we suppose the relations in question to be of *rectilinear* distance? In this hypothesis we are at once prompted to ask, in the first place, how can the curved line ACX be said to possess any 'relation, in the sense of length, of the point X to the point A'? For 'length' now means 'rectilinear distance,' and the relation of X to A is, *ex hypothesi*, a relation of *rectilinear, horizontal*¹ distance. Does the curved line ACX possess such a relation? No doubt such a relation between A and X exists, for it is the actual relation expressed in the straight line AX, but does it exist by any virtue of the curve ACX, or how can that curve be said to possess it? It appears to us that the only linear relation between A and X, possessed by the curve ACX, is that of *curvilinear distance* itself, around from A by C to X. A precisely similar question may be asked about 'the other special relations which the intermediate points of ACX bear, in the sense of height, to A.' How can the curve itself give to any one of its intermediate points, C for example, any relation of *rectilinear* distance at all with A? How can it give or be said to possess the rectilinear relation CA, not to speak of a rectilinear relation of C to A in the sense of height or vertical distance, which is certainly impossible since the rectilinear distance from C to A is not vertical?

¹ The 'sense of length' as opposed to the 'sense of height' is presumably the horizontal as opposed to the vertical.

VII.

What if we suppose, as a last resource, that the curvilinear relations of X and of all the intermediate points of the curve ACX, to A, may be resolved into, or measured by, the rectilinear relations AX, AC, etc. ? If it be lawful to make such a supposition it would appear equally lawful to assert that the curve ACX *possesses* all those rectilinear relations CA, XA, etc., of all its points to A. But even if it does, is the sum of their rectilinear relations evidently greater than the sum of the rectilinear relations of the points between A and X, to A ? And if the curve ACX *does* contain an evidently greater number of such rectilinear relations to A than the straight line AX does, will it evidently follow that the latter is 'shorter' than the former ?

There are two difficulties in the way of a definite affirmative answer. One is that each of the two sums we are trying to compare is indefinite, seeing that each of the lines may be divided into an indefinite number of mathematical points : and can one indefinite sum be 'greater' than another ? This difficulty is, however, perhaps more apparent than real, seeing that to 'measure' or 'compare quantitatively' two lines is not to count the actual or possible number of mathematical points in each, but to apply to each some *conventional unit or standard of length* and see how often it is contained in each. In that case the difficulty referred to would give place to this new one : how can the same common unit of length measure a straight line and a curve ? If the 'length' of the unit be rectilinear length how apply it to a curve ? If it be curvilinear length, how apply it to a straight line ? Evidently the problem cannot be solved by any such rough and ready method, for, before it become lawful or possible to apply any such conventional standard of measure we must have already investigated and settled with certainty the nature of the relation between a straight line and one that is a curve or not straight,—the very question we are trying to settle.

VIII.

The second of the difficulties above referred to is this : In order to compare the two sums on whose inequality the solution of the whole problem depends, we must not only add up the rectilinear relations of the intermediate points of AX to A, to form one sum, but also the rectilinear relations of the intermediate points of ACX to A, to form the other sum. But though the first addition is lawful since the relations are all of the same sort,—in the same sense or direction—this is not at all true of the second series of relations, AC, AD, etc., each succeeding one of which has *a sense or direction of its own* differing from that of any other member of the series. How then can the members of such a series be added together ? One possible way of doing so,—and of bringing about at the same time a comparison of the series in question with the series of relations in AX—suggests itself to us. Suppose we were to imagine in the diagram :



each member of the first series, AD for example, resolvable into two rectilinear distances, one in the sense of height DD' , the other in the sense of length $D'A$ by letting fall a perpendicular from D to D' , we should then have each member of the second series, AD for example, correspond exactly to some other member, AD' for example, of the first series. And since each member of the second series would be greater than each corresponding member of the first,—the hypotenuse being greater than the base of a right-angled triangle,—the sum of the second series would be greater than the sum of the first. Should it be maintained against this that AD has only *the value of AD' in the direction AX*,—to which direction it must be reduced before it becomes comparable to any member of the series in the line AX,—we may answer that if that be so, and if the two sums thus obtained

be equal, at all events the lines such as AD have still to their credit *a value such as DD' in the vertical sense*,—a value not possessed by any member of the series AX, a value, nevertheless, that must be taken into account in comparing the lengths of the two lines, and which, when taken into account, finally and completely vindicates to the curve ACX a greater length than that of AX.

IX.

We may admit all that to be quite conclusive provided the assumptions we have made be lawful. But we are not quite sure that they do not involve, in the elementary notions of 'length,' 'height,' 'sense,' 'direction,' 'measure,' 'shorter,' 'longer,' etc., the very proposition we have been trying to analyse and explain,—the proposition that 'the straight line, compared with others, is the shortest between two points.' And this suggests a final remark about the second last paragraph in the quotation given from Mercier at the commencement of this discussion.

There he says that the predicate of the proposition in question, namely, 'shortest [line or distance]' cannot be defined without its definition showing forth clearly its universal and necessary connexion with the essence or definition of the subject, namely, with a 'line that reposes equally on all its points, compared with a line that does not repose equally on all its points.' Now, we must confess that after studying and analysing as we have what he has written on the whole matter, it is not at all so clear to us that the definition of the predicate reveals the definition of the subject.

To take an analogous example: it is easy to see that although the definition of 'number' does not reveal the notions 'odd' or 'even,' still the definitions of 'odd' or 'even' reveal their necessary connexion with number, for 'odd' or 'even' cannot be defined without having involved in their definition the notion of 'number,' of which they are mutually exclusive properties. Is the same true of the proposition we are examining? If we attempt to define the relation expressed in the predicate 'shortest distance

between two points,' does it bring to light its necessary and universal connexion with the definition of the relation expressed in the subject: 'line reposing equally on its points compared with lines not so reposing'? Obviously all depends on our definitions of 'distance' and 'shortest distance' in the predicate, and of 'line' in the subject. The notion 'distance'—*dis-stant*—undoubtedly implies the notions of two points separate or apart in space, and of a spatial relation between them, *i.e.*, of a line: and to us at least those notions—of two points apart and spatially related—seem primarily and originally to have implied or rather produced the concept of that sort of distance and of that sort of line which, when compared afterwards with other distances and other lines between the same two points, came to be called the '*shortest* distance' and the '*straight* line' respectively. Our original concept of 'distance' and of 'line' would be practically identical in content—the latter word connoting perhaps the visible expression of that content. Furthermore, the actual content of those concepts *always* has been 'the *shortest* (or *rectilinear*) distance,' and the '*straight* line,' though the mind did not at first perceive that extrinsic relation of 'shortest' and 'straight' in that content—how could it, until it instituted a comparison of that distance or the line representing it with *other* distances between the same two points and with the *other* lines representing those distances? Nor does this involve a double meaning or a change of meaning in the word 'distance' or in the word 'line'; for in order to conceive a distance, not the shortest, or a line other than straight, between two points, what the mind must do, and does as a matter of fact, is this: it conceives *other* points (at least one other) besides the extreme points in question, and it conceives the longer distance, or the curved or crooked line, as simply, a *sum of shortest distances*, *i.e.*, of the various straight lines between each successive pair of intermediate points.

If this be so the predicate 'shortest distance' would mean 'a rectilinear spatial relation between two points compared with non-rectilinear ones,' and this predicate has

an evident, necessary, universal connexion with the subject 'a line which is, compared with others, a straight line,' or 'a linear spatial relation which is, compared with others, rectilinear.' Writing then, instead of the subject and predicate—of the proposition 'A straight line compared with other lines between two points is the shortest distance between those two points,'—their respective definitions, we would have the evidently necessary, analytic proposition : 'A linear spatial relation which is straight compared with others, is a rectilinear spatial relation compared with others.'

X.

Of course the proposition just formulated is practically a tautology ; but what does that prove ? Every analytic proposition, *i.e.*, every proposition in which one of the concepts is necessarily involved or implied in the essence or definition of the other, appears tautological when the fully analysed concepts are juxtaposed in judgment ; and if the concepts are identical as to their whole essence the tautology will appear complete.

Accordingly in the present case the tautology merely proves that the only knowledge we have of the reality of a straight line, the only definition we can give of it is that which we have arrived at through the concept of distance—that which modern geometers give, and which Mercier objects to as containing a property rather than the essence of the thing to be defined. In defence, however, of the definition he objects to, it may be urged that after all it is only through the manifestation of their effects, operations, properties, that the natures or essences of things reveal themselves to us ; and that we may not with impunity go in advance of what is revealed to us, nor pretend to know any more about the essence of anything than its known properties guarantee us in stating about it. And, really, if this principle be applied to the present case, we are inclined to think after all, and at the end of our investigation, that it fully justifies the ordinary definition. If geometers cannot go behind it—and *they* need not, even if they could,—Euclid gained little by doing so. If

metaphysicians even cannot do so with profit or impunity they should not pretend to do so. If either can conceive a definition which will show a more fundamental grasp or reveal a deeper knowledge of that abstract object of thought, the essence of a straight line, let them produce such a definition by all means. As for Euclid's definition of a straight line as one that 'reposes equally on all its points,' we have tried to understand it without much fruit for our pains. Nor can we see how any analysis of the relation contained in the predicate 'shortest of all lines between two points,' reveals in any way, or is necessarily connected with the relation of a 'line reposing equally on its points' to 'lines that do not repose equally on theirs.' Any intelligible sense that the expression 'reposing equally or unequally on its points' has for us, it derives from the genetic notions we possess of an initial point conceived either as going on straight in *a given rectilinear direction or as deviating in any sense therefrom*,—that is, from the very notions themselves that this new motion was called in to explain!

'A straight line is the shortest distance between two points.' Even should that proposition give us only a property and not the essence of the subject, we fail to see why it should be a *petitio principii*¹ to cite it and use it as a definition so long as we know nothing more fundamental about the essence of the subject, and until such time as we find out something more fundamental about it, if that be ever: there are a great many other things about whose inner natures we are no better informed, and still we must be content to define them also on the basis of what we do know about them.

XI.

But finally, and this after all is the real question, does our definition really subordinate a relative or comparative notion to an absolute notion? Mercier says it does; and so it does when understood in a certain way, *not, however, necessarily*. If we lay stress on the relative term 'shortest'

¹ Cf. *supra*, p. 101.

in the predicate we are, no doubt, mentally comparing and contrasting the distance that we term 'shortest' with other distances; but it ought to be remembered that *if and whenever we do so, what we are defining in reality is not at all the 'straight line' simply, but the 'straight line in relation to other lines' which is quite a different thing to define.* In the latter case both predicate and subject are in the same category of *relation*;—both *definitio* and *definitum*, are certain *objects of thought in relation to certain other objects of thought.* But what if we compare those entities in themselves? What if we take 'straight line' in itself and try to define it independently of, and antecedently to, any relations afterwards established by the mind between it and other lines? In that case our definition will simply be, 'A [straight] line is the [shortest] distance between two points';—meaning by '[shortest] distance,' 'distance simply,' 'distance' *not actually compared or related to anything else, but only in potentia to be recognized and termed 'shortest' when actually compared with other distances or complex sums of distances; and meaning by 'straight line,' 'line simply,' line not actually compared with other lines, but in potentia to be compared with them and to be explicitly recognized and termed straight in actual comparison with them.* The line is *de facto* straight, and the distance is *de facto* shortest before any comparison is made with other lines and distances, but it is such mental comparison that establishes the actual relation on the foundation already existing, and so makes the potential relation actual. The terms 'straight' and 'shortest' may, and doubtless do usually designate these actual relations; but even when they do they add no further absolute entity to the original content of the two concepts. Moreover, those terms need not necessarily designate the *actual* relations, but only the *potential* relations, or as they are better called the 'foundations' of the actual relations: for those terms could not designate the *actual* relations without *implying*, in the related subjects, certain absolute properties that are the foundations of the relations; hence they may sometimes designate these latter absolute properties or foundations merely.

XII.

In the ordinary definition, therefore, of a straight line, as distinct from that of a 'straight line compared with others,' the concepts of subject and predicate, of the *definitum* and the *definitio*, are not, strictly speaking, relative concepts, as Mercier says they are : they are absolute concepts, *potentially* relative or comparative if you will, but not of necessity actually so.

Of course we do not deny or forget that both of the concepts 'line' and 'distance' are, when looked at in themselves, concepts of relations,—relations between two points apart in space. But that is of no import to the question we have been so far discussing : whether in the definition of 'straight line' the concept of that relation between two points is to be taken *absolutely*, by itself, or to be *set in comparison with* concepts of other lines—with concepts of other linear relations between the same two points. We have stated our opinion, that in the genuine definition of straight line no such comparison need be explicitly instituted ; that, therefore, in that definition the notions are not relative, derived and subordinate notions, usurping the rightful place of more fundamental, absolute notions, but that they are themselves absolute and primary : that is, that as far as our knowledge goes, there is, for example, no other more primary and fundamental and absolute notion of straight line from which we can derive as a secondary and subordinate notion, the property,—the absolute property as we claim it to be,—of being the foundation of that first perceptible relation by which we know the straight line,—the relation, namely, of being 'straight' or 'shortest' between two points in comparison with all other lines between those same points.

XIII.

We must, therefore, confess our inability to see how the property of 'reposing equally on its points' can have any pretensions to be fundamental ; or how the property we have fixed upon as fundamental—the property of 'distance,

potentially shortest, between two points'—can be in any way derived from, or subordinated to the concept of a 'line or distance reposing equally on its points ?

In our efforts to understand how the analytic character of the proposition adduced by Kant would appear evident on the basis of Euclid's definition, we have tried to sift and analyse more minutely the exposition given by Mercier upon that basis. At the commencement of our enquiry we did not anticipate that we should have to encounter so many uncertainties. We are by no means confident that our analysis has been quite just and logical throughout, and we are doubtful enough about its clearness. The subject is one that does not lend itself particularly either to easy thinking or to intelligible writing. As our enquiry went on it began to dawn upon us that a certain want of cogency and clearness which we thought we gradually detected in Mercier's exposition the more we studied it, might possibly arise from the obscure, and, shall we say, ultra-metaphysical definition of 'straight line' on which his exposition is based. That thought led us again to concentrate our attention more carefully on the ordinary geometrician's definition. We have found it to be intelligible and satisfactory ; and as Mercier has shown so clearly against Kant, the thoroughly analytic character of the proposition in which Kant himself has formulated it, cannot be really called into question with any show of seriousness.

P. COFFEY.

THE FRIENDSHIP OF GOETHE AND SCHILLER

IN 1749 Goethe was born in the city of Frankfort. Forty-one years later he and Schiller met for the first time at Rudolstadt. In these forty-one years Goethe had already become pre-eminent in German literature. The publication of *Götz von Berlichingen* was a revelation to the world of the young writer's genius. This drama was animated by the spirit of the epoch at which it appeared. Its absolute disregard for the canons of æsthetics did not hinder its immediate success ; its power, its vivacity were irresistible. Then vibrant with 'Sturm und Drang' and resonant with the pulsations of his own life, came *Die Leiden des Jungen Werther*. Other dramas and many lyrics of exquisite perfection followed, and we soon find Goethe the centre of a brilliant company at the court of Weimar.

For a time he gave himself unrestrainedly to the gaiety of the court. Hunting, sleighing, dancing, made the days pass as merrily as the hours of a carnival. Soon, however, the great soul of Goethe wearied of all this. He was beginning seriously to meditate a return to Frankfort to resume his legal studies when the prince appointed him Councillor of State.

A period of literary inactivity followed. Many began to regret the appointment and to think that all the youthful promise of his greatness had been in vain. Yet his powers were growing. His duties, his surrounding, his travels with the young prince were slowly moulding his mind to its final perfection. And amongst all the influences that went to his making none was more potent than his journey to Italy.

He had long looked forward to this journey. His soul yearned for that glorious land of romance and Art. And what a revelation Italy was to him ! Its magic intoxicated him with delight ; under its influence his spirit leaped to a new life. Among colonnades of fluted marble and ancient

statues of inimitable grace, before the masterpieces of the great Italian painters, in the old-world villas with their shady ilexes, their mossy fountains, and their nymphs and satyrs, he seemed to himself to have entered a new world. Every day was an education. He went everywhere, seeing everything with those keen eyes of his.

My life now seems like a dream of youth ; we shall see if fate will permit me to enjoy it, or if, like so many other things, it is all vanity. . . . I am working away at 'Egmont.' . . . I have so many occasions for reflection on Art of every sort, that 'Wilhelm Meister' is growing rapidly. I dined with Angelica (Kauffmann). . . . It is a great pleasure to see pictures with her because she has a trained eye and great technical knowledge.

Here we have in his own words a picture of his life in Rome. The profusion of Art around him, the glorious skies, the Italians unsets, the changing hues of the landscapes formed an ideal environment for his gifted soul. He studied, wrote, sketched, painted, acquiring positive knowledge of Art in this way and in his conversations with professional artists. The result of all was a profound change in his ideas. The simplicity and severity of the pure lines of architecture, and the mysterious charm of those divine white marble statues, the wealth of colour in sky and sea and land, the poetry of Venice, the loveliness of Naples, inspired him with creative power, and unveiled to him the innermost essence of highest Art.

He had become a master, he had acquired a security, a consciousness of his power hitherto unknown. *Egmont* and *Iphigenia* now appeared, and they abundantly witness what a gulf separated him from the Goethe of *Götz* and *Werther*.

While in Rome Goethe dreamed that he was seated in a boat which invisible hands had filled with fine pheasants. The birds were heaped up around him, and their gay feathers dipped into the sunny waters. He interpreted this dream after his own fashion : the boat of pheasants represented the stock of new ideals he was to bring back to Weimar as the fruit of his travels in Italy, and which were to infuse new life into German literature on his return. He had

gained a fuller intuition of Art. The exaggerated sentimentalism of his earlier years was outgrown. It seemed to him that Nature and natural science were the only possible basis of Poetry and Art ; and indeed whatever of religion he had seemed to rest there too.

At this time Schiller had arisen like a new star in the literary firmament of Germany. He was born at Marbach in 1759, and had been appointed military doctor in 1780. The atmosphere was full of the spirit of rebellion, the name of Liberty was setting young blood aflame all over Germany, and with the fever of the hour in his veins, the young doctor gave to the world his daring play, *Die Räuber*. Its spirited verses, its wildness, its flashes of genius soon made the young doctor famous. But the powers of the State were not going to allow an army doctor to devote himself to the composition of revolutionary dramas, and Schiller was arrested. He escaped from prison and made his way to Mannheim, where he produced *Fiesco von Genua*, and *Kabal und Liebe*. *Don Carlos* was seen for the first time at Hamburg in 1787, and while Goethe was still in Italy Schiller came to Weimar at the invitation of Charles Augustus.

We have seen what a thorough change Goethe's mind had undergone since the publication of *Goëtz*. Schiller was still in the 'Sturm und Drang' stage, steeped in Idealism and Sentimentalism, and feeding his soul with the philosophy of Kant.

At Rudolstadt on the evening of September 7, 1788, the two poets met after Goethe's return from Italy. The friends who had brought about the meeting looked forward to great results from the union of two such spirits ; but they were doomed, for the present, to grievous disappointment. Neither felt drawn towards the other ; a mutual antipathy revealed itself in them. For some time after Goethe purposely avoided Schiller, and Schiller confessed that he could not endure Goethe. 'I feel towards him as Brutus may have felt towards Cæsar. Goethe is hateful to me.' And Goethe wrote :—

I detested Schiller because his vigorous but unnatural genius had let loose over Germany in an impulsive torrent all the moral

and dramatic paradoxes from which I had endeavoured to purify my mind. The stir his works had made in the country, the vogue of these strange productions among all classes, from the refined lady of court to the wild student, all filled me with alarm. I thought all my efforts absolutely in vain, the subjects I had in preparation seemed to have become impossible, the tendency, the attitude of my spirit, in a word, my new being, seemed stricken with paralysis. An accord between Schiller and me was not to be thought of.

It seemed impossible to bring them into harmony. Yet out of an accidental meeting grew that long sunny friendship which so affectionately united them, and so profoundly influenced the literature of Germany.

It was probably in July, 1794, that this meeting took place. Goethe writes :—

The suddenly developed relation to Schiller, which surpassed all my wishes and hopes, I owe to my studies on the metamorphosis of the plants, whereby a circumstance cropped up which set aside the misunderstanding which had long kept me away from him.

Both were present at a session of the society for the cultivation of the natural sciences, founded by Batsch, and falling in with each other on their way home they began to talk. Schiller criticised the methods of the naturalists, and found fault with their modes of fragmentary exposition. Goethe agreed with him, and began to set forth his own ideas about the metamorphosis of plants. They became interested in the conversation, and when they came to Schiller's house both went in. Before they separated Goethe was as much attracted by Schiller as he had been previously repelled, and their long friendship began. The antipathies of six years ago had disappeared. In that time Schiller had developed wonderfully, shaking off the unreality and wildness of earlier days, and attaining to somewhat of the classic calm and serenity of Goethe himself. They discovered a wonderful unity of views on these matters of Art and æsthetics which meant so much to each of them.

From this dates their correspondence, in which so many brilliant letters were exchanged, in which they mutually

encouraged each other, and found so much consolation. Together they launched forth a series of mordant epigrams known as the *Xenien*, and together they withstood an attack as merciless as their own onslaught. These *Xenien* had but a passing interest, but they served to cement close the friendship of the two poets, a friendship which we are told was always attended with a certain grave reserve, full of respect on Schiller's side, and of benevolence on Goethe's, and in nowise lacking suavity and warmth.

Henceforth each is inseparably connected with the work of the other. Goethe's passion for the natural sciences, his studies in natural history, his ideas about style, all had their influence on Schiller, and Schiller's theories about the sublime, the beautiful, and æsthetics in general reacted on Goethe. Schiller's words to Goethe, 'Sic suchen das Notwendige der Natur,' epitomise the latter's views of the essential in Art and style. Goethe believed a deep study of Nature to be indispensable. For him the blue of the sky, the gold of the sun, the architecture of a body were phenomena complete in themselves, containing a whole history in the compass of one glance. The basis of Schiller's ideal was man, not as a mere part of Nature, but as a great, independent creature, invincible even in adversity. 'Give us in your work the sufferings which beset humanity, but above all show us that in man which can conquer such sufferings.' From the beginning of their friendship to the death of Schiller they constantly wrote and spoke to each other about the intangible problems of æsthetics. Their discussions about styles, about matter and form, about poetry and the different kinds of poetry, show how they aimed at highest Art and how much it was to them.

When Wilhelm Meister came back after all his 'Faulenzen,' at the end of his Lehrjahre, Werner notes the change in his appearance: 'Deine Augen sind tiefer, deine Stirne est breiter, deine Nase feiner und dein Mund liebevoller geworden. Siehst nur einmal, wie er steht! Wie das alles passt und zusammenhängt.' This doubtful hero of a paradoxical novel has been knocked into shape by his blundering through life, from contact with the exterior world his mind

has been formed, and he has come back a man—‘Ein ganzer, rechter Mensch.’ To turn all things to account, to subordinate every new impression, every new experience, to self-development into ‘Ein rechter ganzer Mensch’ seems to be Goethe’s philosophy, and the sum of his teaching. His grand poem, ‘Edel sei der Mensch,’ the fabled words which a tradition, which it is a pity to question, places on his dying lips, ‘Mehr Licht,’ are further echoes of this message of his to mankind.

Schiller’s ideal was more personal, or rather more subjective than Goethe’s. According to Schiller the poet’s first duty is the ennobling of his own nature, the working out of the ideal within himself—‘Seine Individualität so sehr als möglich zu veredeln, zum reinsten, herrlichsten Menschheit hinaufzuläutern.’ He once said to Goethe, ‘Ich kaun nichts ohne Innigkeit produzieren’; and that word Innigkeit admirably characterises all his work. His work is part of himself; we know Schiller when we know his works; they reflect all the ideal grandeur of his soul.

Of the two, Goethe was beyond doubt the more gifted—indeed it may be doubted if in all the history of literature we can point to a greater, more universal genius. He attained heights which Schiller never reached; but there are also in his works passages which Schiller could never have written without a considerable falling short of his high ideal. Recall, for instance, the Venetian Epigrams and several passages in *Wilhelm Meister*. Goethe’s character was more complex, and perhaps it is due to this that he does occasionally descend from the clear atmosphere of the Olympian heights. Even when he does, even in *Die Wahlverwandschaften*, the touch of a master-hand is always evident.

In 1796 *Hermann und Dorothea* appeared, and by Schiller this work was regarded as the culmination of Art. It was thoroughly German—the little German town, the simple lives of the men and women, the waving corn fields, the orchards, all so commonplace in themselves, and all woven by the matchless genius of Goethe into the texture of a glorious idyl in the measure of Homer himself. *Wilhelm*

Meister was also growing towards completion during the early years of their friendship. Schiller studied the work eagerly, and the reading re-awoke all his poetic instincts. 'I have read, rather I have devoured, the first book of *Wilhelm Meister*,' he wrote. 'The reading gave me a pleasure which I rarely taste, and which you alone can give me.' Most of us cannot subscribe to this, but then, Goethe said that Schiller was the only man who thoroughly understood him.

But there is one thing in that strange book which we all admire. The freshness, the pathos, the eternal beauty of the story of Mignon stands out like an illuminated page in the treasury of German literature. No reader can forget that beautiful child-figure in the long, weary book. The songs she sings have an undefinable charm and sweetness all their own. Even reading the dead words one feels vividly the Heimweh, the Nostalgia, of the child, the yearning for the blue skies and the fertile fields of Italy.

Kennst du das Land, wo die Citronen blühn,
Im dunkeln Laub die Gold-orangen glühn,
Ein Sanfter Wind vom blauen Himmel weht,
Der Myrte still und hoch der Lorbeer steht,
Kennst du es wohl ?

Dahin ! Dahin !

Möcht' ich mit dir, O mein Geliebter, ziehn.

The year 1797 is known as the year of the ballads. During this year Schiller composed *The Ring*, *The Glove*, *The Knight of Toggenburg*, *The Crane of Ibycus*, and Goethe produced *The Bride of Corinth*, *The Treasure-Seeker*, *The God and the Bajadera*. They selected a series of subjects and then divided them, each revealing his own peculiar characteristics in the treatment of the subjects. Goethe's poems being voices of nature, of the union of man with the world around him ; Schiller's, anecdotes and romantic events in which the working of Destiny often comes in almost as markedly as in the old Greek tragedies.

The trilogy of *Wallenstein*, which Goethe called a monument of extraordinary mental activity, amply proved how

much Schiller had benefited by his friendship with Goethe. The subject was difficult, but Schiller's historical studies gave him a great grasp of it. Wallenstein was a striving towards the realisation of the highest Art, and in the third part, Schiller surpassed all his previous work. The complexity and heaviness of the matter were conquered, and the motion of the camp and the soldiers stands out like a living picture. The *Jungfrau von Orleans* was a still greater triumph, and even this splendid work was surpassed by *Tell*. *Tell* is, perhaps, Schiller's masterpiece, and in that glorious drama of the people's hero the genius of Schiller rises pre-eminently to the sublimest heights of Art.

As Schiller passed from height to height Goethe watched with reverent and admiring eyes the progress of his friend, feeling for him somewhat of that veneration which in the earlier days of their friendship Schiller had felt for him. Together they had worked long ere *Tell* was produced by Schiller. *Tell* was the masterpiece of their union, and *Tell* was the last birth of Schiller's genius and Goethe's influence.

In the maturity of his years, when his powers were at their zenith, Schiller quietly passed away in 1804. Goethe was desolate. For long afterwards nobody dared speak to him of his dead friend, and it seemed to him that Schiller was still with him. It was unspeakably pathetic to see how the great old poet strove to keep himself in touch with the dead, taking up his unfinished work, trying to recall that voice which had been hearing to his ears for so many years now.

Three months after Schiller's death Goethe had a presentation of *Die Glocke* performed at Weimar, and a figure representing poetry declaimed Goethe's beautiful memorial lines, in which he so admirably traced the dead poet's life and expressed his own sense of loss :—

Denn er war Unser. Mag das stolze Wort
Den lauten schmerz gewaltig übertönen.

There was always a deep strain of melancholy in the character of Goethe. After Schiller's death this trait

became more pronounced. It is noticeable in his works, and it is often manifest in the words he speaks and writes to his friends. Schiller had remarked Goethe's inclination for tragedy, and he confesses himself that the attempt to write a tragedy always deeply disturbed him. He felt all things intensely, and now this melancholy became a long suffering to him.

When we read of the sudden flash of passion with which he thundered forth the words, 'Dass Schiller starb musste ich ertragen,' and of his being discovered crying like a child over the pages of the *Dreissigjähriger Krieg*, we can realize how he felt Schiller's death. Schiller was the one man in Germany who understood him, and perhaps Goethe alone fully appreciated Schiller's genius.

The year after Schiller's death saw Europe overrun by the conquering armies of Napoleon. Weimar was drawn into the strife. And, seated in his study, among the busts of Schiller, Herder, and Byron, and the choice specimens of Italian Art with which he had surrounded himself, the old poet could hear the thunders of war at Jena. Peace came again, and Goethe went on writing with unflagging powers. *Die Wahlverwandschaften*, *Aus Mein Leben*, the second part of *Faust*, abundantly prove that the master-mind was as vigorous as ever even at that advanced age.

In the spring of 1831, on the day that Weimar celebrated the anniversary of his birth, he looked down once more on the landscape where he had passed so many happy days. Full of old memories and much agitated by them he went into a little hut, on the walls of which, fifty years before, he had written the words of that memorable little poem, 'Über allen gipfeln ist Ruhe.'

Über allen gipfeln ist Ruhe,
Über allen wipfeln spürest du
Kaum einen Hauch,
Warte nur! Bald auch
Ruhest du.

Sadly he repeated the last words of that exquisite little hymn of rest, 'Warte nur! Bald auch ruhest du!' His long

rest was indeed at hand. The following March the end came.

A doubtful tradition gives us a final picture of the great poet, calmly awaiting the end in his garden-house at Weimar, and passing away with the words 'Mehr Licht' on his lips. Thus he took his journey through 'the dark portal, goal of all mortal,' after a long, active life, leaving behind, as Schiller did too, a name which shall never grow old. Together they made an epoch in the literary history of the world. As the greatest writers of Germany, and as two men who were united by one of the most faithful and affectionate friendships of which we have record, their names are inseparably connected.

JAMES KELLY, PH.D.

ON THE STUDY OF THE PSALMS

IF we keep vigil [says St. John Chrysostom] in the Church David comes first, last, and midst. If early in the morning we seek for the melody of hymns, first, last, and midst is David again. If we are occupied with the funeral solemnities of the departed, if virgins sit at home and spin, David is first, last, and midst. O marvellous wonder! Many who have made but little progress in literature, nay, who have scarcely mastered its first principles, have the Psalter by heart. Nor is it in cities alone and churches that at all times, through every age, David is illustrious; in the midst of the forum, in the wilderness and uninhabitable land, he excites the praises of God. In monasteries, among those holy choirs of angelic armies, David is first, midst, and last. In the convent of virgins where are the bands that imitate Mary; in the desert where men are crucified to the world, and having their conversation with God, first, midst, and last is he. All other men are at night overpowered by natural sleep; David alone is active; and, congregating the servants of God into seraphic bands, turns earth into heaven and converts men into angels.

Surely nothing can shadow out more admirably the feelings of the Church to her everlasting heritage, than these remarkable words of the great Doctor of the East. The love and veneration which she has ever expressed for the Psalter have almost made it a part of her existence. It is not only that, from the beginning until now, the Psalter has been weekly recited by so many thousands of her priests, but that its spirit permeates and kindles every other part of the service. Its principal features have received a new and conventional character, they have been transfigured from the worship of the synagogue to that of the Church; and, to use Adam of St. Victor's metaphor, the trumpets of the tabernacle have given place to the psaltery and new song of the Christian ritual.

The first thing that strikes us in the primitive and medieval use of the Psalter is the large proportion of time its recital occupied out of the whole period disposable by ordinary human strength for the service of God. To say

the Psalms were weekly recited by every ecclesiastic falls far below the truth. For, from the sixth to the sixteenth century, it is scarcely an exaggeration to say that a portion of the Psalms, equal in bulk to twice the whole Psalter, was hebdomadally recited. And in the Eastern Church it is well known there were the Mesoria or half-way prayers, between every two of the hours.

And, as was naturally to be expected from this so frequent recital, and from the scarcity of books, it was no unusual thing during the first twelve centuries that its committal to memory should be enjoined on ecclesiastics. Hence we find St. Gennadius, Patriarch of Constantinople, in the fifth century, refusing to ordain any cleric who could not repeat 'David' by heart. St. Gregory the Great declined to consecrate a bishop who had not learnt the Psalter, and his refusal was enjoined on others by the second Council of Nicæa. The Eighth Council of Toledo (653) commands that 'none henceforth shall be promoted to any ecclesiastical dignity who do not perfectly know the whole Psalter.' Who does not know the beautiful description St. Jerome gives to Paula of the employment of the husbandmen of Palestine? 'The labourer while he holds the handle of the plough, sings Alleluia, the tired reaper employs himself in the Psalms, and the vine-dresser, while lopping the vines with his curved hook, sings something of David. These are our ballads in this part of the world: these are our love-songs.' And do we not find several of the saints so charmed by the divine effusions of the 'sweet Psalmist of Israel' as to repeat daily the whole Psalter? Witness the lives of St. Patrick, St. Kentigern, St. Merulus, St. Maurus, St. Egbert, St. Alcuin, and many others. Nor is this a matter to be wondered at when we reflect what the Psalter is. The Fathers of the Church are unanimously eloquent in their commendation of the Psalms; and others, even the most cynical and critical, have laboured for expressions in which to set forth their praise. St. Athanasius terms them an 'epitome of the whole Scriptures,' and St. Basil a 'compendium of all theology.' And perhaps no one in the English language has stated their case more

strongly or beautifully than the learned and judicious Protestant Hooker.

What is there necessary for man to know [he says] which the Psalms are not able to teach? They are to beginners an easy and familiar introduction, a mighty augmentation of all virtue and knowledge in such as are entered before, a strong confirmation to the most perfect among others. Heroical magnanimity, exquisite justice, grave moderation, exact wisdom, repentance unfeigned, unwearied patience, the mysteries of God, the sufferings of Christ, the terrors of wrath, the comforts of grace, the works of Providence over this world, and the promised joys of that world which is to come, all good necessarily to be either known, or done, or had, this one celestial fountain yieldeth. Let there be any grief or disease incident to the soul of man, any wound or sickness named for which there is not, in this treasure-house, a present comfortable remedy at all times ready to be found.¹

And is it not absolutely certain that it was the manual of the Son of God in the days of His flesh? From it was taken 'the Great Hallel' which He sang at the conclusion of His Last Supper. From it were taken the words, 'My God, My God, why hast Thou forsaken Me,' and finally, from it were taken the last words He uttered before His death, 'Into Thy hands I commend My spirit.' Thus He, 'in whom were hidden all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge,' 'Who spake as never man spake,' chose to conclude His life and breathe out His soul in the Psalmist's words rather than His own. Surely no tongue of man or angel can convey a higher idea of any book, and of the happiness of those who use it aright. Such is the nature of the Sacred Hymns it is our duty and privilege to recite daily in the Divine Office.

But, I humbly contend, if we are to enter into the spirit of these beautiful compositions, and appreciate them at their proper worth, we must give them a reasonable and pious study. The reason of this is not far to seek. St. Peter² tells us that in the Epistles of St. Paul there are certain things hard to be understood which the unlearned and unstable wrest, as they do also the other

¹ *Ecclesiastical Polity*, bk. v., § 37.

² 2 Ep. iii, 16.

Scriptures, to their own destruction. Now, if this be true of the plain Greek prose of St. Paul, what shall we say of the Psalms, all of which were written originally in Hebrew poetry? Of its own nature poetry is more difficult than prose, and surely we need no extensive knowledge of the poets of our own language to verify this statement. Chaucer, Milton, Shakespeare, Tennyson, require deep study in order to be appreciated, and those that study them most will readily admit so. But in the Psalms there is something more than the mere fact that they were composed in verse, to render the study of them needful. For we must never forget that the Psalms, like all the other books of Scripture, bear a strong impress of the human pen by which they were written. Therefore, in interpreting them, we must remember that the objects of our attention are the productions of oriental poets, who wrote under conditions very different from those with which we are acquainted. For, it is admitted on all hands, that Oriental poetry, sacred or profane, abounds with strong expressions, bold metaphors, glowing sentiments, and animated descriptions portrayed in the most lively colours. Hence the words of the composers are neither to be understood in too lax a sense nor to be interpreted too literally. In the comparisons and similitudes introduced by them the point of resemblance between the object of comparison and the thing with which it is compared, should be examined and not strained too far; and the force of the personifications, allegories, and other figures that may be introduced, should be fully considered. Above all we should remember that as the Sacred poets lived in the East, their ideas and manners were totally different from ours, and consequently cannot be interpreted by our canons of criticism. Surely then enough has been said to show that if we are to have any intellectual appreciation of the Psalms, we must bestow careful study on them. And is it not to be feared that, for want of such study, the repetition of them, as performed by very many of us, is but one degree above mechanism? And is it not a melancholy reflection to be made at the close of a long life, that, after reciting them through the greatest

part of it, no more should be known of their true meaning and application, than when we took our Breviary in hand on the morning of our Subdeaconship? This is all very true, someone may say, but, after all, why need I go to all this trouble and worry since I have a probable opinion telling me that only external attention is required for the valid recitation of the Divine Office? We freely admit there is a probable opinion to that effect, but does not the great Cardinal Manning tell us that it is the sign of a lax priest to be on the look-out for opinions of this kind? 'They have,' he says, speaking of lax priests, 'the *communis opinio et sine periculo tenenda* for all they wish to hold.'¹

And have we no motives to urge us to as perfect a recitation of the Divine Office as is possible? Is it not the prayer of prayers? Are we not speaking to our Heavenly Father, whose perfection we are commanded to set before us as our model? Does not the recitation of the Office by one who does not or will not enter into the spirit of the Psalms, mean at least many venial sins; for is it too much to say that such a one cannot, morally speaking, keep from voluntary distractions? If anyone should think that this is empty rhetoric I would ask him to study carefully the words of the sober theologian Lehmkuhl. Here they are:—

Ut quae sentiam dicam, valde dolendum est, si quis, cum possit, non adhibeat apta adminicula quibus magis arceat etiam non voluntarias divagationes et quibus magis magisque devotionem sanctosque affectus excitare valeat atque augere. *Agitur enim de sanctissima atque nobilissima actione quae bonam partem vitae sacerdotalis occupare debeat*, in qua, et in cujus fructibus, Ecclesia universa multum confidat, per quam Ecclesia Deum placare atque exorare velit pro tot necessitatibus quibus ipsa continuo premitur, quibusque totum mundum immersum esse dolens et moerens intuetur. *Quare pudore suffundi sacerdos debet, si negligentia sua et socordia se tot meritis privat, Ecclesiam tot bonis destituat, quae majore devotione et fervore a Deo consequi facile possit.*²

How far, therefore, from the mind of the Church is the

¹ *Eternal Priesthood*, p. 280.

² Vol. ii., 636.

mere mechanical recitation of the Psalms. And it has been so throughout all the ages. 'Si orat Psalmus,' says St. Augustine, commenting on Psalm xxx.; 'orate, et si gemit, gemite, et si gratulatur gaudete, et si timet, timete.' And have we not a higher authority still in St. Paul when he says *Psallam spiritu, psallam et mente*,¹ upon which the learned Estius comments: 'Sensus, operam dabo ut non solum spiritu, id est, cum devotionis affectu, Deum orem, *verum etiam ut verba orationis intellectu capiam.*'

There is no lack of commentaries for those who wish to enter on the study, and we can assure them that they will be amply repaid. The study of the Psalms will open out vistas of thought and beauty that were never dreamt of before. Indited under the influence of Him to whom are known the tortuous windings of the human heart, and to whom all events are foreknown, they suit mankind in all situations, grateful as the manna that descended from above, and conformed itself to every palate. And there is this difference between the productions of human genius and the Psalms. The former, after a few perusals, like gathered flowers, wither in our hands. But these 'unfading plants of paradise' become still more and more beautiful. He who once tastes their sweetness will desire to taste them again, and he who tastes them oftenest will relish them best.

P. V. HIGGINS, C.C.

¹ 1 Cor. xiv. 15.

NOTES ON TERTULLIAN'S 'DE POENITENTIA'

THE few and incomplete documents that the first three centuries have left at the theologian's disposal are quite insufficient to allow him to reconstruct, with any high degree of certainty, the details of the earliest form of Church discipline. Whenever such reconstructions are attempted, it becomes necessary for the student to theorize somewhat. Unless his work is to be a transcript of literary or monumental remains, he must connect his facts, and harmonize them into a theory. Hypotheses are necessary in early Church history. Lacunæ have to be filled in by the aid of the imagination, which has been trained for the task by historical study, and aided by the results of expert examination of the period under treatment. This, naturally, is a delicate task, and when it is ill-done, historical theories are little better than useless. For this reason, the historian (or the historical theologian) has to discriminate, in his own mind first, and then in his treatment, between the objective and the subjective elements in his theories. The contradictory results, the hesitations, the perplexities of modern specialists in this field, may well serve as a warning against large generalizations and hasty conclusions. The writings of the Fathers were composed, not for the purpose of satisfying our lawful curiosity, but for enlightening their own contemporaries. It is, then, only to be expected that they will seem to us sometimes over diffuse on points in which we have no interest, and irritatingly reticent on those upon which we need information.

There is a temptation to interpret both the speech and the silence of the ancient writers in our own sense, and to take it for granted that their conceptions were like ours, and that the state of things they describe resemble in detail the institutions of times nearer to our own. It is true that faith and practice were essentially then what they are now, since the substance of the Christian

religion is unchangeable ; yet for all that a great deal of alteration has taken place in the process of the evolution of the doctrine delivered to the Church by the Apostles, and substantially transmitted by her to our own time.

One of the matters which interests the theologian is that of the ancient discipline of the sacrament of Penance. A great deal of the Jansenist controversy centred round it, and quite lately interest has been revived by the publication of Lea's bulky work, *A History of Auricular Confession and Indulgences*. This appeared in 1896, and has been since then the armoury of the Protestant controversialist. In America it occasioned two replies of special note from the Catholic side: Father Casey's *Notes on a History of Auricular Confession* (Philadelphia, 1899), and an essay in the *American Catholic Quarterly* by Dr. Hogan (July, 1900). Since then in England and elsewhere, a host of writers and essayists have attempted to unravel the complexities of the subject. Some have restated the arguments of the Scholastic manuals, others have tried to solve the thorny questions by an appeal to history, others again, for example, Father Pignorato,¹ have combined the historical with the theological method. As far back as 1883, Duchesne had given his judgment on the question as it then stood :—

One of the greatest difficulties in the history of the sacraments is to explain how the transition has been effected from the ancient penitential discipline to the actual state of things. Has private, secret confession, which now alone holds the field existed from the beginning concurrently with public confession, or is it but a transformation—a mitigation of the latter ? Those who think they can defend the first hypothesis by the witness of history, must content themselves with little, and are compelled to treat the rare texts they find with a forcible interpretation. The second method, at present more in use, is not free from obscurities.²

Judging from the recent contributions to this department of theological literature, one may say that the question is no more completely settled than it was when the above passage was written.

¹ *De disciplina penitentiali priorum Ecclesiae saeculorum* (Roma, 1904).

² *Bulletin Critique*, 1883.

The *American Catholic Quarterly*, which, as we have noted, published the Abbé Hogan's reply to Dr. Lea—a reply written in the liberal spirit which characterised him—contained an article last year in which the subject was treated from the conservative standpoint.¹ The writer maintains that in the early times of Christianity there was a double administration of the sacrament of Penance. There was solemn Public, or Canonical penance for some of the greater sins, and private penance for others. He cites Tertullian in confirmation of this view. Not that he holds that Tertullian mentions private penance explicitly: but he thinks that private Confession and reconciliation may be inferred from that writer's account of the sacrament. The foundation and the reasoning of this part of the eloquent Jesuit's thesis are so disputable, and the *a priori* element enters so largely into it, that it may be worth while to discuss his argument. His proof looks convincing at first, but not quite so strong when one sets to work to examine it more closely. Here are the words of the writer, who may be taken as a type of a large class of theologians:—

Public penance, Tertullian, an eye-witness, describes as the discipline of prostration and humiliation (*De Pœnitentia*, c. 9). He describes the penitents as clothed in sackcloth and ashes, with unwashed bodies; their food bread and water. They had to fast and pray, to grovel at the feet of others, to groan and lament with tears. They lay at the church door, not being allowed admittance, sometimes for years, sometimes for life. Public penance, however, varied very considerably in different parts of the Church.

But this stern punishment was limited to the three penitential or capital sins of idolatry, homicide, and adultery. Understood, however, in a generic sense, idolatry was the lapse of a Christian back to paganism. Homicide included brigandage. Adultery stood for the grosser sins of uncleanness. Be it carefully noted that the sins for which public penance was done were three and three only.

Other sins must, therefore, have been forgiven in another way—by private confession. The penitential sins were three. Tertullian (born 160) writes:—

'Behold the idolater, the homicide, and between them the

¹ 'The Power of the Keys in the Primitive Church,' Father Coupe, S.J., in *American Catholic Quarterly*, October, 1904.

adulterer. All three seated together, through the duty of Penance, grimy in sackcloth and ashes, breathing the same sighs, soliciting by the same prayers the compassion of the faithful, casting themselves in the same fashion on their knees, and invoking the same mother.' ¹

I propose to venture a few notes, by way of criticism, on this passage.

Tertullian, one would have thought, is a most awkward witness to the dual administration of Penance. It is true that his account of the penitential discipline of the West at his time is incomplete, yet his witness is the fullest and the most important given by any very early Christian writer. In two relatively long treatises, the *De Pœnitentia* and the *De Pudicitia* he may almost be said to treat this subject *ex professo*. The first of these works is the more important to us, since he wrote it when he was in communion with the Catholic Church (between 200 and 206); the second is one of his latest, perhaps his very latest work, assigned by scholars to the period between 217 and 222. The *De Pudicitia* is violently Montanist; its statements have to be received cautiously, as those of an apostate, nevertheless it completes in some points the data of the *De Pœnitentia*.

We will set before ourselves the teaching contained in the earlier and orthodox work. The treatise 'On Penance' is in reality an exhortation addressed to catechumens, enforcing on them the necessity of preparing for Baptism by a course of severe mortification. It reads like an ascetical, rather than a dogmatic, treatise. The severe African writer regards the normal Christian life as one of consummate holiness. Baptism, therefore, should be regarded as a complete break from every pagan ideal, and a thorough surrender to the spirit of Christ. The candidate must purge his crimes, both of thought and deed, both of intention and act. He must do penance to prepare himself for the initiation to the new life. Whatever have been the enormities of the catechumen's past, he can be forgiven completely now. No sin is excepted from the divine pardon. God exhorts to penance with threats; and

¹ *De Pudicitia*, cap. 5.

He would not threaten unless He was willing to pardon. All sins, whether of the flesh or the spirit, whether by overt deed or by evil will committed, can be forgiven by means of penance.

No one should dare to receive the great gift of Baptism until penitential exercises have been duly performed. So much for Baptism and the exercises that precede it; but now he passes on to another matter. As it were with bated breath, he contemplates the terrible possibility of post-baptismal sin. It is true that a Christian may sin, and sin grievously. Saved by divine grace from shipwreck he may again commit himself to the perils of the deep—the devil lies in wait eager to snatch the white garment from the neophyte, the world is ready with its fascination, and if the Christian falls, God, pitying even this excess of wickedness, sin in His own child, has left a means of again entering into grace. '*Causa licet ignoscentiae janua et intinctionis serâ obstructa aliquid adhuc permisit patere.*' The doors of mercy are half opened once and once only by the God of compassion. One chance, and one only, is given of building up the ruined temple and renewing the consecration of Baptism.

Do you doubt this? [Tertullian asks his readers] If you do, read what the Spirit of God saith to the Churches (Apoc. i.-iii.). The Ephesians to whom St. John wrote, had fallen from fervour and had been led into impurity and idolatry; the Church of Sardis had been found wanting in good works; that of Pergamus had followed perverse doctrine; the Laodicæans had consented to avarice. Yet when God calls on all to repent, threatening them the meanwhile, He undertakes to forgive them: '*Non comminaretur autem non pœnitenti si non ignosceret pœnitenti.*'

Like the good shepherd, the Lord takes home the wandering sheep; like the father of the Prodigal, He welcomes His erring child. Penance, however, is not a private action only; it is fitted to an external rite. This is known by the Greek word '*exomologesis.*' In *exomologesis* we confess our sin to the Lord, not because He is ignorant of it, but because remission is obtained by penance, and penance is generated by the act of confession. *Exomologesis* is a discipline of

abject humiliation ; the sinner is clothed in sackcloth, he chastises his body, he fasts and abstains, he prays and laments with groans before the Lord God ; he prostrates himself before the presbyters and kneels at the feet of God's dear ones, begging of them the good offices of their prayers. Let no false shame keep the lapsed Christian from this discipline. The faithful, before whom he humbles himself, are pitiful ; and besides, is it not better to be ashamed in public than to be condemned in secret ? Penance extinguishes hell's flame in the heart, it brings back health to the soul, it is the means which God has often chosen to lead sinners to forgiveness. Such is the doctrine of Tertullian's eloquent and fervid work ; we will proceed to the conclusions which can be safely gathered from it.

1. The act of exomologesis is placed side by side with Baptism. It is a means, *the* means, of repairing the ruin of a baptized soul that has consented to serious sin. It quenches the flames of hell that sin has lighted. Hence, in the eyes of Tertullian *Penance is like Baptism, a true cause of grace*. It has efficacy to restore the sinner to God's favour. It is not a mere external rite of readmission into the Christian fellowship, as certain modern Protestant scholars have stated. It is more than that, it is a rite by which the Church, the representative of Christ, acting by His power, conveys the forgiveness of post-baptismal sin to the Christian. In other words, it is a sacrament.

2. *It is the only means of escape* which Tertullian offers to the Christian who has grievously sinned. The alternative which he presents to such a one is, either exomologesis or reprobation—'It is better to be pardoned in public than to be condemned in secret.' There is no mention of easier and more lenient methods. Tertullian scarcely dares to contemplate post-baptismal sin. To his mind the baptized man enters into a state of holiness once and for ever. This rigorous moralist regards the severities of penance for one who has fallen from this state as a superlative act of mercy on the part of God.

3. *He does not confine public penance to the expiation of three sins only*, adultery, homicide, and apostacy. In

the *De Pœnitentia*, as we have seen, he extends the power of the Keys to all classes of grave sin—at any rate he makes exception of none. He refers to the Letter to the Seven Churches, and points out the implicit promise of pardon contained in them, not only for such sins as apostacy, but also for sins springing from avarice. These sins were taken by the early Fathers as specimen cases of grave sin, yet there is no proof, at any rate at the period we are considering, that they were the only ones submitted to public penance.

Under this head we will weigh the proof which the writer in the *American Catholic Quarterly* adduces from Tertullian to support his contention that only three classes of sin were subject to public penance. It is to be remarked first, that his quotation, which he gives from Tertullian, is from the later and heretical work, the *De Pudicitia*, whose language with regard to the forgiveness of sin is absolutely different from that which he had used in his Catholic days. When we reflect on the occasion which provoked that bitter tractate, we see at once why he mentions adultery, homicide, and apostacy in connexion with exomologesis. These three sins bear a strong analogy in the ancient discipline to our own 'reserved cases,' and Tertullian's object in the *De Pudicitia* is the protest against the removal by Pope Callixtus of the reservation of the sins of adultery and fornication.

Pope Callixtus had issued a declaration that he was prepared to absolve such sins in the event of the sinner doing penance. Now Tertullian, following the guidance of his new prophets, regarded the sins of homicide, adultery, and apostacy as absolutely unforgivable. The Church, he now held, had no power over them, and the Pope in thus arrogating to himself this too clement authority, was threatening the purity of the Christian life with disaster. Hence, he upbraids him with leaving the apostate and homicide without reconciliation, and taking the adulterer (whose sin he regards as equally irremissible) into the privileges of Christian membership. It is for this reason that he introduces these three classes of sinners; not as enumerating

the only kinds of sins that are subject to public penance, but as insisting on the impotence of the Church to forgive any of those three kinds of sin.

4. The '*De Pœnitentia*' passes over in silence both the confession of sin and the form of reconciliation. Confession of sin 'to the Lord' he does mention as part of the exomologesis, and some theologians have inclined to the theory that this is his way of referring to the manifestation of sin to God's representative. While there does not seem to be any reason for adopting this interpretation of these actual words, there must surely have been such a manifestation of conscience. Since the rite was a judicial act, and since it would be the Bishop who regulated the duration and nature of the satisfaction, there must have been then as later a manifestation of conscience. Was this public or private? The Canons of Hippolytus, which probably represent the Western discipline of this period, state that the candidate for Baptism made confession to the Bishop,¹ and we know that there are striking affinities between the ritual of Baptism and that of Penance.

The omission of these important elements of the sacrament in the *De Pœnitentia* need not present any difficulty, when we reflect that Tertullian treats of Penance in the aspect of a discipline of mortification; he does not set out to give a complete picture of the sacramental process. He is concerned with contrition and satisfaction, not with confession and absolution. His Montanist work (*De Pudicitia*) is more explicit on the subject of the power of the Keys; seen, it is true, through the distorted medium of his heretical views. In the *De Pudicitia* he concedes to Bishops the right of pardoning the lesser sins (that is faults of less gravity than the three irremissible sins we have mentioned).

Taking the doctrine of the *De Pœnitentia* in its entirety, it is difficult to see how Tertullian leaves room for an administration of penance that is wholly secret. For him,

¹ 'Tunc confiteatur episcopo huic enim soli est impositum opus,' etc. Can. Hipp. 103.

the virtue of penance is externalized as a sacrament in one way only—the way of public penance.

But suppose the case in which a sinner fell again after having performed canonical penance. We can only conclude that Tertullian saw but one way that was left open—that of purging from sin by internal contrition and voluntary mortification. He insists on the view that the Church intervened once and once only in the case of post-baptismal sin. Exomologesis was the last official act of grace that was offered.¹

From this we judge that the period of Tertullian is marked by an extreme rigour, and that the lenient treatment of sin, such as it now exists in the Church, was unknown at that early period. There is evidence, however, of a more lenient tendency, a leaven of more merciful treatment by the Church. The *Pastor of Hermas* (attributed generally to the middle of the second century) contains passages that can be quoted in proof of this counter-current towards a more merciful administration of the sacrament of remission. There it is maintained that the Church has power to forgive all sin; even the adulterer can be reinstated in grace.² The decree of Pope Callixtus, which galled Tertullian so much, and which removed sins of impurity from the list of those which were punished by life-long penance, is another sign of yielding. Eusebius preserves yet another.³ He quotes a correspondence between Denis of Corinth (circ. 170) and Pinytus, Bishop of the Gnossians, in which the latter reproves the former for asserting that he will receive back kindly such sinners as return penitently from heresy or any other delinquency however grave.

To all appearances, the Church of Rome, while she held in common with the rest of the world a strict attitude towards the sinner, was never led on to the extremities of rigour which prevailed in some of the other Churches. The milder doctrine of the *Pastor of Hermas* appears to have

¹ Even the reconciliation of sinners on their death-bed is passed over by Tertullian.

² *Pastor*, Precept iv. Similitudes viii. and ix.

³ Eusebius H. E., bk. 3.

found favour there, and it was, as we have seen, from Callixtus the Pope that the merciful 'edict' went forth.¹ Callixtus maintained the right of those who held the Keys, to use them liberally or sparingly as occasion demanded. He asserted the *pontificium ligandi atque solvendi*, as a power given over to the discretion of the Bishops of the Church.

This power of discretion was used both before and after his time with very unequal rigour, so that a great diversity of custom evidently prevailed. St. Cyprian, not long after the time we are speaking of, points to a difference of custom in his own province, and makes it a subject of praise that the Bishops who so differed in their treatment of penitents, yet tolerated one another's views.² Nor is this at all surprising. The discipline of penance had not reached its final shape—it was *in fieri* and not *in facto esse*. The great moralists and casuists had yet to make their distinctions, the later Fathers and Scholastics had yet to elaborate the theology of the 'power of the Keys.' Besides, in that age of the Church, heroic virtue was in the air; torture, imprisonment and death might at any time become the lot of any Christian.

It is but natural to expect that there should be in such times as those a rigorous discipline calculated to maintain an eminent standard of Christian holiness. In this atmosphere the process of sacramental remission was taking shape; and by degrees it came to be admitted that extreme severity defeated its own ends. It became more and more evident that allowances must be made for Christian virtue which fell short of the heroic standard; hence came the mitigation of the strict penitential system. The use of the primitive form of indulgences hastened on the days of leniency; the failure of Montanism and Novatianism spelt victory for the more indulgent interpretation of the power of absolution, which was left to the Church.

¹ The words of this, which apply to the subject of Penance, were probably these: 'Ego et mæchiæ et fornicationis delicta penitentia functionibus dimitto.'

² Epistola, 55. Some of these Bishops before the time of St. Cyprian had the custom of reconciling adulterers, others refused to do so.

To return to the article in the *American Catholic Quarterly*, and to sum up our conclusions. The writer of the article in the American review believes that only three classes of sin were submitted to public penance, that other grave sins were dealt with in a private tribunal, resembling in its general features our own practice of administering the sacrament of Penance. Tertullian, whom he quotes (among others) in favour of this theory, rather lends himself (we think) to another, viz., that there was one form of the administration of the sacrament. This included (1) a manifestation of conscience made to the Bishop; (2) the assignment by the Bishop of a public satisfaction (described as the main feature of the exomologesis); (3) absolution by the Bishop. This solemn act of penance was allowed but once; after that, the Church left the sinner to find favour with God as best he could.

Unless (as seems most probable) she relented when the sinner appealed to her on his death-bed, the Church held out no opportunity of sacramental absolution to anyone who had already performed public penance. The severity of those ages goes far to discount the *a priori* reasoning that the Church *must have* exercised a double administration of the sacrament. We conclude, then, that though the writer of the article in the *American Catholic Quarterly* has the support of many sound theologians for his view, yet if it is to prevail, and compel acceptance in the opposite camp, it must start from premises more generally admissible, and recognize more frankly the many obscurities in which the subject abounds.

W. B. O'DOWD.

GIOVANNI BATTISTA DE ROSSI; HIS LIFE AND HIS WORK

HAD Leo XIII during his eventful reign done nothing but revive the study of scholastic philosophy he would have merited a high place of honour among the many illustrious successors of St. Peter. He wished Catholic students to follow in the footprints of the Angelic Doctor. Not merely to know his teachings, but to do for the present what he did for the past. This Neo-Scholasticism promises to achieve. Religion is not the mistress of Philosophy only; the other sciences are subject to her as well, and are returning to their allegiance one by one. The more perfect they grow, the more evident this becomes. For truth cannot contradict truth, neither can the teachings of true science contradict the teachings of faith.

Among the different sciences, at the present moment, no one is doing more efficient work than Archæology. Whether in bringing to light the primitive conditions of ancient nations in the East, unearthing Jewish ruins and remains, which corroborate so strongly historical facts narrated in Holy Writ, or in clearing away the debris collected in the winding passages of the Catacombs, revealing monuments which prove beyond doubt that the Roman Catholic Church of to-day is one and the same as the infant Church of the Catacombs. The importance of Archæology cannot be too highly estimated, especially the dogmatic importance of Christian archæology. A glance at the truths and dogmas of our holy religion, which can be proved from them, will show this. There we have clear proof of the communion of saints, purgatory, the Blessed Eucharist, and of devotion to the Mother of God, etc. Hence with reason can it be said that the Catholic Church, in order to refute the accusations of innovations brought against her by her adversaries, need only throw open the Catacombs,

and pointing to that venerable Pompeii, yet half buried in its ruins, exclaim without fear of contradiction, 'What I am to-day, I was in the beginning, and will remain the same to the end of time.' Like Christ, her Founder, the Catholic Church is the same yesterday, to-day, and to-morrow.

Christian archæology owes in great part its present position to the labours and genius of the great de Rossi. He found the few archæologists of his day, contenting themselves with copies of inscriptions, taking no care of the originals, never descending into the bowels of the earth. He saw their mistake, avoided it, and his work was crowned with success. The life of this learned Catholic layman must afford interest to all Catholics.

Giovanni Battista de Rossi was born on the 23rd February, 1822, at Rome, in the Piazza della Minerva. He belonged to a well-to-do middle-class family, then so common in Rome, and noted for the care they paid to the education of their children. From the first, the parents of young de Rossi, regarded the training of their son as their most sacred trust. Hence they watched over his infancy and youth with loving care. As was customary with families of their standing, they sent him to the Roman College as soon as he was old enough to go. While a very young boy at school his love for historical studies showed itself. He was especially desirous to know the history of Rome. He used to tell how the recreations taken with his father on feast days, and the walks he took in the Botanic Gardens, near the Coliseum, awoke within him great love for the ancient Roman history he was studying in school; also, when he returned from his daily visit to some of the churches, how he used to read the lives of the saints, always selecting those of the first centuries.

About 1840 the special attraction he felt for archæological studies manifested itself. In that year he began to collect copies of scattered inscriptions. Young as he was, he knew Greek sufficiently well to understand inscriptions in that language. Besides receiving lessons on Greek literature, he also studied Greek epigraphy in the Roman College. About this time and incident worth relating

occurred. One day young de Rossi accompanied his father to the Vatican, who went to transact business in the offices of the Secretary of State. De Rossi, while waiting for him, employed himself transcribing the inscriptions in the Galleria Lapidaria, which joins the Loggie di Raffaello with the Museum and Library, and contains an important collection of inscriptions, both Greek and Latin. The youth, completely absorbed in his work, did not hear the steps of an approaching figure. But, feeling something on his shoulder, raising his eyes he looked around, and beheld a Cardinal behind him, who had several manuscripts under his arm. His Eminence, surprised to see so young a boy engaged at a Greek inscription, asked him what he was doing. On receiving the answer, he inquired if he was able to understand it. To this de Rossi replied that he had already made a collection of several inscriptions, and that he understood the one before him except in one place, where the letters overlapped. The Cardinal looked and saw it did present difficulty, and did not wonder he was unable to understand it. Henceforth, this Cardinal, who was the great Angelo Mai, took particular interest in de Rossi.

Also in 1840 he began to attend lectures in jurisprudence, in the Sapienza. He had no wish to study law, but longed to devote all his time and energy to the study of archæology ; however, in obedience to his father, he applied himself to it. His father considered the time spent in archæological pursuits lost. He thought it good for nothing. Consequently he objected to his son's devoting himself to it, calling the special attraction he felt for it a mere dream. Besides, he thought that a youth of good family, in order to ensure his future, should take out degrees in law. De Rossi, who would not disobey his fond parent, yet feeling no love whatever for the study of law, did not know what to do. He consulted a Roman prelate, who persuaded him to follow the paternal advice, giving as a reason for his counsel, that ' at Rome the knowledge of law is the master-key which opens every door,' and he smilingly added, ' here the well-known versicle of the Office should be changed into *Legem cui omnia vivunt, venite adoremus.*'

De Rossi followed his advice, and began to study law under the famous Villani, in the Sapienza. Here he acquired that exact knowledge of the ancient Roman laws which rendered him incalculable assistance in his archæological studies. From time to time he managed to attend the lectures given by the great Nibby on archæology. These increased the love he felt for his favourite study, and strengthened his resolve to devote himself to it as much as he could. He often related he felt that there he had a special mission to fulfil.

Up to his time the study of Christian archæology was sadly neglected. After the works of Bossius, in the seventeenth century, and Aringhi, Boldetti, and Bottari, a change came. The Archæologists, Visconti, Marini, Fea, etc., no longer like Bossius (the Columbus of the Catacombs), descended into the narrow underground galleries and crypts, to examine and study the originals themselves. They confined their attention almost exclusively to copies found in works of others. All this time the venerable sanctuaries of the martyrs were left to the care of ignorant custodians.

Fortunately, during the reign of Pius VII, a general impulse was given to the study of ancient history, which, however, was chiefly confined to the learned. About 1824 some of their number commenced to visit the Catacombs. Their example awakened love for Christian archæology, and led Marchi to study the Catacombs from a different point of view. Marchi was the first to prove the exclusive Christian origin of the Catacombs also. He induced Gregory XVI to institute a special society to look after the Catacombs. To this the Pontiff consented, and placed the learned Jesuit himself at its head.

Meanwhile young de Rossi, in the midst of his legal pursuits, did not forget his favourite subject; to it he devoted all the time he could steal from his other occupations. He longed to visit the Catacombs, to explore their dark windings, and examine their inscriptions, pictures and monuments. At this period, the Romans looked with a suspicious eye on the Catacombs. They considered it

extremely dangerous to go near them, and various rumours were afloat concerning them. Some stated that a whole college of students was lost in them, others said they were a den of robbers. De Rossi's father believed these stories, and thought by means of them to persuade his son to relinquish his foolish idea, but in vain. While obeying his father, in keeping aloof from the Catacombs, he applied himself, more earnestly than before, to the private study of these monuments. At this time, he proposed to collect all the ancient Christian inscriptions of Rome. Marini had conceived this idea, and had already collected two large manuscript volumes. The work, contemplated by de Rossi, was more scientific and learned than that of Marini. For de Rossi's was not to consist of a mere collection of bare inscriptions, but he meant to determine the chronological basis, and illustrate the inscriptions under their several aspects. To carry out his design, he examined the books in which old inscriptions were to be found, and all the original ones he could lay hands on. But his father still forbade him to visit the Catacombs.

Besides the inscriptions preserved in the Catacombs, a great number are to be found in the crypts of the old churches. As might be expected, he never lost an opportunity of visiting them. Some of these churches are opened to the public only once a year, on the feasts of their patrons, others oftener. Of course those used by the faithful are always open. The following incident will show how he occupied himself on such occasions. On the 21st July, 1842, the feast of St. Prassede, he visited her church, to copy the numerous inscriptions found there. Absorbed in his work, he did not notice those near, nor perceive the inquiring glances of a religious who was taking great interest in the studious youth. Hearing someone call him, he looked up, and beheld Padre Marchi, who wanted to know why he copied these inscriptions. His answer so pleased the learned archæologist, that from that moment he interested himself in him, and through his influence the paternal restrictions were removed. Henceforth, he was able to copy his beloved inscriptions from the originals even in the

Catacombs. De Rossi already foresaw the discoveries he was destined to make, but his fellow-labourers merely laughed at him, thinking he was dreaming.

Notwithstanding all the time and attention he devoted to archæology, he passed his examination for the degree in jurisprudence with distinction, and soon after was appointed Latin Writer to the Vatican Library.

In the summer of 1844 he commenced his systematic archæological searches. From his studies he was led to suspect that a tumbled-down house, on the Via Appia, near the church of St. Sebastian, marked the spot beneath which lay the cemetery of St. Calixtus. Marchi thought these were the ruins of the Basilica of St. Mark and St. Marcellianus, which, according to the itineraries was near the Via Aredeatina. Subsequent discoveries prove de Rossi was right and Marchi wrong. Sometime later de Rossi identified it with the Oratory of St. Sixtus, and here he made his first great discovery in the Catacombs of St. Calixtus. It would take too much time and space to follow the great discoverer, step by step, as he proceeds to unearth, explain and illustrate these precious monuments of early Christianity. However, to understand the greatness of the man, the nature of the difficulties he had to contend against, and the extent of his work, it will be necessary to speak in detail of some of his labours, alluding briefly to persons and events influencing him and his work.

All the archæologists of his time held that St. Cecilia's first burial place was in St. Sebastian's. The same opinion was held by Gueranger, her famous biographer. In 1850 this learned religious came to Rome, and accompanied de Rossi through the Catacombs of St. Calixtus. They proceeded through countless windings, galleries and crypts exactly under the Oratory of St. Sixtus. There he stopped, and pointing to a portion not yet excavated, said in emphatic tones, 'There lie the tombs of the Popes and of the noble martyr Cecilia.' Gueranger listened with fear and astonishment; he thought de Rossi had suddenly become demented, and was afraid to be alone with him underground. After events showed how groundless his fear was, and that

de Rossi was not mad, 'but spoke the words of sober truth,' and Gueranger, in a new edition, describing this scene, paid ample homage to his divining mind.

The same year de Rossi lost his father. By his death, he succeeded to the office of ecclesiastical agent for some important dioceses. This afforded him an opportunity of making the acquaintance of many high personages of the Roman Curia, who secured an audience for him with the Pope, soon after his return from Gaeta. He spoke to the Holy Father of the great importance of the Catacombs, and the utility to be derived from the study of archæology. In 1851 Pius IX instituted a special archæological commission to direct the excavations, and to watch over all the sacred monuments of the Pontifical States. The first labour undertaken by the society was crowned with success. Near the Via Appia they found the crypt of St. Cornelius, and a fragment of an inscription, corresponding to another found a few years earlier.

The attention of de Rossi was by no means confined to the Catacombs of St. Calixtus. He caused excavations to be made near the old Via Ardeatina, where he suspected the crypt of the Flavii, Christians of the first century, lay. There, to the immense joy of the Pope and of the Catholics of Rome, the crypt was discovered. The Pope was so pleased at this happy result, that he went in person to visit the crypt, and congratulated de Rossi on his success. This was his first triumph. Needless to say, de Rossi himself was delighted, and used every means to have the excavations carried on, on a larger scale. He besought the Pope to buy out the land over the Catacombs. The Pontiff had already determined to do so, before he was asked by de Rossi, and after some delay the land was bought.

On the 11th May, 1854, Pius IX again visited the Catacombs. On entering the crypt of the Popes, that venerable sanctuary where the sacred bones of many of his martyred predecessors lay in rest, the Pontiff could not restrain from shedding tears, and he devoutly kissed their sepulchral epigraphs. Some months after the memorable visit of Pius IX to the Catacombs, the sepulchral crypt of Cecilia,

the ancient proprietress of the vineyard, where the Catacombs were excavated, was brought to light, and in 1856 the tomb of (Pope) Eusebius, containing an important historical inscription, was discovered.

At the invitation of the Pontiff, de Rossi undertook the publication of a new *Roma Sotteranea*, a work necessarily involving great labour and research. To acquit himself creditably of his task, he visited the libraries of Italy, France, and Germany, and in each of them consulted everything connected with his work.

During the nineteenth century, the study of the ancient Roman topography, along with the other branches of archæological science, made rapid progress. The works of the famous classic scholars, who spoke in a vague manner about the illustrious monuments of ancient Rome, were succeeded by others describing them with precision and accuracy. The credit of the new direction given to it, is due to the German school; to it also we are obliged for the critical use of many documents, on which the study of the historical reconstruction of the ancient capital of the world is based. In this branch the majestic figure of the great de Rossi shines forth with additional splendour. Although busily occupied with Christian archæology, he found time to leave traces of his genius here also. In his work on ancient epigraphy, he laid the foundation of future researches on ancient topography. Nor did a bare beginning satisfy him. On that foundation he raised a superstructure which can with truth be called *imago antiquae urbis*.

In 1851, the first volume of his Christian Inscriptions saw the light. The second volume, or to speak more accurately, the first part of the second volume, did not appear until 1871. To give anything like an idea of the contents of this colossal work would bring us beyond the scope of our paper. It will suffice to note, it is a classic. An illustrious historian speaking of it, says, it has been written with the depth and patience of a German, with the clearness and vivacity of a Frenchman, and with the judgment and classical latinity of an Italian.

About this time he began to explore the cemetery of

Pretestatus, and in 1863 he discovered a most important monument, a sepulchral gallery, containing primitive crypts and precious specimens of Christian architecture and painting of the time of the first of the Antonines.

As one would naturally expect, de Rossi met with opposition. The jealousy of some of his rivals, fanned to the point of ignition by his many triumphs, blazed forth and thought to frustrate his work, to prevent the publication of his *Roma Sotteranea*, or at least to deprive it of the boast of being an official publication, ordered by the Pope, alleging that it contained conclusions on things laymen were not qualified to judge. His enemies tried various but futile means to attain their end. Finally, the cause of science and justice triumphed. The Pope, Pius IX, who always had a special affection for de Rossi, in 1864 sent for him from his palace at Castel Gandolfo, where he was in villegiatura, and got him to explain the plan of his *Roma Sotteranea* in the presence of his court. His Holiness was amazed at the stupendous work. At the conclusion of his discourse, de Rossi read the Latin dedication he had written; in it he called the Pope a second Damasus, compared him to the great Pope of the fourth century, who was the first to perpetuate the memory of the martyrs in the Catacombs, and asked permission to put on the front page of his work, 'Published by order of His Holiness.' 'Not only do I permit it,' replied Pius IX, 'but I absolutely wish it; and if I am your Damasus, you are my Jerome.'

Roma Sotteranea was published, and in spite of the efforts of his enemies, was received with universal joy. Such a valuable book, no matter how adverse the circumstances under which it appeared, was bound in the course of time to be a success. But published as it was under the particular patronage of the Pope, its success was secured from the start. It is with regret we refrain from giving an account of its contents, because of the importance of the subjects it treats of, and of the masterly manner in which they are handled; however, that would make our paper exceed all reasonable bounds.

The political disturbances of 1870 effected a slight change

in the life and occupations of de Rossi, who to the last remained faithful to the Pope. Being a man of moderate views, and a stranger to politics, he was esteemed and honoured by high personages of the new Government; nevertheless he would never consent to receive honours or an official appointment from their hands. He was always a friend to the learned, whatever their political views were, and was on intimate terms with the different ministers of education. He had great influence with the Italian Government, which he used to secure the preservation of the Catacombs, and their continuance in the custody of the Pontifical Commission.

Although he kept aloof from politics, he played an active and useful part in the different ministerial scientific commissions, and laboured assiduously for many years in the Municipal Council of Rome, where he inculcated the importance of safeguarding the national monuments. To him also may be attributed the founding of the Municipal Archæological Commission in 1872. Together with Mommsen and Henzen he collected and published all the pagan inscriptions of Rome.

His heart was centred on Christian archæology and the Catacombs, and desiring his work to be continued after his day, on the 22nd of November, 1870, he conceived the idea of forming a school of young students for this purpose. Hitherto, on that day, a feast used to be celebrated in the Catacombs of St. Calixtus, in honour of St. Cecilia. On account of the recent political events, it could not be celebrated in 1870. It was the first 22nd of November for a number of years, on which he did not give a public lecture on some archæological subject of interest, at those venerable Catacombs. This year he could not because the feast was not held. Hence, accompanied by Marruchi, Armellini and a few other young men, he visited them privately. De Rossi, when he arrived in those venerable sanctuaries discovered by himself, spoke of them with great life and enthusiasm, emphasized their importance, and that of Christian archæology in general. They listened to his discourse with fixed attention, and were so moved by it, that

at its close they gathered around him and besought him to initiate them in the secrets of his studies and researches. The Roman school of Christian Archæology traces back its origin to that memorable day. Henceforth he gave them special lessons, and frequently accompanied them on excursions to the Catacombs. This circle, in the course of time, gave birth to the society for conferences in Christian Archæology. Bruzza, a learned Barnabite, was appointed its first president.

The work of excavating, for some time neglected, was recommenced with renewed vigour, under the patronage of Mgr. F. Merode, who, following the example set by Pius IX, bought a vineyard on the old Via Ardeatina, where the celebrated Basilica of Nereus and Achilleus was discovered. On account of the premature death of this energetic prelate, the work was again suspended for a considerable time. Merode had not long been laid to rest when another protector and admirer of de Rossi's died, this was Pius IX of glorious memory.

Great was the sorrow of de Rossi at the death of his last-mentioned patron, but Leo XIII was not slow to appreciate de Rossi, and the importance of his work, and consequently gave him every facility and assistance. Thus de Rossi was able to continue the excavations according to the programme he had sketched out for himself; and although he failed to carry out his long-cherished idea, to restore all the sanctuaries of the martyrs to science and piety, yet he made very important discoveries. Among others, the basilica where the bones of the saintly Ippolitus were laid to rest, and in the Catacombs of St. Domitilla the burial place of St. Ampliatus, who is believed to have been one of St. Paul's beloved disciples. In 1888 the hypogeum of the Acilii in the Catacombs of St. Priscilla was unearthed. This family was closely connected with the blood-thirsty tyrant, Nero, who showed himself the monster his father predicted. Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, after the birth of his son Nero, said to his congratulating friends that the offspring of himself and Agrippina could be nothing short of a monster. His prophecy, alas! was but too true.

Nero, who did not hesitate to plan the death of his own mother, had no scruple in putting to death the representative of the noble family of the Acilii.

In 1882 and 1892 feasts were celebrated in Rome in honour of de Rossi, and monuments were erected, which still bear testimony to the great esteem and affection his fellow-citizens cherished for him. The most exalted and learned in Europe considered it a privilege to be able to join the festivities in some way, in order to show to the public the high appreciation they entertained for de Rossi and his work, which did so much to refute the many calumnies of Protestant writers. He has rendered signal service to the Catholic Church by his numerous writings; this Pius IX seems to have had in mind when he called him his Jerome.

Soon after the celebrations of 1892 his health failed him, and he was stricken with a paralytic seizure, which deprived him of the use of his right hand, 'of that glorious hand which had traced so many immortal pages of the story of the Old World.' Perfectly resigned to God's holy will, he bore his sufferings with Christian fortitude. He felt the loss of his right hand very much, until he learned to write with his left. From this till his death, whatever articles he contributed to the different archæological journals were written with his left hand.

From the autumn of 1893 till his death in 1894, he was in constant pain. His intellect remained unimpaired to the end; but, with great sorrow, he had to relinquish the work he had begun, because of his bodily weakness. His last days, however, were not troubled, like Marini's, with the thought that the materials collected by him would not be utilised according to his wishes. Marini was tormented, not knowing what would become of the fruits of his labours; 'Quæ paravi, cuius erunt?' he eagerly inquired. De Rossi during his life took steps to ensure the continuance of his work after his death. He formed a school which ever since has kept up to the high standard raised by de Rossi. It has rendered untold service both to our holy religion and to the science of archæology. As long as it can number

among its members men of such learning and ability as Marruchi, it is destined to succeed. None of his disciples have shown greater love and affection for the great master, none of them have laboured with greater energy and success, on the lines laid down by de Rossi, than he.

De Rossi repaired to the Papal Villa of Castel Gandolfo to pass the summer of 1894. There in the bosom of his family, having received the last sacraments with great fervour and devotion, he breathed his last, on the 20th September, 1894. His body was interred in the family vault at Rome.

His fellow-citizens gave expression to the feelings of esteem and admiration which they and the whole world entertained for him in the following inscription, which can be seen on the wall of the house he lived in : ' In this house lived G. B. de Rossi, universally admired for his exquisite doctrine and vast erudition, and renovator of the science of Christian Archæology.'

EPSILON.

THE BLESSED THOMAS MORE

THE FIRST LAY AND LAST CATHOLIC LORD CHANCELLOR
OF ENGLAND

SO comparatively very little is known of the character of Sir Thomas More—the first lay Lord Chancellor of England, and the last Catholic who occupied that high and honourable position, that as the process of his beatification is now proceeding at Rome, a brief account of him may not be uninteresting. Regarded as a man in private life, or as a lawyer and chancellor in the fiercest light of publicity, his was a most remarkable and a striking personality. Cardinal Morton, in whose household young More, as was then the custom, was brought up, and educated, said of him early in his career what became a prophecy absolutely fulfilled in later years: ‘The child here waiting at table, whosoever shall live to see it, will prove a marvellous man.’ Such was the prophecy of the favourite minister of Henry VII—such is the verdict of history.

Thomas was the youngest son of Sir John More—a Justice of the King’s Bench, and, as stated, the earlier years of the boy were spent in the household of Cardinal Morton. After that period of pagehood More went to Canterbury Hall, Oxford, and this was at a time when boys nowadays are sent to public schools. This was a stirring and active time in educational centres—the learning of Greek was revived. Erasmus, Colet, Grocyn, Linacre and Lilly were the great names then identified with the new cult. More was caught in the enthusiasm, and then begun his famous friendship with Erasmus, to whom we are so largely indebted for one of the most graphic accounts of More’s appearance and character. This pen-picture is well worth reproduction so that no apology is required for repeating a few extracts from a letter containing what Erasmus thought and wrote of his young English friend. He says of him, as often he saw and found him when he visited his ‘faire house’ at

Chelsea, ' with gardens running down to silver-streaming Thames '—

He is of middle height [writing to a Dutch correspondent], well shaped, complexion pale, without a touch of colour in it save where the skin flushes ; beard scanty ; eyes grey with dark spots—an eye supposed in England to indicate genius. The expression is pleasant and cordial, easily passing into a smile for he has the quickest sense of the ridiculous of any man I ever met. The right shoulder is rather higher than the left, the result of a trick in walking, not from a physical defect. His health is good, but not robust. His father, though in extreme old age, is vigorous. He is careless of what he eats—I never saw a man more so. His voice is low and unmusical, though he loves music. but it is clear and penetrating. He articulates slowly and distinctly, and never hesitates. He dresses plainly, no silks, or velvets, or gold chains. He has no concern for ceremony, expects none from others, and shows little himself. More loves freedom, and likes to have his time to himself. He is a true friend. When he finds a man to be of the wrong sort he lets him drop, but he enjoys nothing so much as the society of those who suit him, and whose character he approves. Gambling of all kinds, tennis, dice, and such like he detests. His talk is charming, full of fun, but never scurrilous or malicious. He used to act plays when young. Wit delights him though at his own expense. He writes smart epigrams. It was like setting a camel to dance, but he can make fun of anything. He is wise with the wise and jests with fools—with women specially and his wife among them. He is fond of animals of all kinds, and likes to watch their habits. All the birds in Chelsea come to him to be fed. His original wish was to be a priest. He gave it up because he fell in love, and thought a chaste husband better than a profligate clerk. . . . He never made an enemy or became an enemy. His whole house breathes happiness, and no one enters it who is not the better for the visit.

What a wonderfully realistic portrait are those words of the great good man—so simple yet so grand. In the pages of literature one can hardly find a more perfect pen-picture of one great man by another. More married a daughter of a Mr. John Colt through a delicacy of honour almost Quixotic. There were three daughters, and to the second his inclinations turned, but believing the elder might by the preference feel slighted, he married her, and the marriage was a happy one, but she died after giving birth to three daughters, Margaret, Cecilia, and Louisa, and one son. To look after

the motherless children he subsequently married Alice Middleton, a widow, seven years his senior, with no charms of mind, plain, ill-educated, and shrewish, but an active and vigilant housewife. As was said of him, and truly said, plain living and high thinking seemed to be his rule of life. He early practised the austerities of an ascetic. He fasted rigorously and never allowed himself more than four or five hours of sleep, and that on a hard bench with a log for a pillow. Every Friday he scourged himself with a knotted cord, and to the last wore a hair shirt, and on the occasion of the last visit of his devoted daughter Margaret Roper in the Tower, he privately handed her the knotted cord and hair shirt, lest when he was executed they might be found and spoken about. He intended when at Oxford joining the Order of St. Francis, but in deference to his father's wish, he abandoned the idea of a religious life and took to the law, entering as a student New Inn, and later on Lincoln's Inn, where he was successively auditor, pensioner, butler, and reader. His success was rapid at the Bar, and he soon was making £400 a year, equivalent to £5,000 now. When a case was given him he carefully examined into its merits, and if he believed it to be unjust he declined it, assuring his client that for all the wealth of the world he would not espouse a dishonest cause. 'Like Sir Matthew Hale he thought it as great a dishonour as a man was capable of for a little money to say otherwise than he thought.' But that ideal of advocacy does not fit in with modern conceptions, which hold that it is not the business of an advocate to constitute himself a judge.

As a judge, being the first lay Chancellor of England, his conduct of business was characterised by rapidity combined with efficiency. His judgments gave universal satisfaction, and never was a more upright judge on the bench. The claims of relationship had no weight with him, as was evidenced when on one occasion he made a decree against his own son-in-law. Henry VIII had a great regard for him, and respected his inflexible character. It was only when More would not become a pliant tool in his offences against morality and justice that they differed.

Often did the king go down to Chelsea to see and consult with More upon matters of State, and he was always at first guided by his wise advice. But More estimated such favour at its true value, for, replying to Roper, his son-in-law, who congratulated him on such mark of honour, he said that no doubt the king singularly favoured him, but that still if he could win him a castle in France he would not fail to strike off his head. And so in the end it proved to be. When the king pressed him to agree to the divorce of Catherine, More fell on his knees and 'besought the king to forgive him for looking first to God and afterwards to the king, assuring him it was a grief to his heart that he was not able to find any way in which with integrity of conscience he could serve his grace on that account.'

Finding he and the king could not pull together on the downward course Henry had set out upon, in 1532 Sir Thomas More resigned his great position of Chancellor. He refused to acknowledge the king as head of the Church *in terra supremum caput Anglicanae Ecclesiae*, and to renounce obedience to Rome, and he was duly committed to the Tower. In vain a Committee of the Privy Council, and even his own daughter and wife, urged a formal compliance, but More was inflexible and unchangeable, and suffered the extreme penalty for his honour and his honesty. Henry was sore troubled when he heard of his death, and it is said he was playing at cards with Anne Boleyn when the news reached him, and rising in rage from his seat, turning to that unfortunate woman, he thus addressed her: 'Thou art the cause of this man's death.' And so ended the career of the greatest lay Chancellor England ever had.

We have seen what Erasmus, no ordinary man and judge of men, thought of More. But his opinion is the verdict of contemporary and subsequent history on that admirable man. Latimer tells a funny story of a Commission More held in Kent to try and find out the cause of the Goodwin sands and the testimony of a witness that he believed the cause was Tenterden Steeple—a saying which has become historic. And so quaintly telling the tale the old Bishop adds by way of commentary, 'And

even so is the preaching of God's word the cause of rebellion as Tenterden Steeple is the cause that Sandwich Haven is decayed.'

As a writer More's *Utopia* is the best known of his works. It is destined to live as long as English is spoken and written. 'The vision of a perfect State,' is a theme that has engaged many minds in all ages. We find Plato attempting it in his *Republic* and *Atlantis*. St. Augustine in *De Civitate Dei*, Dante in his *De Monarchia*, Bacon in his *New Atlantis*, Campanilla in his *City of the Sun*. None equals More's *Utopia* in seeming sincerity, so that even some persons of his day, more zealous than discerning, actually proposed sending missionaries to convert the Utopians to Christianity. The plan and idea of the work are excellent, and a few extracts may give one a fair notion of its character.

In Utopia every man learns a craft, mostly his father's, and the women, too. The magistrates' business is chiefly to see that no one is idle. . . . At the tables in hall young and old are placed alternately, so as to blend the gaiety of youth with the wisdom of age. They have few laws, and such is their constitution that they do not need many. . . . They have no lawyers amongst them, for they consider them as a sort of people whose profession is to darken matters and to wrest the laws, and, therefore, they think that it is much better every man should plead his own cause and trust it to the judges as in other places the client trusts it to a counsellor. By this means they both cut off many delays and find out truth more certainly.

He preaches absolute religious toleration, and needless to say war is condemned. He shows how they care for the sick by hospitals, how they regard hunting—'to see a relye innocente hare murdered of a dogge'—as unworthy of freemen, how they despise gold, how they have everything in common. He shrewdly remarks in a letter 'for it is not possible for all things to be well unless men were good, which I think will not be yet these many years.'

But he also wrote a life of Edward V, which Hallam thought was the finest example of good English, without vulgarisms or pedantry.

Such in brief was the great and good man—Blessed Thomas More—whose canonization will soon be proceeded

with. Amid trying and terrible times, with temptations to go from the straight path, he kept an even course, walked through life as a saint almost with God's law in his heart, and guiding his conduct. He was dragged into position and prominence, says Erasmus, 'for no man ever struggled harder to gain admission there (to court) than More struggled to escape. 'He was always kind, always generous. Some he helped with money, and some with influence ; when he can give nothing he gives advice. He is Patron-General to all poor devils.' This was what Erasmus thought of him, and a finer character we cannot find in history than that of Thomas More, the first lay Lord Chancellor of England, and the greatest and the last Catholic who held, or who by subsequent legislation could legally hold, that exalted position. Although in later years the post was actually filled by a Jew, and may be held by an Atheist, the only religion a member of which may not be Lord Chancellor of England is the one which was professed by the greatest man who ever in that country held the Great Seal—Sir Thomas More.

RICHARD J. KELLY.

DOCUMENTS

CEREMONIES TO BE OBSERVED AT EXPOSITION AND REPOSITION OF BLESSED SACRAMENT

DUBIA LITURGICA CIRCA EXPOSITIONEM ET REPOSITIONEM SS. SACRAMENTI.

Quum circa reverentias a sacris ministris faciendas in expositione ac repositione SSmi Eucharistiae Sacramenti dissideant probati S. Liturgiae interpretes, hodiernus Rmus. Procurator Generalis Piae Salesianae Societatis sequentia dubia Sacrorum Rituum Congregationi, pro opportuna declaratione, humillime subiecit ; nimirum :

I. Cum flectendum est utrumque genu ad Sacramentum adorandum (puta in accessu ad altare ubi expositum est SS. Sacramentum et in recessu ab eodem), flectioni genuum estne addenda profunda inclinatio totius corporis an solius capitis ?

II. Cum expositor, aperto ostiolo Tabernaculi, genuflectit priusquam SS. Sacramentum extrahat et cum, reposito Sacramento, genuflectit priusquam ostiolum claudat, debentne ceteri qui genuflexi adsunt adorare cum profunda inclinatione corporis, an cum inclinatione solius capitis, an, utpote iam genuflexi, nullam praeterea reverentiam exhibere ?

III. An et quam reverentiam exhibere debeat minister genuflexus antequam surgat aliquid factururus ? Videlicet : (1) Celebrans antequam surgat recitaturus orationem *Deus qui nobis sub Sacramento*, etc. debetne omittere quamlibet reverentiam, an inclinare caput, an corporis inclinatione adorare ? (2) Idem quaeritur de Celebrante ac ministris surrecturis ad imponendum incensum ; (3) De celebrante antequam surgat ad altare ascensurus ut populo benedicat ; (4) De expositore antequam surgat ascensurus ad altare ad deponendum e throno SS. Sacramentum ; (5) De acolytho antequam surgat iturus ad abacum ad velum accipiendum.

IV. Celebrans postquam, Benedictione impertita, ab altari descendit et genua flexit in infimo gradu, debetne omittere quamlibet inclinationem an inclinare caput, an totius corporis inclinatione adorare ?

V. More apud Subalpinos recepto, secundo thus imponitur post cantatam orationem *Deus qui nobis* etc. Iam quaeritur : (1) an mos servari possit ? Et quatenus affirmative, quaeritur :

(2) an sacerdos, cantata oratione, debeat impositionem incensi aliquam praestare reverentiam et qualem ?

VI. Utrum sacerdos qui SS. Sacramentum exposuit et ab altari descendit thus impositurus, debeat ante impositionem adorare uno genu flexo, an utroque, an statim absque genuflexione incensum imponere ut quidam eruunt ex Memoriali Rituum Benedicti XIII, c. II § III, n. 5 ?

VII. Iuxta Caeremoniale Episcoporum dum Celebrans canit orationem *Deus qui nobis* etc. ministri librum sustinent genuflexi : contra Liturgiae expositores eos surgere iubent vel saltem id eis permittunt. Quaeritur qua norma utendum ?

VIII. An Celebranti in impertienda Benedictione cum SS. Sacramento ministrare nequeant, loco diaconi et subdiaconi, duo clerici pluvialibus induti ? An diacono et subdiacono, dalmatica et tunicella indutis, adiungi queant duo vel quatuor clerici induti pluviali ?

Et Sacra Rituum Congregatio ad relationem subscripti Secretarii, exquisito Commissionis Liturgicae suffragio, omnibusque sedulo perpensis, rescribendum censuit :

Ad I. *Inclinatio mediocris, id est capitis, et modica humerorum inclinatio, quae in casu habetur uti profunda.*

Ad II. *Nulla reverentia facienda est.*

Ad III. *Quoad 1^{um}. Nullam reverentiam debet facere ; quoad 2^{um}. Inclinationem mediocrem faciant ; quoad 3^{um}, 4^{um}, et 5^{um}. Nulla reverentia facienda est ; at si acolythus transeat ante altare, genuflectat in medio.*

Ad IV. *Nulla reverentia facienda est.*

Ad V. *Quoad 1^{um}. Negative Quoad 2^{um}. Provisum in praecedenti.*

Ad VI. *Ambo genua flectat in infimo gradu, inclinationem mediocrem faciat, assurgat et ponat incensum in thuribulo.*

Ad VII. *Ministri genuflexi maneant, librum sustinendo iuxta Caeremoniale Episcoporum, lib. II. cap. XXXIII, n. 27.*

Ad VIII. *Quoad 1^{um}. Affirmative, si Benedictio cum SSmo Sacramento fiat immediate post Vesperas sollemnes, id est si Celebrans cum Pluvialistis non recedat ab altari : dummodo alter sacerdos vel diaconus exponat et reponat SSimum Sacramentum, illudque Celebranti tradat et ab eo recipiat. Quad 2^{um}. Negative.*

Atque ita rescripsit. Die 16 Februarii 1906.

A. Card. TRIPEPI, Pro-Praefectus.

L. ✠ S.

✠ D. PANICI, Archiep. Laodicen., Secretarius.

SOLUTION OF VARIOUS LITURGICAL QUESTIONS

DUBIA VARIA LITURGICA

Hodiernus Rmus Dnus Episcopus Vlnensis a Sacrorum Rituum Congregatione solutionem sequentium dubiorum humillime petiit ; videlicet :

I. Pro dioecesi Vlnensi habetur Decretum, quo permittitur Missa votiva cantata dicta *Rorate* tempore Adventus. Missa ista, quae celebratur cum magna solemnitate magnoque concursu populi, cantatur, vi antiquissimae consuetudinis, cum *Gloria* et *Credo*. Quaeritur, utrum haec consuetudo possit servari, cum in Decreto supradicto nihil de modo cantandi tales Missas dicatur ?

II. In eadem dioecesi solent cantari, post Missam solemnem, invocationes *Sanctus Deus*, *Sanctus Fortis*, *Sanctus Immortalis*, etc. coram Sanctissimo Eucaristiae Sacramento exposito in Pixide. Quaeritur utrum expositio haec fieri possit per expositionem Pyxidis in superiori parte Tabernaculi, eo fine ut Pyxis possit a frequenti populo bene videri, an Sanctissimum Sacramentum non possit e Tabernaculo tolli ?

III. Quaeritur, utrum pro valida consecratione altaris fixi vel portatilis sufficiat, ut in Sepulchro includantur Reliquiae unius Martyris et Confessorum aut Virginum, vel utrum unius solummodo Martyris ; an sit omnino necessarium, ut in Sepulchro deponantur Reliquiae plurimorum Martyrum ?

Et Sacra eadem Congregatio, ad relationem subscripti Secretarii, audito etiam voto Commissionis Liturgicae reque accurate perpensa, rescribendum censuit :

Ad I. *Iuxta Decreta, Missa RORATE cantari potest in casu, cum GLORIA et CREDO solummodo in Novendiali ante festum Nativitatis Domini ratione consuetudinis et concursus populi ; in praecedentibus vero diebus Adventus cantari debet sine GLORIA (praeterquam in Sabbatis et infra Octavamfesti B. Mariae Virginis) et sine CREDO.*

Ad II. *Negative ad primam partem ; affirmative ad secundam.*

Ad III. *Affirmative ad primam partem quoad utrumque ; negative ad secundam.*

Atque ita rescripsit. Die 16 Februarii 1906.

A. Card. TRIPEPI, *Pro-Praefectus*.

L. ♣ S.

♣ D. PANICI, *Archiep. Laodicen., Secretarius*.

**WORKS PROSCRIBED BY THE SACRED CONGREGATION
OF THE 'INDEX'**

S. CONGREGATIO INDICIS

DECRETUM

FERIA V DIE 6 APRILIS 1905

Sacra Congregatio Eminentissimorum ac Reverendissimorum Sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae Cardinalium a Sanctissimo Domino Nostro Pio Papa X Sanctaque Sede Apostolica Indici librorum pravae doctrinae eorumdemque proscriptioni, expurgationi ac permissioni in universa christiana republica praepositorum et delegatorum, habita in Palatio Apostolico Vaticano die 5 Aprilis 1906, damnavit et damnat, proscripsit proscribitque, atque in Indicem librorum prohibitorum referri mandavit et mandat quae sequuntur opera :

PAUL VIOLLET, *L'Infallibilité du Pape et le Syllabus*. Etude historique et théologique. Besançon, Paris, 1904.

L. LABERTHONNIÈRE, *Essais de Philosophie religieuse*. Paris, s. d. *Le Réalisme chrétien et l'Idéalisme grec*. Paris, s. d.

ANTONIO FOGAZZARO, *Il Santo*. Romanzo. Milano. 1905.

NICOLAUS JOZZELLI Decreto S. Congregationis, edito die 12 Decembris 1905, quo liber ab eo conscriptus notatus et in Indicem librorum prohibitorum insertus est, laudabiliter se subiecit.

Itaque nemo cuiuscumque gradus et conditionis praedicta opera damnata atque proscripta, quocumque loco et quocumque idiomate, aut in posterum edere, aut edita legere vel retinere audeat sub poenis in Indice librorum vetitorum indictis.

Quibus Sanctissimo Domino Nostro Pio Papae X per me infrascriptum Secretarium relatis. Sanctitas Sua Decretum probavit, et promulgari praecepit. In quorum fidem, etc.

Datum Romae die 5 Aprilis 1906.

ANDREAS Card. STEINHUBER, *Praefectus*.

L. ✠ S.

FR. THOMAS ESSER, *Ord. Praed. a Secretis*.

Die 6 Aprilis 1906, ego infrascriptus Mag. Cursorum testor supradictum Decretum affixum et publicatum fuisse in Urbe.

HENRICUS BENAGLIA, *Mag. Curs.*

**LETTER OF POPE PIUS X TO THE ARCHBISHOP OF PARIS
RECOMMENDING THE WORK OF 'CATECHISM'**

**I.—EPISTOLA PII PP. AD EMUM ARCHIEPISCOPORUM PARISIENSEM
COMMENDANS 'OPUS A CATECHISMIS.'**

**DILECTO FILIO NOSTRO FRANCISCO S. R. E. PRESBYTERO CARDINALI
RICHARD, ARCHIEPISCOPO PARISIENSI.—LVTETIAM PARISIORVM.**

PIVS PP. X.

Dilecte Fili Noster, Salutem et Apostolicam Benedictionem.

Opus a catechismis sollerti et actiosa egrégiorum feminarum pietate apud vos ante annos octodecim institutum in gratiam puerorum, qui nihil iam de doctrina religionis in scholis publicis audirent, rogasti tu quidem nuper, ut voluntatis Nostrae significatione aliqua ornaremus. Nos vero ea legentes quae perscribenda curasti de ortu, progressionem, fructibus istius operis, magnam scito cepisse animo voluptatem, praesertim quum in hoc etiam facto videremus divinae praesentiam bonitatis, tempestiva suggerentis et consilia et auxilia bonis ad communem salutem. Ac mirum non est, si hanc tam opportunam de regno Christi ac de proximis bene merendi rationem Decessor Noster illustris probavit admodum, et pontificalis indulgentiae muneribus ditavit; quum eadem celeberrimo civitatis iudicio, ut accepimus, in genere operum humanae societati utilium primas tulerit. Hinc dicere vix attinet, eam Nobis, non secus ac Decessori Nostro, caram acceptamque esse: eo magis quod ipsius nunquam fortasse tanta fuit, quanta est hodie non modo opportunitas sed necessitas. Quando enim, ut usuvenire istic dolemus, eripitur aut coangustatur sacro ordini nativum ius docendi publice, omnino res postulat ut sacerdotum ministerio navitas opituletur laicorum quo puerilis saltem aetas fidei morumque principia incorrupta imbibat. Quare pias feminas saluberrimo deditas operi, de quo loquimur, cum pro merito dilaudamus, tum hortamur vehementer, velint nova quotidie alacritate studioque propositum persequi: simul oramus enixe Deum, ut earum fortunet labores, augeat numerum. Auspicem caelestium donorum ac singularis benevolentiae Nostrae testem habent Apostolicam Benedictionem, quam tibi primum, dilecte Fili Noster, atque etiam clero populoque tuo universo peramanter in Domino impertimus.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum, die viii Decembris MDCCCIII, Pontificatus Nostri anno primo.

PIVS PP. X.

APOSTOLIC BULL ON MARRIAGES IN GERMANY

BULLA APOSTOLICA QUA OMNIA MATRIMONIA CATHOLICA, IN
GERMANIA, DECRETO 'TAMETSI' SUBIICIUNTUR; EXCIPIUNTUR
VERO MATRIMONIA MIXTA ET PROTESTANTIUM

PIUS EPISCOPUS SERVUS SERVORUM DEI

AD PERPETUAM REI MEMORIAM.

Provida sapientique cura quavis aetate Sancta Ecclesia legibus latis ea disposuit quae ad christianorum connubiorum firmitatem et sanctitatem pertinerent. In quibus legibus illa eminentem locum habet, qua Sancta Synodus Tridentina¹ clandestinorum matrimoniorum pestem abolere et ex populo christiano extirpare contendit. Magnam ex hoc Tridentino decreto utilitatem in universam rempublicam christianam promanasse et hodie quoque promanare apud omnes in confesso est. Nihilominus, ut sunt res humanae, contigit alicubi, et praesertim in Imperio Germanico, propter lamentabilem maximamque in religione divisionem et catholicorum cum haereticis permixtionem in dies augescentem, ut cum praedictae legis observantia incommoda etiam quaedam nec levia coniungerentur. Nimirum cum ex voluntate Concilii caput *Tametsi* non antea in singulis paroeciis vim obligandi habere coepit quam in illis rite esset promulgatum, et cum haec ipsa promulgatio an facta sit multis in locis dubitetur, incertum quoque non raro sit an lex Concilii obliget etiam acatholicos uno aliove in loco morantes, maxima inde ac molestissima in plurimis Imperii Germanici locis nata est iuris diversitas et dissimilitudo plurimaeque et spinosae exortae sunt quaestiones quae in iudiciis quidem persaepe perplexitatem, in populo fidei quamdam legis irreverentiam, in acatholicis perpetuas cierent querelas et criminationes. Non omisit quidem Sedes Apostolica pro nonnullis Germaniae dioecesium opportunas edere dispositiones et declarationes, quae tamen iuris discrepantias minime sustulerunt.

Atque haec moverunt complures Germaniae episcopos ut iterum iterumque Sedem Apostolicam adirent communibus precibus huic rerum conditioni remedium petentes. Quorum preces Decessor Noster f. r. Leo XIII benigne excipiens praecepit ut ceterorum quoque Germaniae Praesulum vota exquirentur. Quibus acceptis et toto negotio in Suprema Congregatione Sacrae Romanae et Universalis Inquisitionis mature discusso, Nostrum

¹ Sess. xxiv. cap. i., *De reform. matr.*

esse officium intelleximus praesenti rerum statui efficax et universale levamen afferre. Itaque ex certa scientia et plenitudine Nostrae potestatis, ut consulamus sanctitati firmitatique matrimonii, disciplinae unitati et constantiae, certitudini iuris, faciliori reconciliationi poenitentium, ipsi quoque paci et tranquillitati publicae, declaramus, decernimus ac mandamus :

I. In universo hodierno Imperio Germaniae caput *Tametsi* Concilii Tridentini quamvis in pluribus locis, sive per expressam publicationem, sive per legitimam observantiam, nondum fuerit certo promulgatum et inductum, tamen inde a die festo Paschae (id est a die decima quinta Aprilis) huius anni millesimi nongentesimi sexti, omnes catholicos, etiam hucusque immunes a forma Tridentina servanda ita adstringat ut inter se non aliter quam coram parocho et duobus vel tribus testibus validum matrimonium celebrare possint.

II. Matrimonia mixta quae a catholicis cum haereticis vel schismaticis contrahuntur, graviter sunt manentque prohibita, nisi accedente iusta gravique causa canonica, datis integre, formiter, utrimque legitimis cautionibus, per partem catholicam dispensatio super impedimento mixtae religionis rite fuerit obtenta. Quae quidem matrimonia, dispensatione licet impetrata, omnino in facie Ecclesiae coram parocho ac duobus vel tribus testibus celebranda sunt, adeo ut graviter delinquant qui coram ministro acatholico vel coram solo civili magistratu vel alio quolibet modo clandestino contrahunt. Imo si qui catholici in matrimoniis istis mixtis celebrandis ministri acatholici operam exquirunt vel admittunt, aliud patrant delictum et canonicis censuris subiacent.

Nihilominus matrimonia mixta in quibusvis Imperii Germanici provinciis et locis, etiam in iis quae iuxta Romanarum Congregationum decisiones vi irritanti capitis *Tametsi* certo hucusque subiecta fuerunt, non servata forma Tridentina iam contracta vel (quod Deus avertat) in posterum contrahenda, dummodo nec aliud obstet canonicum impedimentum, nec sententia nullitatis propter impedimentum clandestinitatis ante diem festum Paschae huius anni legitime lata fuerit, et mutuus coniugum consensus usque ad dictam diem perseveraverit, pro validis omnino haberi volumus, idque expresse declaramus, definimus atque decernimus.

III. Ut autem iudiciis ecclesiasticis tuta norma praesto sit, hoc idem iisdemque sub conditionibus et restrictionibus decla-

ramus, statuimus ac decernimus de matrimoniis acatholicorum, sive haereticorum sive schismaticorum, inter se in iisdem regionibus non servata forma Tridentina hucusque contractis vel in posterum contrahendis ; ita ut si alter vel uterque acatholicorum coniugum ad fidem catholicam convertatur, vel in foro ecclesiastico controversia incidat de validitate matrimonii duorum acatholicorum cum quaestione validitatis matrimonii ab aliquo catholico contracti vel contrahendi connexa, eadem matrimonia, ceteris paribus, pro omnino validis pariter habenda sint.

IV. Ut demum Decretum hoc Nostrum ad publicam notitiam perveniat, praecipimus Imperii Germanici Ordinariis ut illud per ephemerides dioecesanarum aliosque opportuniore modos ante diem Paschae anni currentis cum clero populoque fidei communificent.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum die XVIII Januarii MDCCCVI, Pontificatus Nostri anno tertio.

PIUS PP. X.

LETTER OF POPE PIUS X ON THE DUTIES OF SPANISH CATHOLICS AT ELECTIONS ¹

EPISTOLA AD ARCHIEPISCOPUM VALENTINORUM QUA SUMMUS PONTIFEX OFFICIUM CATHOLICORUM IN HISPANIA CONCURRENDI AD ELECTIONES POLITICAS ET ADMINISTRATIVAS INCULCAT.

VENERABILI FRATRI VICTORIANO EPISCOPO MATRITENSIIUM, VALENTINORUM ARCHIEPISCOPO PRAECONIZATO MATRITUM.

PIUS PP. X.

Venerabilis Frater, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem.

Inter catholicos Hispaniae concertationes quasdam novimus esse ortas quae veteres partium discordias haud parum postremis hisce mensibus acuerunt. Concertationum autem occasio studiose quaesita est ex binis scriptionibus quae in commentario *Razón y Fe* prodierunt de officio catholicorum adeundi comitia ad eligendos qui publicam rem administrent deque ratione in competentium electionibus habenda. Equidem scriptiones hasce cognosci ambas volumus : nihilque in illis occurrit quod non a plerisque nunc de re morum doctoribus tradatur ; Ecclesia

¹ Causa huius gravissimi documenti eo nititur, quod dissensus orti sint inter catholicos hispanos ob quasdam polemicas habitas inter cl. ephemeridem *Razón y Fe* et quasdam alias hispanicas ephemerides circa officium electiones politicas et administrativas adeundi.

non damnante nec contradicente. Nulla igitur subest ratio cur animi adeo exardescant : quamobrem optamus ac volumus ut orti dissensus diuque nimium nutriti penitus tollantur.

Quod profecto eo vel magis desideramus quod, si alias unquam, nunc certe maxima opus est catholicorum concordia. Meminerint omnes periclitante religione aut republica nemini licere esse otioso. Iam vero qui rem sacram seu civilem evertere nituntur eo maxime spectant, ut si detur, capessant rem publicam legibusque ferendis designentur. Catholicos igitur periculum omni industria cavere oportet : atque ideo, partium studiis depositis, pro incolumitate religionis et patriae operari strenue ; illud praecipue adnitendo, ut tum civitatum, tum regni comitia illi adeant qui attentis electionis uniuscuiusque adiunctis nec non temporum locorumque circumstantiis, prout in memorati commentarii scriptionibus probe consulitur, religionis ac patriae utilitatibus in publica re gerenda prospecturi melius videantur.

Haec te, Venerabilis Frater, haec ceteros Hispaniae Episcopos monere populum atque hortari cupimus, atque eiusmodi inter catholicos concertationes in posterum cohibere prudenter. Auspicem vero divinorum munerum Nostraeque benevolentiae testem apostolicam benedictionem universis amantissime impertimus.

Datum Romae, apud S. Petrum, die XX Februarii, anno MCMVI, Pontificatus Nostri anno tertio.

PIUS PP. X.

APOSTOLIC LETTER ON THE EXAMINATION OF ITALIAN CANDIDATES FOR ORDERS

LITTERAE APOSTOLICAE QUIBUS SUMMUS PONTIFEX DECERNIT UT
IN ITALIA INSULISQUE ADIACENTIBUS QUICUMQUE SIVE DE
SAECULARI SIVE DE REGULARI CLERO AD SACROS ORDINE
SINT PROMOVENDI NON ANTE PROMOVEANTUR QUAM AB
EPISCOPO LOCI DILIGENTI DOCTRINAE EXAMINE PROBATI
SINT IDONEI ; SUBLATO QUOCUMQUE CONTRARIO PRIVILEGIO.

PIVS PP. X.

MOTU PROPRIO.

Religiosorum Ordinum familias, utpote quae praeclaro semper et adiumento et ornamento fuerint Ecclesiae, peculiari quadam Nos providentia studioque prosequimur ; in primisque dandam operam arbitramur, ut constanter pergant, pro necessitatibus

temporum, salutare esse ac frugifera. Hanc ob causam, quoniam ipsae, praeterquam sanctorum exercitatione virtutum, etiam doctrinae laude florent necesse est, Nos e re esse haud ita pridem duximus, aliquid in hoc genere statuere. Etenim, noveramus quidem Sacram Congregationem, Episcoporum et Regularium negotiis et consultationibus praepositam, auctoritate decessoris Nostri fel. rec. Leonis XIII, die IV Novembris MDCCCXCII, prudentissime praescripsisse, ut 'professitum votorum solemniurn, tum votorum simplicium ab Ordinariis locorum ad sacros Ordines non admittantur, nisi, praeter alia a iure statuta, testimoniales litteras exhibeant, quod saltem per annum sacrae theologiae operam dederint, si agatur de subdiaconatu; ad minus per biennium, si de diaconatu; et quoad presbyteratum saltem per triennium, praemisso tamen regulari aliorum studiorum curriculo.' Sed praescriptiones huiusmodi non aliter videbantur suos omnes fructus afferre posse, quam si candidati ad sacros Ordines legitimo experimento probare deberent, se in constitutis doctrinae studiis satis profecisse. Id quod cereroguin sacrosancta Tridentina Synodus iusserat: nam Sess. XXIII Cap. VII de Reform. haec habet generatim: 'Episcopus ordinandorum omnium mores et doctrinam diligenter investiget et examinet; ' nominatim autem de Regularibus eiusd. Sess. Cap. XII: 'Regulares non sine diligenti Episcopi examine ordinentur, privilegiis quibuscumque quoad hoc penitus exclusis.' Opportunum igitur apparebat esse, hanc Tridentini Concilii legem revocari, quae diuturnitate obsolevisset: idque Nos anno superiore praestitimus pro Urbe, quum die XVI mensis Iulii Motu proprio decrevimus, ut quicumque sive de saeculari sive de regulari clero ad sacros Ordines promovendi essent, omnes excepto nemine, doctrinae periculum facerent in Curia Cardinalis Vicarii Nostri.¹

Nunc vero placet, etiam ex consulto Moderatorum Sacrae Congregationis Episcoporum et Regularium, memoratum Nostrium dectetum per has litteras extendere. Quare Nos, Motu item proprio, volumus ac iubemus, ut in Italia et in insulis Italiae ditioni subiectis, Religiosi omnes, vel ad Instituta votorum simplicium, vel ad votorum solemniurn pertinentes, ne ante ad sacros Ordines promoveantur, quam ab Episcopo loci, diligenti doctrinae examine probati sint idonei: sublato, ad hunc tantummodo effectum, quocumque contrario privilegio, etiam specialis-

¹ Cf. *Acta Pontificia*, vol. iii., pag. 127.

sima et individua mentione digno, abrogataque quacumque contraria consuetudine, etiam centenaria et immemoriali, quam in futurum quoque induci prohibemus. Id examen qua ratione instituendum sit, Episcopi definient : hique vero curabunt, quemadmodum Nos eo pro Urbe Motu-proprio constituimus, ut candidati non solum in iis rebus, quae ad Ordinem adeundum pertinent, sed in aliis quoque de theologia dogmatica tractationibus periculum faciant. Contrariis non obstantibus quibuscumque.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum die XIX Martii anno millesimonongentesimo sexto, Pontificatus Nostri tertio.

PIUS PP. X.

**THE POLISH SOCIETY OF 'MYSTIC PRIESTS' CONDEMNED
AND SUPPRESSED**

LITTERAE ENCYCLICAE SS. D. N. PII PP. X, QUIBUS CONSOCIATIO
'MARIAVITARUM' SEU SACERDOTUM MYSTICORUM REPROBATUR
AC SUPPRIMITUR.

VENERABILIBUS FRATRIBUS ARCHIEPISCOPO VARSAVIENSI ATQUE
EPISCOS PLOCENSI ET LUBLINENSI APUD POLONOS.

PIUS PP. X.

Venerabiles Fratres, salutem et Apostolicam Benedictionem.

Tribus circiter abhinc annis huic Apostolicae Sedi rite delatum, est nonnullos dioecesium vestrarum, praesertim e iuniori clero, sacerdotes, consociationem quamdam pseudomonasticam, sub nomine *Mariavitarum* seu *sacerdotum mysticorum* absque ulla legitimorum Praesulum licentia, instituisse, cuius sodales sensim a recta via debitaque Episcopis subiectione 'quos Spiritus Sanctas posuit regere Ecclesiam Dei' deflectere et in suas evanescere cogitationes visi sunt.

Hi enim cuidam mulieri, quam sanctissimam, supernis donis mire cumulata, plura divino lumine edoctam ac novissimis temporibus in perituri mundi salutem divinitus datam dictitabant sese totos tanquam pietatis et conscientiae magistrae committere ab eiusque nutibus pendere haud veriti sunt.

Hinc, de praetenso Dei mandato, creberrima devotionis inter plebem exercitia (ceteroquin, si rite fiant, maxime commendanda) praecipue SSmi Sacramenti adorationem ac frequentissimas Communiones, proprio marte et indiscriminatim promovere quotquot autem e sacerdotibus aut Praesulibus de eiusdem

feminae sanctitate divinaque electione tantisper dubios existimarent, vel *Mariavitarum*, quam vocant, consociationi minus amicos, eos criminationibus gravissimis impetere non dubitarunt ita ut, metus esset ne fideles haud pauci, misere decepti, a legitimis pastoribus recessuri forent.

Quapropter, de consilio Venerabilium Fratrum Nostrorum S. R. E. Cardinalium Generalium Inquisitorum, decretum de memorata sacerdotum sodalitate omnino supprimenda, ac de communicatione quavis cum surpa dicta muliere penitus abrumpenda, die 4 mensis Sept., an. 1904, prout Vobis notum est, edi mandavimus. At vero memorati sacerdotes, etsi documentum scripto dederint de sua erga Episcoporum auctoritatem subiectione, etsi forte cum eadem muliere necessitudines partim, ut asserunt, abruperint; nihilominus ab incoepto molimine haudquaquam destiterunt, nec reprobatae suae consociationi sincero animo renuntiarunt; adeo ut non solum adhortationes et inhibitiones vestras despexerint; non solum, effroniti quadam declaratione a pluribus ipsorum subscripta, communionem cum suis Episcopis respuerint; non solum seductam plebem haud uno loco concitarint ut legitimos propellerent pastores; sed etiam perduellium more, Ecclesiam asseruerint a veritate iustitiaque defecisse, ac proinde a Spritu Sancto esse derelictam, sibi que solis, sacerdotibus *Mariavitis*, divinitus datum esse populum fidelem veram pietatem edocere.

Nec satis, Paucis abhinc hebdomadibus, in Urbem venerunt duo ex huiusmodi sacerdotibus, alter Romanus Prochniewski, alter Ioannes Kowalski quem Praepositum suum vi cuiusdam delegationis memoratae mulieris, sodales omnes agnoscunt. Hi ambo, supplici libello, de expresso Domini Nostri Iesu Christi mandato, ut aiebant, conscripto, requirebant ut Supremus Ecclesiae Pastor, vel, ipsius nomine, Congregatio S. Officii documentum traderet his verbis expressum: 'Mariam Franciscam (id est praedictam mulierem) factam a Deo sanctissimam, esse matrem misericordiae pro omnibus hominibus a Deo ad salutem vocatis et electis hisce ultimis temporibus mundi; omnibus vero sacerdotibus *Mariavitis* esse a Deo praeceptum cultum SSmi. Sacramenti et Beatissimae Virginis Mariae de Perpetuo Succursu, in toto orbe terrarum, propagare, sine ullis limitationibus neque a iure ecclesiastico, neque a legibus humanis, neque a consuetudinibus, neque a quacumque potestate ecclesiastica vel humana.'

Quibus ex verbis conicere volumus sacerdotes illos, non tam

forte conscia superbia quam inscitia et fallaci rerum specie obcoecatos, sicut falsi illi prophetae de quibus Ezechiel : ' Vident vana et divinant mendacium dicentes : Ait Dominus, cum Dominus non miserit eos ; et perseveraverunt confirmare sermonem. Numquid non visionem cassam vidistis, et divinationem mendacem locuti estis ? Et dicitis : Ait, Dominus ; cum ego non sim locutus.'¹ Hos igitur misericorditer exceptos adhortati sumus ut, posthabitis vanarum revelationum fallaciis, seipsos suaque opera salutifero Praesulum suorum regimini sincere subderent, et Christifideles ad tutam obedientiae ac reverentiae erga pastores suos viam reducere festinarent ; ac denique Sedis Apostolicae aliorumque, ad quos pertinet, vigilantiae curam remitterent eas confirmandi devotionis consuetudines quae, pluribus in paroeiis dioecesium vestrarum, Venerabiles Fratres, vitae christianae plenius fovendae viderentur aptiores, et vicissim eos, si qui forte essent, sacerdotes corrigendi, qui pietatis exercitia et devotionis formas in Ecclesia probatas detrectare vel parvipendere reperti forent. Haud sine animi solatio conspeximus eos, paterna Nostra benignitate commotos, ad pedes procumbere obtestarique firmam voluntatem votis Nostris filiorum devotione obsequendi. Deinde iidem scripto² declarationem Nobis porrigendam curarunt, quae spem augebat fore ut decepti hi filii sincero animo praeteritas ludificationes abiicere ad rectumque tramitem vellent redire.

' Nos semper (en verba) ad voluntatem Dei adimplendam, quae modo per Vicarium Eius tam clare nobis patuit, parati, sincerrime et laetissimo animo revocamus hanc nostram epis tolam, quam die 1 Febr. a. c. ad Archiepiscopum Varsavien. dedimus, in et qua declaravimus nos separari ab eo. Insuper sincerrime et cum gaudio maximo profitemur nos semper cum Episcopis nostris, in specie autem cum Episcopo Varsaviensi unitos esse volumus, quoadusque Sanctitas Vestra id nobis iubeat. Praeterea, cum nos nomine omnium Mariavitarum modo agamus, hanc nostram professionem omnimodae obedientiae et subiectionis, nomine omnium non solum Mariavitarum sed universi coetus Adoratorum SSmi Sacramenti, facimus. Specialiter autem facimus hanc professionem nomine Mariavitarum Plocensium qui propter causam eandem, uti Mariavitae Varsavienses, suo Episcopo declarationem porrexerunt se ab eo separari. Ideo omnes sine exceptione ad pedes Sanctitatis

¹ Ezechiel xiii. 6, 7.² Die 20 Febr. an. curr.

Vestrae provoluti, iterum iterumque amorem nostrum et obedientiam erga Sanctam Sedem et specialissimo modo erga Vestram Sanctitatem profitentes, humili lime veniam petimus, si quid a nobis vel propter nos paterno cord Vestro dolorem attulerit. Denique declaramus nos statim omnibus viribus adlaboraturos ut pax populi cum Episcopis quamprimum restituatur. Immo affirmare etiam possumus pacem hanc revera brevi secuturam.'

Quapropter periucundum Nobis erat sperare hosce filios Nostros benigne condonatos, vix in Poloniam reversos, operam daturos, ut ea quae promiserant, re quamprimum praestarent. Atque id circo Vos, Venerabiles Fratres, festine volumus admonitos, ut eosdem eorumque socios, plenam auctoritatis vestrae subiectionem profitentes, pari misericordia exciperetis et in pristinam, si facta promissis convenirent, conditionem pro muneribus sacerdotalibus exercendis, ad iuris tramitem, restitueretis.

At spem fefellit eventus ; nuperis enim documentis rescivimus eos mentem suam mendacibus revelationibus rursus aperuisse, et in Poloniam receptos non solum obsequii ac subiectionis testimonium quod polliciti fuerant, nondum Vobis, Venerabiles Fratres, exhibuisse, sed etiam ad socios et plebem quamdam dedisse epistolam, veritati ac genuinae obedientiae minime consentaneam.

Verumtamen inanis est asseveratio fidelitatis erga Christi Vicarium ab iis edita, qui re non desistunt suorum Antistitum auctoritatem infringere. Etenim 'Ex Episcopis constat pars Ecclesiae longe augustissima (prout legitur in epistola diei 17 mensis Decembris 1888 s. m. Leonis XIII Decessoris Nostri ad Turonensem Archiepiscopum) quae nimirum docet ac regit homines iure divino ; ob eamque rem quicumque eis resistat, vel dicto audiens esse pertinaciter recuset, ille ab Ecclesia longius recedit. . . . Contra, inquirere in acta Episcoporum, eaque redarguere, nullo modo attinet ad privatos ; verum ad eos dum taxat attinet, qui sacro in ordine illis potestate antecedunt, praecipue ad Pontificem Maximum, quippe cui Christus non agnos modo sed oves, quotquot ubique sunt, ad pascendum commiserit. Ut summum in gravi aliqua conquerendi materia, concessum est rem totam ad Pontificem Romanum deferre ; id tamen caute moderateque, quemadmodum studium suadet communis boni, non clamitando aut obiurgando, quibus modis dissidia verius offensionesque gignuntur, aut certe augentur.'

Inanis pariter et subdola sacerdotis Joannis Kowalski ad socios erroris adhortatio de pace restituenda, si contra legitimos

pastores blaterationes ac rebellionum fomenta perdurent atque audaces mandatorum episcopalium violationes.

Quamobrem, ne Christifideles ut quotquot ex sic dictis *Mariavitis* sacerdotibus in bona fide perstiterunt, ludificationibus memoratae mulieris ac sacerdotis Joannis Kowalski diutius decipiantur, decretum iterum confirmamus, quo *Mariaviatarum* consociatio, illsgitimo irritoque consilio inita, omnino supprimitur, eamque suppressam reprobataque declaramus, firma manente prohibitione, ne qui e sacerdotibus, eo tantum excepto quem Plocensis Episcopus, pro sua prudentia, confessarium deputaverit, ad mulierem quam diximus, quovis praetextu accedere aut eam excipere audeant.

Vos autem, Venerabiles Fratres, vehementer hortamur, ut sacerdotes errantes, statim ac sincere resipuerint, paterna charitate amplectamini, eosque rite probatos ad munia sacerdotalia, ductu vestro, denuo obeunda vocare non renuatis. Quod si, spretis adhortationibus vestris in sua contumacia perseveraverint—quod Deus avertat—muneris erit Nostri severius in eos animadvertendi. Christi vero fideles, nunc ignoscenda ludificatione deceptos, in rectam reducere viam studeatis; atque in dioecesibus vestris christianae pietatis exercitia, multiplicibus Sedis Apostolicae documentis iamdiu recenterque comprobata, eo alacrius foveatis quo liberius nunc, Deo dante, apud vos ministerium suum sacerdotes exercere fidelesque antiquae pietatis exempla aemulari valent.

Interea, caelestium beneficiorum auspicem, paternaeque Nostrae benevolentiae testem, vobis, Venerabiles Fratres, clero populoque universo, vestrae fidei vigilantiaeque commisso Apostolicam Benedictionem peramanter in Domino impertimur Pontificatus Nostri anno tertio.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum die v Aprilis MDCCCXVI, Pontificatus Nostri anno tertio.

PIUS PP. X.

**LETTER OF POPE PIUS X TO DR. FRANCK, PRESIDENT OF
THE CATHOLIC TRUTH SOCIETY OF BAVARIA**

**EPISTOLA PII PP. X AD CL. R. FRANCK, PRAESIDEM COETUS SCRIPTIS
CATHOLICIS PER BAVARIAM EDENDIS.**

PIUS PP. X.

Dilecte fili, salutem et Apostolicam Benedictionem,

Praestito Nobis a te atque a collegis tuis e spectabili coetu scriptis catholicis per Bavariam edendis, nihil possit esse obsquio

iucundius. Eos enim agnoscimus officia Nobis observantiae deferre, a quibus, sodalitatis vinculo coniunctis, quasi atptissimo augendarum virium praesidio, tam multa exspectamus intuitionem sacrarum Bavariae rationum emolumenta. Quae vobis saluberrimi condendi coetus exstiterint initia, compertum id quidem est; illata scilicet per adversas partes in catholicam professionem arma, ingesta tamen, ut est aetatis ingenio congruum, per eas maxime vias, quae ab omni litterarum genere praesto esse possint. At si decertandum bonis est sive ad custodiendam civitatem Dei sive ad eius amplificandam vim; si, etiam non illud praetereundum dimicantibus bonis est artes artibus esse obiiiciendas easdem, haec omnia fuere potissimum curae vobis, qui studio tuendae religionis acti, praeclarumque secuti exemplum virorum e sacro ordine, in unum genere coivistis, illas allaturi patriae utilitates, unde laetari Nobis libet in praesens. Magnis propterea laudibus, quemadmodum illustria merita postulant, ornamus cetum, teque imprimis industrium fortemque praesidem, eosque una simul omnes, quos scimus adlaborare animose tecum, immemores sui, memores autem Ecclesiae, cuius certe profectus cum civitatis bono coniungitur. Commoda autem et incrementa Sodalitatis quum cordi Nobis sint, illud Bavariae universae commendamus, quod quidem plurimi in re gravissima refert, ut non modo sacrorum administri, verum etiam, praecipueque, *laici* nomen operi alacritatemque dedant. Omnes namque quotquot catholica fide glorianitur, huic oportet fidei sive protegendae sive honorandae dare operam, et quando aptum prae ceteris opportunumque praesidium in sodalitate vestra est, eidem sese sodales addere. Quoniam vero nullum putandum est litterarum scriptorumque genus ab industria coetus alienum, id equidem expedire omnino atque adeo necesse esse existimamus, ut non ad labores solum, sed ad impendia quoque ferenda, quae sane pergrandia esse non ambigimus, singuli gerant paratissimum animum, ea nimirum erecti atque excitati spe, quae per eos suppeditentur id genus subsidia, perinde ac lectissima pietatis opera ad religionem referri, et ad comparandam animorum salutem conducere. Nostram demum ut operi voluntatem testemur, tibi, sodalibus cunctis, atque iis, qui nomine operave coetui favebunt, auspicem coelestium gratiarum Apostolicam Benedictionem peramanter in Domino impertimus.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum die XXVI Aprilis anno MCMVI, Pontificatus Nostri tertio

PIUS X AND THE JUBILEE OF THE GERMAN COLLEGE

**EPISTOLA SUMMI PONTIFICIS AD RMUM. RECTOREM S. MARIAE DE
ANIMA IN URBE QUINTO EXEUNTE SAECULO AB INITIIS
HOSPITII URBANI TEUTONUM**

**DILECTO FILIO IOSEPHO LOHNINGER PROTONOTARIO APOSTOLICO
PIUS PP. X.**

Dilecte fili, salutem et Apostolicam Benedictionem,

Exeunte quod propediem fore ex tuis litteris accepimus, quinto saeculo ab initiis urbani Teutonum hospitii, cui praees, recete tu quidem et sacerdotes tui consilium cepistis faustam rei celebrare memoriam, atque in id convocare omnes, quotquot de gente vestra Urbem incolunt aut per eos dies in Urbem advenerint. Nam primum omnium decet vos beneficia commemorare, quae hoc tanto spatio multa et magna Instituto vestro Deus contulit, deque his sollemnes agere divinae bonitati gratias. Tum in conspicuo ponere aequum est, quantopere ad idem Institutum sustinendum provehendum non modo vestratium liberalitas vestrorumque Caesarum cura, sed etiam perpetua Pontificum Romanorum providentia valuerit.

Nominandus in his praesertim Pius IX fel. rec. cuius auctoritate amplificatum congruenter necessitatibus temporum Hospitium, id est, auctum collegio sacerdotum, qui sacris repoparentur doctrinis ac pontificii iuris prudentiam peritiamque perciperent, multo magis, quam antea, opportunum ac salutare esse coepit.

Nos vero, quum aequae, ac Decessores Nostri, erga vos vestraque affecti simus, libenter saecularia haec sollemnia significatione ornamus paternae benevolentiae; Nostrae cuius testem eandemque divinorum munerum auspicem, tibi, dilecte Fili, atque omnibus, qui ex isto hospitio collegioque sunt fueruntve sacerdotes, Apostolicam benedictionem peramanter in Domino impertimus.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum die XVIII Aprilis anno MDCCCXVI, Pontificatus Nostri tertio.

PIUS PP. X.

**LETTER OF CARDINAL MERRY DEL VAL TO THE ARCHBISHOP
OF COLOGNE ON THE VATICAN 'KYRIALE'**

**EPISTOLA AD EMUM. CARD. FISHER, QUA VATICANA KYRIALIS
EDITIO AUTHENTICA ET OMNIBUS ECCLESIIS ADHIBENDA
DECLARATUR.**

Eme. ac Revme. Domine Mi Obsme,

Vaticana Kyrialis editio multas, ut Eminentiae Tuae compertum est, disceptationes, apud editores ceteros praesertim, commovit, ita quidem ut primum sit credere minus justas de ejus indole opiniones fuisse diffusas. Hisce ut occurreret, illud Beatissimus Pater jussit me declarare Tibi, Vaticanam editionem Kyrialis non quidem esse emissam ut ad tempus tantummodo inserviret, sed esse vere et proprie authenticam ita ut hic et nunc in usum deveniat apud omnes ecclesias. Hujusmodi autem authenticitatis character, communisque pro praesenti tempore usus nihil obstare dicendi sunt quominus si quando, Sanctae Sedis judicio, mutationes aliquae afferendae esse videantur, eadem induci in laudatum Kyriale, non promixto tamen tempore, possint. Interim Pontifex Summus non dubitat quin recentibus sacrorum concentuum formis Germania omnis obsecundet, eo vel magis quod eadem in natione, id est Argentorati, habita est non multo ante congressio de sacro gregoriano cantu, qua quidem congressione Beatissimus Pater jucunde est affectus.

Dum haec, Suae Sanctitatis mandato, pro Tua atque Archidioecesis notitia Tibi significo, peculiaris erga Te extimationis sensa profiteor, quibus manus Tibi humillime deosculor ac per maneo.

Eminentiae Tuae, humillimus et addictissimus vere fam.

R. Card. MERRY DEL VAL.

Romae, die XXVI. Januarii, a. 1906.

Dno. Cardinali Antonio Fisher, Archiepiscopo Coloniensi.
Coloniam Agrippinam.

**LETTER OF THE CARDINAL SECRETARY OF STATE ON
CERTAIN ABUSES IN BELGIUM**

**EPISTOLA EMI SECRETAR STATUS AD EMUM. CARD. GOOSSENS DE
AUCTORITATE SUPREMA SANCTAE SEDIS ABUSIVE NON INVOCANDA.**

Eminence Révérendissime,

Il a été porté à la connaissance du Saint-Siège que les deux prêtres belges, Daens et Fonteyne, condamnés justement par leurs évêques pour cause d'insubordination et pour avoir fomenté

la discorde parmi les fidèles, se permettent constamment d'invoquer l'autorité du Souverain Pontife dans leurs discours et dans les journaux qu'ils rédigent, sans avoir obtenu l'autorisation requise, comme si eux et leurs partisans agissaient en conformité des doctrines et des enseignements du Saint-Siège, et comme si les évêques belges, interprétant mal ces doctrines et ces enseignements, avaient réprouvé et continuaient à réprouver à tort leur manière d'agir.

Le Saint Père, ayant eu connaissance de tout cela, a jugé, dans sa grande sagesse et sa prudence, qu'il est opportun de mettre fin à un état de choses qui pourrait nuire gravement aux intérêts de la religion catholique en Belgique. Il est en effet facile de comprendre que si l'on continue à tolérer certains agissements, un certain nombre de catholiques de bonne foi pourraient être induits en erreur, et qu'ainsi, parmi les fidèles, se perpétuerait le germe de la discorde qu'il importe souverainement de faire disparaître.

Le Saint Père veut donc que Votre Eminence sache et fasse savoir en même temps aux évêques et aux catholiques belges qu'il condamne cette façon d'agir des prêtres mentionnés, qui invoquent abusivement l'autorité suprême du Saint-Siège.

Je profite de l'occasion pour vous redire les sentiments de profonde vénération avec lesquels, etc.

Rome, 27 février 1905.

R. Card. MERRY DEL VAL.

**DECRETE OF THE SACRED CONGREGATION OF BISHOPS AND
REGULARS GRANTING POWER TO ESTABLISH A 'THIRD
ORDER' OF CAPUCHIN FRIAR MINORS**

INDULGETUR MINISTRO GENERALI O. FF. MINORUM CAPUCCINORUM
FACULTAS AGGREGANDI COMMUNITATE TERTIARIORUM
REGULARIUM.

Beatissime Pater,

Infrascriptus Minister Generalis Ordinis FF. Minorum Capuccinorum, ad osculum S. Pedis prostratus, humiliter exponit, quod ipsi interdum a congregationibus Tertiariorum S. Francisci in communitate viventium et vota simplicia emittentium porriguntur preces eo tendentes ut primo et secundo Ordini ab ipso dependenti aggregentur, et sic vi decreti Apostolici¹ sub die

¹ Cf. *Acta Pontificia*, vol. i., pag. 270.

28 Augusti anni 1903 editi a S. C. Indulgentiis sacrisque Reliquiis praepositae, indulgentiarum et spiritualium gratiarum eiusdem primi et secundi Ordinis, quantum concedere fas est, participes efficiantur. Porro inter has congregationes inveniuntur etiam tales, quae non dicti primi et secundi Ordinis habitum, nec nomen Capuccinorum mutantur, licet tamen, uti relatum fuit, ad magnam Familiam Franciscanam pertineant. Quapropter idem Minister Generalis, ad obsecundandum piis enuntiatarum congregationum votis, ad praecavendas invalidas Tertiariorum regularium aggregationes, et etiam ad sui Ordinis bonum spirituale promovendum, Sanctitati Vestrae humiliter supplicatur pro gratia :

1^o Ut tam ipse quam sui successores, congregationes Tertiariorum et Tertiariarum Tertii Ordinis S. Francisci regulam a Leone XIII approbatam quoad substantiam profitentium, in communitate viventium et vota simplicia emittentium, sive primi et secundi Ordinis habitum et vota simplicia emittentium, sive primi et secundi Ordinis habitum et nomen mutantur, sive non, eidem primo et secundo Ordini aggregare possint et valeant.

2^o Ut earundem congregationum sodales, si id petant, ut quondoque evenit, participes reddere valeant omnium bonorum operum, quae in dicto primo et secundo Ordine a singulis membris peraguntur, utque vicissim primi et secundi Ordinis membra participare possint omnibus bonis operibus quae a sodalibus congregationum ut supra aggregatarum perficiuntur.

Vigore specialium facultatum a SSmo. Domino Nostro concessarum, Sacra Congregatio Emorum. et Rmorum. S. R. E. Cardinalium negotiis et consultationibus Episcoporum et Regularium praeposita, attentis expositis, benigne annuit precibus P. Ministri Generalis pro gratia, dummodo enunciatae Societates sint rite Tertio Ordini Franciscali addictae, nec alterius Familiae Franciscalis seu Fratrum Minorum vel Fratrum Minorum Conventualium directioni subiaceant. Contrariis quibuscumque non obstantibus.

D. Card. FERRATA, *Praef.*

L. ✱ S.

PH. GIUSTINI, *Secret.*

NOTICES OF BOOKS

THE EARLY SCOTTISH CHURCH: ITS DOCTRINE AND DISCIPLINE. By Dom Columba Edmonds, Monk of Fort Augustus. Edinburgh: Sands & Co. 6s. net.

By 'Scottish Church' the author means 'the ancient Catholics of Ireland and Scotland who were in communion, through a common faith, with the rest of Christendom.' His purpose is to show that this Church, more usually called the 'Celtic Church,' 'was both Roman in origin and Roman in its doctrines and essential points of discipline.' This thesis has, of course, been repeatedly established, but as the Bishop of Aberdeen remarks in a short preface which he has contributed to the work, 'prejudices are difficult to overcome,' and the learned monk of Fort Augustus has done a very useful work in once more tearing to shreds the favourite contention of shallow Protestant writers that the old Celtic Church was a national independent Church which might indeed have had an Eastern or any other origin except that which is now practically acknowledged by such a distinguished non-Catholic scholar as Professor Bury. Dom Columba's book is nothing more than a summary of the leading arguments which prove the Roman origin and character of the Celtic Church, and which may be found elaborated in such works as the *Life of St. Patrick* by the Archbishop of Tuam, not to mention others. The work, consisting altogether of some 300 pages, is divided into four parts. Part I., a fourth of the entire book, is a brief theological treatise on the general question of Papal supremacy. I think the author would have done much better had he omitted Part I. altogether, and treated at greater length the important and pertinent subjects dealt with in Parts II., III., and IV.

In Part II., under the heading 'Celtic Christianity,' the early missions from Rome to England, Scotland and Ireland, are discussed. The case for the Roman origin of Celtic Christianity is so strong that any over-zeal in stating it is a mistake. I think, therefore, that while defending his own view about the Lucius-Eleutherius Mission, the author might have mentioned that such an eminent Catholic writer as Duchesne does not see

his way to accept it as authentic history. Part III. deals with 'doctrine and discipline,' while Part IV. discusses the Roman character of the Celtic liturgical and ritual observances. What occurs to me to say about the general character of the book is that the treatment of the subjects dealt with in Parts I., II. and III. is entirely too meagre. It reminds me of a little English history I was obliged to study years ago, which while it touched on almost everything, did not help me to remember anything. Although he has no style, I can read Warren's *Celtic Liturgy* for its wealth of reference and quotation. I can read with less interest, indeed, but still with pleasure, the picturesque historian who weaves the materials collected by scholars into a lucid narrative, but a mere summary of facts with a mixture of apologetics is a *genre* I am not in love with. While saying so much as a personal view, I feel bound to acknowledge the eminently useful character of Dom Columba's book. It is a splendid book for a parochial library, and is well within the intellectual reach of the multitude.

T. P. G.

ST. FRANCIS OF ASSISI, SOCIAL REFORMER. By Leo L' Dubois, S.M. New York, Cincinnati, Chicago : Benziger Brothers. 4s. net.

If biography is the most charming species of literature, this is one of the most charming of biographies. It brings us back to the ages of faith, when the Church ruled the world, when the spirit of the Crusades filled court and camp, and when northern Europe, strong in the youth of its Christian profession, fought in the cause of religion with all the zeal and fiery spirit of the neophyte. The age, however ideal from many points of view, was not without its abuses; and it is as a reformer of the latter that St. Francis is prominently brought before us in these pages. The general summary of his life and character will not be out of place.

'A strenuous saint, but none the less open to the tenderest human sentiments, a poet, a troubadour, a chevalier in character and aspirations, intensely in love with a poor, abandoned, but chaste maiden, "La Donna Poverta" . . . He went to the people, to the poor and the rich, to the layman and the clergy, to the great and the lowly, captivating all, not only by his charming character, but also by his unstudied and unaffected, yet irresistible, eloquence: thus he became the soul of a popular

movement, which spread all over Europe and made itself felt in all parts of the then known world.'

What the picture promises the book reveals : his character and work is treated with the tenderness and sympathy of a genuine admirer ; and the book, taken all in all, is the most readable and attractive of its kind we have seen for a long time. It will be welcomed by all, Catholics and non-Catholics alike, to whom the Saint has endeared himself by his love for everything that leaves on itself the impress of its Maker.

The publishers are Benziger Brothers, and their work leaves nothing to be desired. The book is well-bound, and the print is large and clear.

M. J. O'D.

THEORY AND PRACTICE OF THE CONFESSIONAL. By Dr. Caspar E. Schieler (Mayence Professor). Edited by the Rev. H. J. Heuser, D.D. (Overbrook Professor). Introduction by Most Rev. S. G. Messmer, D.D., D.C.L., Archbishop of Milwaukee. New York, etc. : Benziger Bros. 14s.

WE have nothing but praise and welcome for this very readable and scholarly work. It is hard to know which to admire most—the full and able treatment of the subject in the original, or the clear, idiomatic English of the translation. From cover to cover the book is full of matter equally interesting and instructive to every priest engaged in the practical work of the mission. In most of the text-books on Moral Theology with which we are acquainted, clearness of expression is certainly not the strong point ; in this one, however, it is not too much to say that the student need never read a sentence twice to realize the meaning.

We are glad that at least a beginning has been made in the way of furnishing English-speaking priests and students even in the sphere of Moral Theology. Doubtless there is some danger and inconvenience—as there is in most professional sciences—in publishing, in a form accessible to people generally, rules and regulations intended only for the guidance of the few. But—especially when a certain degree of discrimination is

exercised—the compensating advantages are great. Many a treasure of theological lore is, we fear, left untouched, because unfortunately enshrined in a Latin tome. To priests who have long since left the atmosphere of the theological class-hall, and who must instruct their penitents in the plain, homely vernacular, a text-book in English will appeal with peculiar force. Even in the case of students, a certain amount of energy is, we are persuaded, exercised, consciously, or unconsciously, in the effort at translation, which would be much more profitably employed in aiding the assimilation of the matter itself.

With the opinions defended in the volume we have no intention of dealing. We are concerned with it, for the present, chiefly as a translation. The attempt, in any case, to criticise, in a short note, a work extending to upwards of 700 pages, would be hopeless. Suffice it to say that, though we do not agree with all the opinions expressed, the author gives sound reasons for every position he adopts, and, in many instances, makes suitable allowance for opinions with which he is not himself disposed to sympathise.

We should add, however, that, though most of the matter may, with suitable energy and perseverance, be discovered in corresponding Latin works, there are practical hints and suggestions thrown out in regard to the confessions of priests, converts, persons contracting civil marriage, etc., which will be sought for in vain in our ordinary text-books on the subject. May we hope that some kind friend of clerical students will imitate the good example and give us a corresponding work on Justice? It would spare us many a trouble and heart-ache. Lehmkuhl and Gury do not tell us enough; and English law-books are dull and dreary reading. The volume would be received with the same welcome and appreciation we now heartily extend to the work of Drs. Schieler and Heuser.

The printers have done their part admirably. The paper and binding are good, and the print clear and well-defined.

M. J. O'D

THE PRIEST IN THE PULPIT : A MANUAL OF HOMILETICS AND CATECHETICS. Adapted from the German of Rev. Ignaz Schuech, O.S.B., by Rev. Boniface Luebberrmann. New Revised Edition. New York, Cincinnati, Chicago : Benziger Bros. 1905. 6s. net.

As this is merely a new edition of a work that has been long before the public, it is not necessary to speak at length about it. The original work has been received everywhere with the highest praise, and so far as our own opinion goes we consider it easily the best on Pastoral Theology that has come under our notice. With the revival, if we may so call it, that has taken place in the teaching of catechetics, principally owing to the works of Spirago and others, a new edition of this treatise is most opportune. It is, however, only one of three volumes, and several years since a translation of the others was promised, but so far it has not seen the light. Might we ask why is this? We regret it very much, owing to the high excellence of the volume before us.

P. A. B.

SKETCHES FOR SERMONS ON THE SUNDAYS AND HOLIDAYS OF THE YEAR. By the Rev. R. K. Wakeham, St. Joseph's Seminary, Dunwoodie, N.Y. New York : Joseph F. Wagner. \$1.25.

UNDER the heading given above, we have received for review two very interesting volumes, one chiefly on the Gospels and the other on the Epistles of the Sundays. Father Wakeham tells us in his Preface that his aim is to afford, as far as he is able, some useful aid to his busy brother priests who are engaged in the arduous labours of the daily ministry. That has been the dominant idea throughout, and the writer is to be congratulated on having given us two excellent volumes. He does not put his trust in the persuasive words of human eloquence, nor is there any trace of the platitudinous inanities that are so often found in treatises of this kind, nor any pressing to the front of his own point of view ; on the contrary, the writer tries to keep himself in the background, fully convinced that by judicious selection, arrangement, and suggestion, the Gospels and Epistles will convey their own lesson, Christ, to use the writer's

words, being the principal preacher in the former, and, in the latter, the four Apostles, Peter, Paul, James, and John. It is the work of a thoughtful, priestly priest of much experience, who has before his mind a definite idea of what a sermon should be, and who is anxious to help his fellow priests. He has not given us fully rounded sermons, but, as the title indicates, sketches, not dry, wooden ones, of which the market is too full, but sketches that are highly suggestive. A feature of the volumes is that there is a blank page attached to every sermon plan, whereon the reader can make a note of the ideas that will naturally spring to his mind. One word in conclusion; if a preacher wishes to go in for so-called 'pulpit eloquence'—perhaps better named 'pulpit-eering'—he had better not mind Father Wakeham's books, for he will certainly be disappointed.

P. A. B.

CHRIST: THE PREACHER. Sermons for Every Sunday of the Ecclesiastical Year. By Rev. D. S. Phelan. St. Louis, Mo.: B. Herder, 17 South Broadway. 1905.

THE author of this excellent volume of sermons is, we understand the editor of the *Western Watchman*, a Catholic newspaper which for years has done much good in the middle and western States of America. Father Phelan brings to his work a mind full of knowledge and ripened by experience; a style vigorous and trenchant; an earnestness begotten of a priestly zeal and a well known independence of purpose; and hence, this volume, just as the preceding one, *Gospel Applied to Our Times*, will cause a stir in the field of homiletics. The sermons are striking and original, and, above all, they are stimulating—in fact they are almost a spiritual and intellectual tonic. And who, knowing the flabby output to which we are often treated, will not welcome a volume of this kind? We heartily congratulate the author. We wish, to say, however, to the reader on this side of the Atlantic that his sermons deal largely with the conditions that obtain in America; but, of course, the underlying principles are universal in their application.

P. A. B.

PASTORAL MEDICINE : A HANDBOOK FOR THE CLERGY.
By Alexander E. Sandford, M.D. New Edition,
revised and enlarged. New York : Joseph F. Wagner.

THIS is a new edition of a work that has been long and favourably known to those interested in Pastoral Medicine. It is divided into three sections, the first dealing with Hygiene, the second with Pastoral Medicine, and the third with First Aid to the Injured. There is also added a chapter on the moment of death, by the Rev. Walter M. Drum, S.J., which deals exhaustively with the reply given by the Catholic Medical Society of Barcelona to Father Ferreres, S.J., as to the moment of death. This is, of course, very important to the priest, as the salvation of many souls may depend on it ; and to those who may not have read the series of articles in the *American Ecclesiastical Review*, we can safely recommend the book for this chapter alone. Apart from that, the book contains much useful information under the sections already referred to, and on the subject with which it treats, it can be well called a handbook for the clergy, not going deeply or technically into any subject—and so much the better—but conveying clearly and in an interesting way about all that it is well for a priest to know. It is a useful book for a priest's library.

P. A. B.

THE SACRIFICE OF THE MASS. An Explanation of its Doctrines, Rubrics, and Prayers. By M. Gavin, S.J. Fourth Edition. London : Burns & Oates, Ltd. ; New York, Cincinnati, Chicago : Benziger Bros. ; and of all Booksellers. 1906.

THIS book of two hundred and fourteen pages contains seventeen instructions on the Holy Sacrifice, which were given to the Members of the Sodality of the Immaculate Conception in Farm Street, London. We thank the author for giving them to the public, because they are very interesting and instructive, and are well calculated to awaken reverence for the sacrifice of the Mass in the mind of anyone who reads them. We can gather from the words of the preface that the author has set his heart on making the Holy Sacrifice, its nature and origin, its rubrics and ceremonies, better known to Catholics, chiefly to

English Catholics, and we have no doubt that a perusal of his book will contribute much towards that end. The writer shows an acquaintance with the works of many rubricists and liturgists, but he has known how to select, and how to convey his information in an interesting, popular style. The clergy will find it useful, and the laity, for whom it is principally intended, will profit much by studying it. For them, in particular, we warmly commend it to the clergy.

P. A. B.

GUIDE CANONIQUE POUR DES INSTITUTS A VŒUX SIMPLES.

Mgr. Battandier. Paris: Lecoffre, 1905.

In the present issue this well-known work has been almost entirely rewritten. Since its first appearance, we have had the Constitution *Conditae a Christo* and the *Normae*, which changed considerably or else made clearer a great number of points in the legislation that regards congregations having simple vows. In this third edition Mgr. Battandier has collected and commented upon the most recent decrees. Owing to his position as Consultor of the Sacred Congregation of Bishops and Regulars, he is enabled to speak with complete knowledge of a very intricate subject. His book is a reliable guide to the relations that exist between these institutes and the Holy See. It begins by explaining how an institute is to be founded, treats afterwards of vows, power of superiors, and the other subjects appertaining to religious life, etc. The author enjoys exceptional opportunities for getting information, and he gives it so clearly and concisely that we can heartily recommend the *Guide Canonique* to our readers.

B. D.

THE NOTRE DAME HYMN TUNE BOOK. Compiled and arranged by Frank N. Birtchnell, Mus. Bac., and Moir Brown. Liverpool: Rockliff Brothers, 1905. 2s. 6d.

It is stated in the preface of this book that 'an attempt has been made in this book to provide a complete set of tunes for the hymns published by the Sisters of Notre Dame. The

traditional tunes have been retained, and many of the hymns have been set for the first time, while those having melodies which were considered to be unsuited to the words have been reset.'

'The traditional tunes,' we suppose, are the horrible things that have been sung during the last twenty or thirty years. On the new tunes the following sentence throws some light: 'The majority of the tunes are harmonized in four parts, and it is hoped that choirs and congregations will cultivate the part-singing of the hymns.' We are afraid that as long as editors look upon a hymn tune as merely the top part of a part-song, we shall never get satisfactory hymn tunes.

As to the words, the editors think it necessary to make a kind of apology. 'But,' they say, 'as every hymn included is used in one parish or another, we have thought it best to publish them all.' We cannot say that the present publication has advanced the problem of English hymn singing very much.

H. B.

We have received from the great publishing firm of Herder & Co., the following works:—

MYSTIC TREASURES OF THE HOLY MASS. By Father Coppens, S.J. 2s.

It contains in a small compass a very complete statement of the Church's doctrine regarding the Adorable Sacrifice. There is also an explanation of ceremonies, etc., which cannot fail to be read with advantage, and the whole book is written in such simple language that a child could understand it.

IN QUEST OF TRUTH. By F. Menchgesang. 3s. 6d.

ROMAN life in the days of Domitian has been chosen as his subject by the author. It was only a semblance, for the gradual decay of the mighty pagan empire had made greater progress than men were aware of. Pagan vices and Christian virtues made a marked contrast between the inhabitants of Rome. Aristius is the representative of one class, and Domitilla, the emperor's favourite niece, is the representative of the other.

Their respective characteristics are well sketched, so too is life in the senator's home and life in the catacombs.

ATTITUDE OF CATHOLICS TOWARD DARWINISM AND
EVOLUTION. By H. Muckermann, S.J. 3s. 6d.

THIS little work will be useful to those who desire to read a short reliable account of Darwinism and of Evolution. Darwinism is an exploded theory, but there still remains as the writer points out a tenable theory of evolution. His remarks on the question of the variability of species deserve careful consideration.

F. J. N.

The Irish Ecclesiastical Record

A Monthly Journal, under Episcopal Sanction.

Thirtieth Year] SEPTEMBER, 1906. [Fourth Series.
 No. 465.] Vol. XX.

An Irish Friar and an Irish Protestant Theory.

Rev. Ambrose Coleman, O.P., Drogheda.

Primary Education in Ireland.

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AN IRISH FRIAR AND AN IRISH PROTESTANT THEORY

THE publication of the Franciscan manuscripts, preserved at Merchant's Quay, Dublin, has had the unexpected result of bringing to light a letter written to Father Luke Wadding, in which the writer, then guardian of the Dublin Franciscan House, expresses opinions regarding the Marian bishops in Ireland, utterly at variance with the judgment of all Irish Catholic historians. In plain words he says that all the Catholic bishops in Ireland, with one exception, fell away and took the oath of supremacy in Elizabeth's Dublin Parliament. This has been all along the contention of Irish Protestant writers, except that they admit that two of the bishops did not take the oath, and it is painfully startling to find an Irish Franciscan subscribing to the same opinion in 1629. The occasion has been eagerly availed of by Dr. Hemphill,¹ who had already written last year on the alleged conformity of the Catholic bishops, to bring forward the Franciscan as a 'first-class Roman Catholic witness' to the Protestant theory.

The extract from the letter, which is of great length, is as follows² :—

1629, November 20, Dublin.—Thomas Strange [Guardian

¹ 'The Irish Reformation in the Reign of Elizabeth,' by Rev. Samuel Hemphill, D.D., *Church of Ireland Gazette*, June 22nd, 1906.

² On page 15 of the *Report on Franciscan Manuscripts*, etc. The Report, published at Government expense and sold to the public at One Shilling

of the Order of St. Francis] to Luke Wadding [Guardian of St. Isidore's, Rome]:—

. . . Be it known to your paternity that Father Patrick, Lord Bishop of Waterford, showed me in private an authentic copy of his Bull in which I observed a clause to which I drew his Lordship's attention, and which I refer to your paternity for amendment, if need be : it is that where mention is made of the time during which the said see has been vacant there occur the words *per obitum cufusdam Walshe bonæ memoriæ*, etc. I suppose that neither your paternity nor his Lordship were acquainted with the facts touching this Walshe at the time when the Bull was obtained, and therefore I have determined to apprise your paternity that this Walshe was Patrick Walshe, a Catholic bishop by election and consecration, a man of learning and of great repute throughout the kingdom for his gifts of teaching and preaching, insomuch that in Parliament all the bishops of Ireland spoke *ad nutum ejus*, and stood firm while he stood firm, and when he fell, all fell with him, save only the Bishop of Kildare. Not content with taking the oath of supremacy, he married (they say) and had sons—to wit, Nicholas Walshe, who was pseudo-Bishop of Ossory, and was murdered by a kearn, and Abel Walshe, and the wife of our Magheraghty, Anna Walshe, so that your paternity may see that this clause in the Bull stands in need of correction, for that Walshe died a confirmed heretic.

Dr. Hemphill is jubilant over his discovery, and runs the poor Franciscan for all he is worth, and as we shall presently see, for a great deal more. Every sentence of the letter is taken as Gospel proof, for the Doctor, for once in his life, has a holy friar on his side. The Doctor spares him the trouble of proving anything or producing any documentary evidence ; his word alone is sufficient for all purposes and clinches every argument. Therefore, by his letter, the conformity of Dr. Patrick Walshe is 'proved beyond all shadow of doubt.' The letter also proves that he was the father of Nicholas Walshe, 'who was Bishop of Ossory, and a true and devoted Protestant.' It proves, moreover, a most important point, that the Catholic bishop was 'lawfully married.' And as regards the contention

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that all the Catholic bishops who continued in their sees took the Oath of Supremacy, 'that fact is now firmly established' by this letter.

It never seems to have struck Dr. Hemphill that as an historian accustomed to weigh historical evidence, he should have subjected the letter itself, the time and circumstances in which it was written, and the author of it, to a critical examination before showing to the public such unbounded confidence in it. He accuses others of catching at straws for proofs; it is he who, busied for a long time with an impossible theory, has caught like a drowning man at a chance straw floating on the waters. In his indecent haste to utilise the Franciscan as a pillar for the upholding of the rotten and illogical structure of the Irish Protestant Church theory, he reminds us of the low-sectarian audiences who applaud every word that falls from the lips of an apostate priest or monk against the 'doings of the Church of Rome.' First of all, how can he take Father Strange as a 'first-class Roman Catholic witness;' how can he construe his letter as testimony? Is the Franciscan guardian, writing in 1629, in the reign of Charles I, to be regarded as a witness of what took place seventy years before? Are the references to Dr. Patrick Walshe and Elizabeth's Parliament, which together do not make up even a third of a private letter written to a friend and taken up otherwise with matters of the day, to be looked on as important testimony? It is just as absurd to quote the Franciscan as a witness of what took place in the middle of the sixteenth century, as it would be for Dr. Hemphill to pose as a witness, for instance, of the attitude of the Protestant bishops towards the Act of Catholic Emancipation during the passing of that measure through Parliament. When a man writes seventy years after an event, he can gain credence only as an historian, and must produce contemporary evidence, or at least show that his conclusions are the result of independent historical research.

Father Strange's letter does not bear this character. He merely relates to his friend, in the positive manner

common to all men who have not made a special study of history, what he calls facts, most of which go back very far, and for which a man endowed with a critical faculty would have offered some indication of the sources whence he derived them. This was all the more necessary in his case, as a wide chasm separated the new generation of Irish friars, educated on the Continent, from the former generation suppressed all over the English Pale and elsewhere by Henry VIII in 1539 and the following years. These had long since died off, leaving hardly a trace behind them, and the new generation, recruited from the northern and western abbeys and spending the years of their youth abroad, came back to the country new in every sense, and when they gradually invaded the Pale once more, were completely out of touch with the former period, and their traditional knowledge was *nil*. It is true that the Irish Franciscan province produced great historians at this time, in fact we are indebted to them for nearly all the Catholic historical work done in Ireland during that half century; they shine with unrivalled brilliancy. But it should be noted that their work is mainly taken up with early Irish history. As regards the sixteenth century, the *Annals of the Four Masters*, which we may take as their standard work, while profuse enough on events happening among the Irish septs, are brief, unsatisfactory, and uncritical with regard to the Pale and the introduction of Protestantism. This admits of the very easy explanation that the compilers had no access to the State Papers without which no satisfactory work could be done.

Father Strange must have got his 'facts' from Sir James Ware, or Primate Ussher, two of the most eminent historians of the day, or Baron Augier, of Longford, Master of the Rolls, with all of whom, he tells Father Luke Wadding, he was on terms of intimacy. An amateur like him, whose mind was actively taken up with the affairs of his own time, as his fourteen letters in the Report show, and whose interest in historical matters was mainly owing to his desire to be of help to his friend, Father Luke Wadding, which

they, also indicate, would be a child in the hands of professed historians and readily adopt their prejudiced views, especially if not in conflict with the Catholic faith, and given with an appearance of sincerity. How much he depended on these men, and what a great regard he had for them, will be seen from the following extracts from his letters. About Baron Augier, of Longford, he writes (p. 5) :—

There is a friend of mine here (even a Protestant) who is versed in the study of antiquities and has put into writing every point which for antiquity and singularity might interest this country in regard to the Archbishops of Cashel and Tuam, and the Bishops of Dublin and their suffragans ; and being Master of the Rolls here, he can authenticate by the original documents what he tells me by word of mouth. He is a most worthy man, and I hope will die well ; he is my intimate friend.

About Primate Ussher, he writes (p. 9) :—

My friend has made a collection of ancient records that he got up and down ; I mean the original Registers of the church of Armagh, and showed them to me, and he had them fairly bound, divided into six several tomes, some of them bigger than some of your *Annals*, and I can borrow them all of him. Therefore acquaint me with the particulars that you will have drawn out and I will be nothing negligent. I know well that your paternity understands who it is that I call friend in this letter, to wit, the *pseudo-Primate*, who is a great antiquary and desires to help your paternity in your work for Ireland, and is profuse in praise of what your paternity has written at the close of the *Hebraic Concordances* in commendation of the holy tongue.

About Sir James Ware, he writes (p. 42) :—

I was in Dublin a fortnight ago and Sir James Ware bade me remember him to your paternity, and will aid me with what he has. He is compiling a *Chronicle of Ireland*, which will not be a large work, and will shed light on what your paternity has in mind. I sent your paternity by way of Louvain *Series Regum Hiberniae a Leodegario ad Conquestum Anglorum usque* compiled for the said Sir James Ware for his *Annals*. Your paternity should write me in English a letter conveying your thanks to him and craving his aid, and promising to acknowledge obligations to him in your preface, which is what he desires, and will delight him greatly and encourage him to

give me whatever he has that is most recondite. The enclosed paper he gave me to send to your paternity, and if it should stand you in stead, send me that wherein it does so in whole or in part, which will serve as a bait to draw from him all that he has; for he had lief see the veriest trifle that you write. He is a worthy man, and will, I hope, prove altogether good. He can give us more help towards this history than all the kingdom besides.

These extracts clearly point to the sources from which Father Strange got his 'facts,' and show how futile it is for Dr. Hemphill to bring him forward as an independent supporter of Irish Protestant claims; he depended for his historical facts on his Protestant historian friends. This will impress itself still more forcibly on us as we analyse his statements one by one. Let us take, first of all, his reference to the supposed marriage and children of Dr. Patrick Walshe, Bishop of Waterford from 1551 to 1577. We find that one of the supposed episcopal children was old enough in 1577, to be made Protestant Bishop of Ossory, and as before that he was Chancellor of St. Patrick's, Dublin, where he distinguished himself by introducing Irish type into Ireland, he must have been of such an age, that the supposed marriage must have taken place at a very early date, as far back, in fact, as the reign of Henry VIII, or, at least, of Edward VI. Is it credible that such a public scandal could have left so little trace behind it among the Catholics of Waterford, who are described in the State Papers, at Dr. Walshe's decease, as 'cankered in Popery,' that its subsequent bishop, Dr. Patrick Comerford, and even Father Luke Wadding, the eminent historian, both Waterford men, needed to be informed of it by Father Strange? Is it credible that Rome also had never been made aware of the fact, though we see from the correspondence which always preceded the appointments of bishops in Ireland, the Holy See received a full account of the state of each diocese, reference being also made to the deceased bishop? There were other means, too, in Waterford, besides official correspondence, for giving information to the Holy See, for the city is described in 1580 by the Protestant bishop,

Middleton, as 'wholly given over to Rome runners and friars.' Father Strange, we must always bear in mind, gives his evidence solely as hearsay, and his words, 'they say,' placed within brackets in the Spanish in which the original letter was written, to emphasise that it *was* hearsay, apply both to the supposed marriage and the children. If popular rumour and Catholic tradition in Waterford said naught on these points, of what value was the dictum of Sir James Ware or either of the friar's other two historian friends?

The whole description of the bishop shows the loose and inaccurate effort of the earnest but untrained mind to put historical matters into writing that it has picked up from time to time. For instance, he describes him as a 'Catholic bishop by election and consecration.' Yet Patrick Walshe was not canonically elected to the see but was intruded by Edward VI. He was afterwards, however, like Primate Dowdall, rehabilitated by the Holy See, as there was evidently nothing against him but his schismatical intrusion. This again brings us back to the alleged marriage. If he had married and had children, how could he have escaped deposition in Mary's reign?

In 1554, Primate Dowdall and Dr. William Walshe, afterwards Bishop of Meath, received a commission to depose such bishops and priests as had married, and the decree was put into force against Stapley of Meath, Browne of Dublin, Lancaster of Kildare, and Travers of Leighlin, all schismatical intruders. Bale of Ossory and Casey of Limerick, to avoid the same punishment and degradation, fled the country. Is it possible that if Dr. Patrick Walshe were living with a woman in the important Catholic city of Waterford, 'lawfully married,' according to Dr. Hemphill, he could have been overlooked by the commissioners? So we must postpone the marriage till the reign of Elizabeth, in fact, till 1560, for it was not till then that Elizabeth's intentions were really known in Ireland. Let us suppose, then, that Dr. Patrick Walshe, though keeping continent during the reigns of Henry VIII and Edward VI, so far

forgot his sacred character and his ordination vow, as to take unto him a wife in 1559 or 1560. As Nicholas, one of his supposed sons, became Bishop of Ossory in 1577, about seventeen years after the 'lawful marriage,' had been Chancellor of St. Patrick's, Dublin, where during the years he spent there he introduced Irish type and printed the first Irish books in Ireland, and is also known to have received a thorough education in the University of Cambridge, the precocity of this episcopal child was, to say the least, truly remarkable. We are glad to be able here to call Dr. Hemphill's attention to it, as he seems to have entirely overlooked it. Doubtless in his next paper he will be able to draw an instructive lesson from it on the stimulating effect of the Protestant Reformation on the mind of youth.

We come now to the most serious charge in Father Strange's letter, a charge involving the honour of the whole of the Irish Catholic episcopate with one solitary exception. It has been the pet theory of Irish Protestants for many years that all the Marian bishops, with two exceptions, conformed in Elizabeth's Dublin Parliament, and passed on their episcopal orders to their Protestant successors, so that the present Protestant bishops are the lineal successors, as they term it, of the old Irish bishops from the time of St. Patrick, the present Catholic hierarchy being mere outsiders intruded by the Pope. It is by this theory they press their absurd contention of being the National Church of Ireland. Accordingly, if this historical thesis is proved to be unsound, their claims all fall to the ground. To a Catholic, however, the actual transmission of orders from a bishop of the same nation and country to another does not constitute apostolic succession. A Catholic bishop may be consecrated in any country and by a bishop of any nation; if he is legitimately appointed to a see and is in communion with the Pope, that alone is sufficient for apostolic succession. So that the falling away of the whole Irish Catholic episcopate would not present any theological impasse to Father Strange's mind; it was a question to be judged wholly

on historical lines. If the evidence pointed that way, there was no difficulty in admitting it, however derogatory it might be to the honour of the Irish Church.

It is not our intention here to go into the question thoroughly. That the Irish bishops did not conform, with the solitary exception of Archbishop Curwin, an Englishman born and bred, has been proved to the hilt by Dr. Maziere Brady, Cardinal Moran, and Father Nicholas Murphy.¹ It is only within recent years, since the publication of the State Papers, that it has been possible to treat the matter as fully as it deserves; older historians, such as MacGeoghegan and Brenan, having had to pass it over lightly for want of documentary evidence one way or the other.

Now, the only documentary evidence that Protestant writers can bring forward for their side of the question is a Parliamentary list of 1560, containing the names of some Irish bishops, and the names of sees without any bishops' names attached. Though this may have been merely a list of those summoned to Parliament, it is urged by Protestants that it is a list of those who actually sat in it, and as only two of the bishops were deprived shortly after of their sees for refusing the Oath of Supremacy, they infer that all the others took it, and, moreover, conformed to the Protestant religion. This is all pure inference. As to the Parliament itself, nothing whatever is known of its proceedings; all that we know for certain is that it broke up shortly after in confusion and that its Acts, whether really passed or not, were published for the first time about twenty years afterwards as having been passed.

Dr. Hemphill, therefore, in the absence of other evidence, is delighted to be able to bring forward Father Strange as a 'first-class Roman Catholic witness' to the fall of the Catholic bishops, and he concludes, rather prematurely for an historical writer, that 'there can never be any more doubt of the fact that all the bishops, except those of Meath and Kildare, took

¹ Ossory Archæological Society Publications.

the oath of supremacy in Elizabeth's reign; and if they took the oath it is to be presumed they declared their adhesion to the Reformation.' The Doctor has been leaning too heavily on a broken reed. We have already dismissed Father Strange, both as a witness and an independent historian; it is our painful duty now to go farther still and place him among a very large class of men, intelligent otherwise, who cannot relate historical facts without mixing them up, adding to them and colouring them by their imaginative faculty. Do we not meet with numerous examples of this psychological phenomenon in our daily experience? Do we not come across men who cannot relate facts as they have heard them, but jumble them together in such a way that they assume quite a new character? When brought to task and asked for their authority for this or that statement, they grow confused and are at a loss for an answer. Father Strange says of Baron Augier that 'he can authenticate by original documents whatever he tells me by words of mouth.' Now, what could he or any of his other friends have shown him about the Parliament? Nothing but the Parliamentary list already referred to. If any other documents had been in existence at the time to prove the Protestant theory, they would certainly have been used by Sir James Ware in his history. So his historian friends impressed on his mind that all the bishops, with two exceptions, subscribed to the oath. Let it be noted here, as an example of Father Strange's inaccuracy, how by a slip of memory he relates as one exception what our opponents have always admitted as two. Again, among the bishops who were said to have conformed, he could be told how Dr. Patrick Walshe made himself conspicuous by marrying, and being the father of a son who was afterwards Protestant Bishop of Ossory. Ware makes him the father in his *Bishops of Ireland*. Now, one of the two bishops who is excepted by the Protestants as subscribers to the oath was Dr. William Walshe of Meath, a fearless champion of the Catholic cause, who was thrown into prison for the faith. It was this

Walshe, and not the Dr. Walshe of Waterford, who was the leader of the Irish people in matters of religion, of whom it might truly be said that 'the bishops of Ireland spoke *ad nutum ejus*,' for Loftus, Protestant Archbishop of Dublin, writes of him in 1565 that 'he is one of great credit amongst his countrymen and upon whom (touching causes of religion) they wholly depend.' Ware, too, speaks of him in the same sense in his *Bishops of Ireland*, and is likely enough to have given his historical inquirer some account of him. The testimony, given by Loftus five years after the Dublin Parliament, to the adherence of the Irish people to such a fearless champion of the faith, is a strong proof that the measures touching the Protestant Reformation never passed in that Parliament, which is in direct contradiction to the theory drawn by Protestant writers from the Parliamentary list.

However, in the course of his inquiries, Father Strange evidently got 'mixed' in his facts, as the Americans say, and evolves out of his imagination a picture of Dr. Walshe, the leader of the Catholic cause, holding out for a time and the other bishops standing with him, and Dr. Walshe then giving in and drawing all the other bishops but one in his train. 'In Parliament, all the bishops of Ireland spoke *ad nutum ejus*, and stood firm while he stood firm, and when he fell, all fell with him, save only the Bishop of Kildare.' It need hardly be said that for this rhetorical excrescence, as we may term it, not a shred of historical evidence can be offered in proof, and it is in direct contradiction to facts of history. Can it be that he was confounding the two Walshes, one distinguished by his supposed Protestant episcopal son, and the other by his zealous championship of the Catholic faith? Dr. Hemphill is very easily satisfied with proofs when they fit in with his own theories.

And now, before parting with the Doctor, we beg to draw his attention to two excrescences of his own which tend to disfigure his article. First, why does he immediately conclude that Dr. Patrick Walshe was 'lawfully married' because Father Strange mentions as hearsay

that he was married. We need not try to argue with him on the nature of a solemn ordination vow ; that is beyond his ken. But we will take the matter up from a point of view that he may be able to understand, and we ask, how can a marriage be lawful that is not recognised either by Church or State? To have a son old enough to be Bishop of Ossory in 1577, especially in view of that man's previous career, our bishop should have married in the reign of Henry VIII, when he was a simple priest, at a time too when the marriage of the clergy was not recognized by law. Therefore, we ask, from what authority could he have got his marriage license? This readiness to impute marriage on the slightest pretext to the Catholic clergy is most noticeable among Irish Protestant writers. They labour hard but in vain to evolve a married clergy in their accounts of the early Irish Church. George Stokes, for instance, in his *Norman Church in Ireland* utilises for the same purpose an incident that happened in a century when no one could even dream of such a thing. It appears that on a northern bishop's visitation of a certain priory, a woman was forbidden the house, as she was the cause of suspicion in connection with a certain religious man, an incident which makes George Stokes deplore 'the expulsion of poor Katherine from her home and husband!' Could absurdity be pressed farther than this? We Catholics do not begrudge the Protestant clergy their wives and children. In our eyes they are all ordinary laymen, lawfully married, though bearing various titles of bishop, dean, canon, rector, etc., which we ourselves accord them out of courtesy, though knowing well they are titles without any real meaning. Is it unconscious self-justification or a spirit of petty jealousy that urges them to impugn the spirit of celibacy on every possible occasion? Personally, we are of opinion that it is better for all Protestant clergymen to marry. The marriage state is the best state for them; it is not incompatible with their duties and is most congenial to themselves. Still we must draw the line somewhere, and we confess to a feeling of disgust when we hear and see notices of clergy-

men marrying again and again after God has deprived them of their first helpmates, and of many marrying in advanced years. No justifiable parallel can be drawn by them from the practice of the Eastern Church. It is true that in the East married men are ordained priests, but if the wife dies after ordination they cannot take another. As to the bishops they are never married men. To Catholics it does not matter a straw what Protestant bishops do in this matter, if they keep within the limits of decency, for in our eyes they are all common laymen. But to sincere Anglicans, who believe in their orders and Apostolic succession, it must be a hideous and revolting sight to behold an old widowed bishop of their Church, after fifty years of the ministry, leading a young and blushing bride to the altar, some instances of which have occurred quite recently in our own country. After reading St. Paul on the subject of marriage and virginity, it is hard to find any justification for marriage under such circumstances, even for a layman ; how much less for those who pose as ministers of the Word and rulers of the Church of God.

The second excrescence is the Doctor's cheap sneer at papal infallibility. Speaking of the Pope's ignorance of the 'fact' that Dr. Patrick Walshe 'died a confirmed heretic,' a conclusion drawn by Father Strange from his own imaginative premises, he says that 'a great many things happened here that he knew nothing about, in spite of his infallibility.' Is it necessary to inform a man of Dr. Hemphill's culture and wide reading that papal infallibility does not mean papal omniscience? If not, why does he fling out such clap-trap phrases? The readers of the *Church of Ireland Gazette* are surely not of such a low order of intelligence as to relish cheap and dishonest sneers at the Pope?

Excrescences of this kind may be looked for in most Protestant writers, as the results of early training cannot be smothered by the learning, refinement and culture of later life. Hatred of voluntary virginity, because something unattainable by any Protestant Church, and hatred of the Pope, the centre of Christendom and the pivot of

true religion under Christ, is a trait they have in common with all the modern infidels. Protestantism, and especially the phases of it we see in Ireland, is not a religion of love, and the bitter hostility to the Catholic Church and its ministers, imbibed in childhood, will break out afterwards on unexpected occasions.

There is a growing tendency among Irish Protestant controversialists to narrow controversy on the continuity question to a purely historical basis. Dr. Hemphill's first articles have found imitators in Canon Courtenay Moore and Rev. Mr. Leslie, the former in trying to prove the continuity according to Protestant ideas of the four archiepiscopal sees, and the latter in his endeavour to foist the Reformation on the priests of Louth. Without entering the arena with these two champions, we will call attention to the complete absence of theology from their writings. Canon Moore is unconsciously crastian out and out; the same spirit, if not expressed so directly, is clearly traceable in Mr. Leslie. Both are so busied with minute historical data as apparently to forget or undervalue great theological principles without the guidance of which the historical data are valueless. Apostolic succession does not mean everything; it can co-exist for a time at least with schism or heresy. Nor does apostolic succession rest entirely on the transmission of orders from one bishop to another. Bishops can be cut off from the Church for heresy and other crimes. It argues a low state of theological study among the Irish Protestant clergy when their professed exponents show so little regard for it. No wonder they still hug the delusion that the 'Church of Ireland,' as they dare to call their sect, is the National Church of the country, derived by a perfect succession of bishops from the ancient Church founded by St. Patrick, and holding the same doctrines that he taught the Irish people.

AMBROSE COLEMAN, O.P.

PRIMARY EDUCATION IN IRELAND

WE are all agreed that our primary education is at present at a very low ebb. We also know that its present deplorable condition is largely due to the action in recent years of the Resident Commissioner and the nominated Board who are associated with him. And I believe that there is a similar unanimity of opinion among us that a thorough change in the personnel of the present Board is absolutely necessary in the interests of the education of our rising generation. But when we come to consider what shape this change, so absolutely necessary, should take, we are accustomed to hear a variety of suggestions and opinions expressed, which seem, occasionally to be of a rather contradictory character.

Now, in this paper, I am not going to formulate any scheme, nor lay before the readers of the *I. E. RECORD* any proposals in detail which might tend to bring us into an agreement on this latter point. I intend to deal briefly with the principles only, upon which schemes of primary education have been built and developed.

It is hardly necessary for me, I dare say, to remark that, until comparatively recent times, primary education all over Europe was of a voluntary character. Schools were established and were conducted altogether by religious bodies belonging to the various creeds. They had no recognized claim for State aid, and the bodies who controlled them, made it a fundamental condition of the education imparted by them, that, in them, a definite dogmatic religious teaching should be given to the pupils. But owing to causes which it is unnecessary to dwell upon, various States, as we know, decided, from time to time, to depart from the old order, and undertook themselves the entire charge of the education of their communities. They provided the money necessary for the work, and consequently

they laid down in law, the kind of education which they desired to see imparted.

Now, the principles on which they built their schemes are practically only two. One of those principles has been adopted by the United States of America. It has been at work there for a considerable time, and the condition of things which it has produced form a very instructive object lesson as to the value of the principle it adopted. The United States began by rejecting altogether the old idea on which the voluntary system had been working, and decided that definite dogmatic teaching of every kind should be excluded from their new system. They did not, at first, as they believed, reject all religious teaching. Bible teaching was a part of the school programme, and the inculcation of temperance and other qualities which go to form a good civic character were given a prominent place in the curriculum. However, Bible reading by degrees has practically disappeared from the American schools whilst the inculcation of temperance and the other qualities still occupy their prominent position, though not taught with any religious sanction. So that to-day, religion has no place in the American school, and has been relegated to the home and the Church. Now, how has the principle adopted by the United States worked ?

They are, as regards the use of intoxicating drink, on the whole, a temperate race. Their intelligence, their desire to 'get on,' their success from a commercial and industrial point of view, are conspicuous. But with all that, the education imparted has had one other effect which is causing every thoughtful American citizen the utmost disquiet and uneasiness. We cannot speak on the subject to any educated, thoughtful American, we cannot take up any pronouncement, or book written on the subject, by those whose authority to speak on the matter cannot be gainsaid, without learning that the old ideal, happy Christian home is fast disappearing among them, that attendance at Church is ceasing to be regarded as a duty, and that morality is being undermined. Dr. Shadwell, in his recent able and interesting

work on *Industrial Efficiency*, summarising the utterances on this matter of Americans, whose claim to speak with knowledge and judgment on the question must be acknowledged by all, says : ' It is not mere opinion on their part, they point to results, to the corruption of public life, the growth of lawlessness, violence, and juvenile crime, the increasing prevalence of divorce, the taste for foolish, false, and degrading literature, for immoral and unwholesome amusements, to the want of reverence and the failure of the Churches.'¹

The results which have followed the adoption by the United States of the principle of excluding from their school system, the old ideal of definite, dogmatic religious teaching, are of a character which, from a civic point of view, ought to make those in power pause before they commend it to their community for adoption. When a generation or two have been educated under such a system, I need not say how difficult it is to effect a change, however desirable or necessary it may have become.

Now, the other principle has been adopted by another great nation, Germany, where the new system has been working for even a longer period than that of the United States.

When the German States assumed the function of educating their people they refrained from discarding the old principle on which the voluntary system rested. They combined the old with the new demand for methods more suited to the requirements of modern life. Believing that morality, conduct, and the civic virtues which they presuppose, are practically, as regards the great body of the people, inseparable from religion, they made religion the basis of their system, and believing that religion, if it is to attain its object, must be dogmatic, they provided for a definite dogmatic teaching of it. The German system is, therefore, denominational. The Catholics have their own schools. The other denominations have theirs. Where a community happens to be a mixed one, and the number is

¹ *Industrial Efficiency*. By Arthur Shadwell, M.A., M.D. Vol. ii., p. 392.
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too small for a separate school, then a mixed one is formed, but careful and adequate provision is made for the dogmatic religious teaching of the minority by members of their own creed. And where such a school requires the services of two teachers, care is taken to provide that one of the teachers shall be, if possible, of the religion of the minority. The qualities which go to make the good citizen, and to form character and conduct, are inculcated not alone on civic motives but also on those of religion. And I may, perhaps, add, in view of some recent shallow utterances of some of our would-be educators, that the idea of a mixed boys and girls school gets no countenance in Germany.

Now, has the principle adopted by Germany worked? Need I allude to its great commercial and industrial position, to the high place it occupies in every department of human knowledge? Is it not known to everyone? And is it not universally attributed to its system of education? Here again, I shall quote Dr. Shadwell on the subject ¹ :—

The retention of systematic religious teaching has a far-reaching influence on the national life, which is plainly visible in many directions, and not the least in the industrial sphere. To it may be traced the sense of duty and responsibility, the respect for law, the steady effort, the self-restraint, the maintenance of a higher ideal than the materialism of social democracy which have been noted in previous chapters. And to these may be added the striking absence of corruption in public life which is the indispensable condition for the healthy exercise of those municipal functions that are carried on upon so large a scale in German towns for the benefit of the community.

Now, either one or other of those two principles underlie all legislation on Primary Education when the State provides the money for it and assumes the control of it. And although much additional evidence of a similar character as to their working could be adduced, I will now pass to the consideration of our own case. The English Government will not allow us to manage our own local business, though all the money in the business is our own, but they profess

¹ *Industrial Efficiency*, Vol. ii., p. 396.

that they will legislate for us, in accordance with Irish ideas. Now unanimity of opinion on any public question affecting the entire community is rarely found in any country. But on this matter of Primary Education I think I may safely say that there exists a solid, practical unanimity among the various sections of Irish life as to which of the two principles, we have been considering, must be adopted in formulating any scheme of Primary Education in Ireland. We want no experimentalising attempt to set up a *via media* between those two principles. We believe that in the formation of character and conduct no moral code, resting on purely human motives, however noble, can supersede in effectiveness, among people generally, the Ten Commandments, coming as they do, with the sanction of that Being who is the great Creator of us all. Hence we want that religion should be the basis of our system, and since there cannot exist any religion without dogma, be the same more or less, we want definite, dogmatic teaching of religion in our schools, given by those of the different creeds who believe in the religion which they teach. We, Irish Catholics, in this matter of Primary Education, or, in fact, in any other matter, seek for no privilege for ourselves, which we are not thoroughly willing to concede to those who may happen to profess a different creed. But—and herein lies the difficulty and herein will be found the root of the discontent and consequent disloyalty which has prevailed in Ireland—we want to establish, so far as this is possible, equal opportunities for every class and creed : equal opportunities, so far as it can be done, for the poor and their children, as well as for those who may happen to enjoy a larger share of this world's wealth.

Now, the Government know full well that the present condition of things, which places our Primary Education under the control of a Board, nominated by the Lord Lieutenant of the day—need I mention the names of those at present on it?—is not satisfactory ; and hopes have been held out to us that this most grave injustice is to be removed. Notwithstanding, then, what

I hope I may, in those days, term the archaic character of the difficulty to which I have alluded, since we in Ireland are practically unanimous as to the principle which must be adopted in Ireland, those in power, unless they are about to allow us to settle the matter ourselves, ought find no great difficulty in formulating a scheme which will meet with general approval. So far as our own action is concerned we ought, in my opinion, eschew, for the present, the consideration of details which are easily capable of a satisfactory settlement hereafter, once the principle of the scheme is clearly and frankly adopted. But we ought vigilantly and resolutely to insist that in any scheme presented to us, whether it be by the Government, or by any Board entrusted with its power, we must have a clear recognition and adoption of this principle for which we Irish Catholics have made such sacrifices in the past.

We ought to set our faces against accepting any excuse or apology for a denial to us of this right, should such be offered, for if this be conceded to us—whatever an odd shallow pseudo-Educationalist among us may say—there can be little doubt that we shall be able to build upon it, as has been done elsewhere, a system of Primary Education which will effectively contribute to the material and intellectual progress of our country, and which will prove an important factor in the promotion of peace and contentment in Ireland.

DENIS J. O'RIORDAN.

THE 'SANTA CASA' OF LORETTO

THAT, sooner or later, the legend of the translation by angels' hands of the Holy House of Loretto, should have to be historically investigated, must have been obvious to anyone who has followed the development of ecclesiastical studies; that the work should be done by so prominent a scholar as Canon Chevalier, implies a two-fold guarantee: even before opening the stout volume before him the reader knows that a very delicate matter will be treated in a reverential spirit, and that the author of the *Répertoire* of the historical sources of the Middle Ages commands practically the whole of the enormous literature on the subject-matter, so that his conclusions will not easily become liable to be qualified by documents or treatises overlooked by the author, but accessible to the critic. We here have before us a work as complete as human industry can make it, and, having carefully read it from beginning to end, we can only say that its conclusions appear to us final, and that he would be a bold man who, without new and first-class evidence, undertook to gainsay the Canon.

The subject is delicate in the extreme. For the last four centuries countless pilgrims have gone to Loretto, have found there help and consolation, have experienced cures frequently, indeed, in a miraculous manner. The Church has inserted the Translation of the Holy House in the *Martyrology* (1669-1670); a feast *pro aliquibus locis*, with a short historical lesson, was approved of by the Sacred Congregation of Rites (1699). Baronius, without the slightest hesitation, but also without any investigation, accepted the legend (1588); Benedict XIV explicitly admitted it. Under these circumstances the faithful are

¹ *Notre Dame de Lorette. Etude historique de l'Authenticité de la Santa Casa.* By Canon Ulysse Chevalier. Paris: Picard et Fils, 1906. Large 8vo, pp. 520. 11th volume of Chevalier's *Bibliothèque Liturgique*.

certainly justified in holding firmly to a pious belief. But—and here comes a large *but*—a pious belief is not an article of Faith, the Church does in no way make it obligatory, we may reject it with just as much piety. This is precisely the distinction between a dogma and a pious belief, that while in the former case there is no room for the private judgment of the faithful, in the latter case the critic himself is the judge as to what he will accept or reject. Benedict XIV himself has laid down the canon, that the historical lessons of the Breviary have no other authority than have the sources whence they are taken, which canon has been repeatedly confirmed by the Sacred Congregation of Rites. While, therefore, some, perhaps the majority, will be guided in their judgment by the authorities named above, it is open to others to submit the evidence to further investigations, and to reject the legend should the evidence fail.

It is here that the delicacy of the task makes itself felt, but it is here also that Canon Chevalier's work will do immense good. He has given us a purely objective treatise setting forth the whole of the evidence concerning the Holy House at Nazareth and at Loretto. The conclusion forces itself upon the reader though it is hardly formulated by the author. But the work is not meant for everybody. It is for the learned and for them alone, as the Censor, the Master of the Apostolic Palace, rightly points out. In his opinion it will do no harm either to religion or to devotion towards our Blessed Lady, yet for the time being it must remain within the interior circle of scholars. It would have been an immense advantage if certain similar investigations had remained within the same narrow limits. Those who possess no scientific training can only dabble with science, and will do no good either to themselves or others. Canon Chevalier as, indeed, every conscientious priest, is careful to avoid the *scandalum parvulorum*. On the other hand, he as well as every serious student, has both the right and the duty to bring the whole range of science to bear upon his subject. We are now in possession of an amount of material wholly undreamt of in former times, and we are,

therefore, able to apply the most rigorous criticism to questions which formerly largely depended upon the *ipse dixit* of certain real or pretended authorities. Many persons, even among the clergy, seem to consider it almost a crime to apply the ordinary canons of criticism to sacred subjects, and appear inclined to treat us little better than heretics for doing so. They seem to forget that Truth will pass unscathed through the crucible of the most searching criticism, but that a legend declared to be too frail to stand criticism is rendered by this very fact strangely suspect.

When the convulsions caused by the Reformation began to subside, the Church undertook a most wholesome work in reviewing the legends that had been accumulating during centuries, and in discarding a great number of them. The work, however, was never quite completed, and during the last three centuries new legends have sprung up. Some people believe that everything that was allowed to pass at the end of the sixteenth century has thereby received the formal approbation of the Church. Nothing could be farther from the truth. Anyone with a slight knowledge of, say, the modern investigations concerning the *Liber pontificalis*, or the *Martyrology*, must know that ere long a number of legends will have to go, and many names of saints will have to disappear. In these matters the Church moves very slowly, but she fully approves of the preliminary inquiries made by students.

There are some unsettled and angry minds [said Leo XIII] who ever press the Sacred Congregations to decide questions that are still doubtful. I am against them and restrain them, for the learned must not be hampered in their investigations. Give them time to discuss matters, even to err. Religious truth will in the end be the gainer. The Church will always come soon enough to show the right way.

The miracle of Loretto belongs eminently to the category of subjects to be investigated by the historian. Some authors indeed have said that the miraculous cures that take place at Loretto are sufficient proof for the reality of the

transplantation of the Holy House, but that is an *a priori* argument. An event of that importance, alleged to have taken place during a very active period from a literary point of view, should be proved as stringently as any battle of the same period. Canon Chevalier has undertaken to bring the proof—or otherwise. In the first part of his work he prints all the passages relating to Nazareth. Until the end of the fifteenth century not less than eighty witnesses have left their impressions of Nazareth. For three hundred years after the life of our Lord, the town was exclusively in the hands of the Jews, and it is more than doubtful whether any local tradition could have survived that period. Even after Constantine there appears no trace of a Christian sanctuary until the end of the sixth century. It is certainly quite untrue that St. Helena built a church there. The fact is, she has been credited with the construction of some five hundred churches in the Holy Land, whereas we only know of two, or perhaps three, she really built, but Nazareth is not among them.

At the time of the Crusades there were two sanctuaries at Nazareth, one of which became the cathedral of the newly erected See. In 1263 they were destroyed by the Saracens, but by 1280 they were so far repaired that Burchard was able to say Mass in what was supposed to be the House of Our Lady. Ricoldo di Monte Croce visited the place in 1294—three years after the supposed flight of the Holy House, the very same year in which it is reported to have settled at its final resting place after much wandering. Ricoldo, I say, visited the place in 1294, and found it exactly as Burchard had described it. Likewise all the subsequent travellers, over thirty in number, visit and describe the place without evincing the faintest idea that the House is not there at all, but at Loretto. The first pilgrim who alludes to the miracle is the Franciscan, Suriano, who lived in the Holy Land from 1480-1484; 1493-1495; 1512-1515. But in mentioning the miracle he enters a protest: 'Some have falsely asserted that this House is at Loretto.' Likewise Messire Greffin Arfagart (1533) still protests against the alleged miracle. But on the whole most pilgrims of

the sixteenth and the following centuries accept the miracle without hesitation.

Turning to the West, we find the chapel of Our Lady at Loretto mentioned in documents as early as 1097, and again in 1193, 1250, and later. In 1313, it was damaged by the Ghibellins, whereupon the Pope granted it certain indulgences. At this occasion we hear for the first time of a statue of Our Lady venerated by the faithful. Not one of the numberless documents and chroniclers of the thirteenth or fourteenth centuries breathes a word of the translation; not one of the pilgrims has left an account of such an astounding fact. The chapel was a small parish church, it had a sacred statue, indulgences might be gained there, that is all. It now became a place of pilgrimage, with ever increasing renown, but still until the last quarter of the fifteenth century there is no mention of the translation. However, in February, 1470, we hear for the first time that the statue (not the 'House') has been placed there miraculously. No details are given. A few years later the legend in its present form appears for the first time, but yet without some details such as the various dates of successive translations. As late as 1507, Julius II is so little aware of the 'facts' that, in a Bull of that date, he actually believes the grotto of Bethlehem to have been the object of the angelic translation. From the sixteenth century onwards, the legend remained practically undisputed to such an extent that no serious investigation was ever attempted, either by the ecclesiastical authorities or by private persons. It is important to point out this fact, for many writers have affirmed that the matter was most carefully examined in Rome, whereas there is not a scrap of evidence that such a thing ever was done. There is no older authority for the legend than the bare assertion of Tolomei Teramano (1472), and especially a monk of Vallombrosa, Jerome de Raggiolo (1478). Until the former date no mention was ever made of the miracle, but from that year onwards the news spread like wildfire.

Just as in the first part dealing with Nazareth, in the second part Canon Chevalier leaves the word almost

exclusively to the witnesses, so that the reader has before him the entire evidence with now and then a few pages of 'summing up.' In investigating other miraculous accounts the student often assists at a gradual growth of a legend, but here the case is different, there is no trace of a legend until it suddenly bursts upon us full blown and ready made.

We must not altogether pass in silence the fact that the legend of Loretto has been strengthened in the course of time by a certain number of manifest forgeries. Formerly the Middle Ages were held responsible for nearly all the forged documents in our archives, but modern research rather goes to prove that the most serious frauds only date back to the seventeenth century, the period of singular narrowness of mind and petty rivalries. Many of the forged documents concerning Loretto date from that period.

In conclusion we must point out that the more astounding a fact is, especially a miracle, the more evidence we require for it. In the case of the Saints the Sacred Congregation applies the strictest tests and rejects pitilessly anything that cannot be scientifically proved. Was not Rome unreasonably slow in recognizing Lourdes? Unfortunately, there was as yet no Sacred Congregation in 1472, or we should never have found the legend of Loretto so much as mentioned in the Breviary.

Canon Chevalier wisely abstains from any attempt at explaining the origin of the legend. At this distance no certainty could be arrived at, and mere guesses have no place in a learned work. He wonders how his book will be received. Many, no doubt, will resent its appearance, but for others it will prove a real boon, namely, for those who like a serious matter to be thoroughly and worthily investigated.

B. ZIMMERMAN.

CHURCH AND STATE IN FRANCE

THE eyes of the whole Christian world are now turned towards France and every move in the great struggle between Church and State which has at last come to a head in that country is watched with the deepest interest and anxiety. Pope Pius X, who is assuredly a man of peace, if there is one anywhere, has taken a definite stand. He has spoken in terms that leave no room for doubt or ambiguity. The 'associations' to which the Separation Law would entrust the organization of public worship are rejected and the Pope sees no possibility of establishing, under the present circumstances, other associations which would be at the same time legal and canonical. He advises the Bishops, clergy, and Catholics of France to put their trust in Providence and the justice of their cause and to face the future with courage: but the associations provided for in the Separation Law are out of the question. The Pope could not sanction them, anxious, though he feels, to avert trouble and hardships to the Church of France.

What are the associations rejected by the Pope? The Separation Law decrees that Catholics may form associations on the lines of the Common Law, as amended by the government of Waldeck Rousseau, for the purpose of carrying on public worship throughout the cities, municipalities, and communes of France. The people who enter this association must be regularly registered, and undertake the obligations imposed by the statutes and rules of the association. The following is the full text of the law, in as far as it regards the associations:—

TITRE IV.

DES ASSOCIATIONS POUR L'EXERCICE DES CULTES.

Art. 18.—Les associations formées pour subvenir aux frais, à l'entretien et à l'exercice public d'un culte devront être con-

stituées conformément aux articles 5 et suivants du titre premier de la loi du 1^{er} juillet 1901.¹ Elles seront, en outre, soumises aux prescriptions de la présente loi.

Art. 19.—Ces associations devront avoir exclusivement pour objet l'exercice d'un culte et être composées au moins :

Dans les communes de moins de 1,000 habitants, de sept personnes ;

Dans les communes de 1,000 à 20,000 habitants, de quinze personnes ;

Dans les communes dont le nombre des habitants est supérieur à 20,000, de vingt-cinq personnes majeures, domiciliées ou résidant dans la circonscription religieuse.

Chacun de leurs membres pourra s'en retirer en tout temps, après paiement des cotisations échues et de celles de l'année courante, nonobstant toute clause contraire.

Nonobstant toute clause contraire des statuts, les actes de gestion financière et d'administration légale des biens accomplis par les directeurs ou administrateurs seront, chaque année au moins, présentés au contrôle de l'assemblée générale des membres de l'association et soumis à son approbation.

Les associations pourront recevoir, en outre des cotisations

¹ *Loi du 1^{er} juillet, 1901.*—Art. 5. Toute association qui voudra obtenir la capacité juridique prévue par l'article 6 devra être rendue publique par les soins de ses fondateurs.

La déclaration préalable en sera faite à la préfecture du département ou à la sous-préfecture de l'arrondissement où l'association aura son siège social. Elle fera connaître le titre et l'objet de l'association, le siège de ses établissements et les noms, professions et domiciles de ceux qui, à un titre quelconque, sont chargés de son administration ou de sa direction. Il en sera donné récépissé.

Deux exemplaires des statuts seront joints à la déclaration.

Les associations sont tenues de faire connaître, dans les trois mois tous les changements survenus dans leur administration ou direction, ainsi que toutes les modifications apportées à leurs statuts.

Ces modifications et changements ne sont opposables aux tiers qu'à partir du jour où ils auront été déclarés.

Les modifications et changements seront, en outre, consignés sur un registre spécial qui devra être présenté aux autorités administratives ou judiciaires chaque fois qu'elles en feront la demande.

Art. 6.—Toute association régulièrement déclarée peut, sans aucune autorisation spéciale, ester en justice, acquérir à titre onéreux posséder et administrer, en dehors des subventions de l'Etat, des départements et des communes :

1°. Les cotisations de ses membres ou les sommes au moyen desquelles ces cotisations ont été rédimées, ces sommes ne pouvant être supérieures à cinq cents francs (500 fr.) ;

2°. Le local destiné à l'administration de l'association et à la réunion de ses membres ;

3°. Les immeubles strictement nécessaires à l'accomplissement du but qu'elle se propose.

Art. 7.—En cas de nullité prévue par l'article 3, la dissolution de

prévues par l'article 6 de la loi du 1^{er} juillet, 1901,¹ le produit des quêtes et collectes pour les frais du culte, percevoir des rétributions : pour les cérémonies et services religieux même par fondation ; pour la location des bancs et sièges ; pour la fourniture des objets destinés au service des funérailles dans les édifices religieux et à la décoration de ces édifices.

Elles pourront verser, sans donner lieu à perception de droits, le surplus de leurs recettes à d'autres associations constituées pour le même objet.

Elles ne pourront, sous quelque forme que ce soit, recevoir des subventions de l'Etat, des départements ou des communes. Ne sont pas considérées comme subventions les sommes allouées pour réparations aux monuments classés.

Art. 20.—Ces associations peuvent, dans les formes déterminées par l'article 7 du décret du 16 août 1901,² constituer des unions ayant une administration ou une direction centrale ; ces unions seront réglées par l'article 18 et par les cinq derniers paragraphes de l'article 19 de la présente loi.

l'association sera prononcée par le tribunal civil, soit à la requête de tout intéressé, soit à la diligence du ministère public.

En cas d'infraction aux dispositions de l'article 5, la dissolution pourra être prononcée à la requête de tout intéressé ou du ministère public.

Art. 8.—Seront punis d'une amende de seize à deux cents francs (16 à 200 fr.) et, en cas de récidive, d'une amende double, ceux qui auront contrevenu aux dispositions de l'article 5.

Seront punis d'une amende de seize à cinq mille francs (16 à 5,000 fr.) et d'un emprisonnement de six jours à un an, les fondateurs, directeurs ou administrateurs de l'association qui se serait maintenue ou reconstituée illégalement après le jugement de dissolution.

Seront punies de la même peine toutes les personnes qui auront favorisé la réunion des membres de l'association dissoute, en consentant l'usage d'un local dont elles disposent.

Art. 9.—En cas de dissolution volontaire, statutaire ou prononcée par justice, les biens de l'association seront dévolus conformément aux statuts, ou, à défaut de disposition statutaire, suivant les règles déterminées en assemblée générale.

¹ *Loi du 1^{er} juillet, 1901.*—Art. 6.—Toute association régulièrement déclarée peut, sans aucune autorisation spéciale, ester en justice, acquérir à titre onéreux, posséder et administrer, en dehors des subventions de l'Etat, des départements et des communes :

1^o. Les cotisations de ses membres ou les sommes au moyen desquelles ces cotisations ont été rédimées, ces sommes ne pouvant être supérieures à cinq cents francs (500 fr.) ;

2^o. Le local destiné à l'administration de l'association et à la réunion de ses membres ;

3^o. Les immeubles strictement nécessaires à l'accomplissement du but qu'elle se propose.

² *Décret du 16 août, 1901.*—Art. 7.—Les unions d'associations ayant une administration ou une direction centrale sont soumises aux dispositions qui précèdent. Elles déclarent, en outre, le titre, l'objet et le siège des associations qui les composent. Elles font connaître dans les trois mois les nouvelles associations adhérentes.

Art. 21.—Les associations et les unions tiennent un état de leurs recettes et de leurs dépenses ; elles dressent chaque année le compte financier de l'année écoulée et l'état inventorié de leurs biens meubles et immeubles.

Le contrôle financier est exercé sur les associations et sur les unions par l'Administration de l'enregistrement et par l'Inspection générale des finances.

Art. 22.—Les associations et unions peuvent employer leurs ressources disponibles à la constitution d'un fonds de réserve suffisant pour assurer les frais et l'entretien du culte et ne pouvant en aucun cas recevoir une autre destination : le montant de cette réserve ne pourra jamais dépasser une somme égale, pour les unions et associations ayant plus de cinq mille francs (5,000 fr.) de revenu, à trois fois et, pour les autres associations, à six fois la moyenne annuelle des sommes, dépenses par chacune d'elles pour les frais du culte pendant les cinq derniers exercices.

Indépendamment de cette réserve, qui devra être placée en valeurs nominatives, elles pourront constituer une réserve spéciale dont les fonds devront être déposés, en argent ou en titres nominatifs, à la Caisse des dépôts et consignations pour être exclusivement affectés, y compris les intérêts, à l'achat, à la construction, à la décoration ou à la réparation d'immeubles ou meubles destinés aux besoins de l'association ou de l'union.

Art. 23.—Seront punis d'une amende de seize francs (16 fr.) à deux cents francs (200 fr.) et, en cas de récidive, d'une amende double, les directeurs ou administrateurs d'une association ou d'une union qui auront contrevenu aux articles, 18, 19, 20, 21, et 22.

Les tribunaux pourront, dans le cas d'infraction au paragraphe premier de l'article 22, condamner l'association ou l'union à verser l'excédent constaté aux établissements communaux d'assistance ou de bienfaisance.

Ils pourront, en outre, dans tous les cas prévus au paragraphe premier du présent article, prononcer la dissolution de l'association ou de l'union.

Art. 24.—Les édifices affectés à l'exercice du culte appartenant à l'Etat, aux départements ou aux communes, continueront à être exemptés de l'impôt foncier et de l'impôt des portes et fenêtres.

Les édifices servant au logement des ministres des cultes, les séminaires, les facultés de théologie protestante qui appartiennent à l'Etat, aux départements ou aux communes, les biens qui sont la propriété des associations et unions, sont soumis aux mêmes impôts que ceux des particuliers.

Les associations et unions ne sont en aucun cas assujetties à la taxe d'abonnement ni à celle imposée aux cercles par l'article 33 de la loi du 8 août 1890, pas plus qu'à l'impôt de

4 0/0 sur le revenu établi par les lois du 28 décembre, 1880, et du 29 décembre, 1884.

It will be seen that there is nothing whatever in the constitution of these associations to guarantee the authority of the Bishops or the clergy. And in case of any dispute between different sections of the association as to questions either of doctrine, practice, or administration there is no appeal to the bishop or the Holy See, but to the *Conseil d'Etat*, a legal court appointed by an atheistical and anti-Catholic government. The provisions of the law relating to the churches, presbyteries, seminaries, etc., are as follows :—

TITRE II.

ATTRIBUTION DES BIENS.—PENSIONS.

Art. 3.—Les établissements dont la suppression est ordonnée par l'article 2 continueront provisoirement de fonctionner, conformément aux dispositions qui les régissent actuellement, jusqu'à l'attribution de leurs biens aux associations prévues par le titre IV et au plus tard jusqu'à l'expiration du délai ci-après.

Dès la promulgation de la présente loi, il sera procédé par les agents de l'Administration des domaines à l'inventaire descriptif et estimatif :

1. Des biens mobiliers et immobiliers desdits établissements ;
2. Des biens de l'Etat, des départements et des communes dont les mêmes établissements ont la jouissance.

Ce double inventaire sera dressé contradictoirement avec les représentants légaux des établissements ecclésiastiques ou eux même appelés par une notification faite en la forme administrative.

Les agents chargés de l'inventaire auront le droit de se faire communiquer tous titres et documents utiles à leurs opérations.

Art. 4.—Dans le délai d'un an à partir de la promulgation de la présente loi, les biens mobiliers et immobiliers des menses, fabriques, conseils presbytéraux, consistoires et autres établissements publics du culte seront, avec toutes les charges et obligations qui les grèvent et avec leur affectation spéciale, transférés par les représentants légaux de ces établissements aux associations qui, en se conformant aux règles d'organisation générale du culte dont elles se proposent d'assurer l'exercice, se seront légalement formées, suivant les prescriptions de l'article 19, pour l'exercice de ce culte dans les anciennes circonscriptions desdits établissements.

Art. 5.—Ceux des biens désignés à l'article précédent qui proviennent de l'Etat et qui ne sont pas grevés d'une fondation pieuse créée postérieurement à la loi du 18 germinal an X feront retour à l'Etat.

Les attributions des biens ne pourront être faites par les établissements ecclésiastiques qu'un mois après la promulgation du règlement d'administration publique prévu à l'article 43. Faute de quoi la nullité pourra en être demandée devant le tribunal civil par toute partie intéressée ou par le ministère public.

En cas d'aliénation par l'association culturelle de valeurs mobilières ou d'immeubles faisant partie du patrimoine de l'établissement public dissous, le montant du produit de la vente devra être employé en titres de rente nominatifs ou dans les conditions prévues au paragraphe 2 de l'article 22.

L'acquéreur des biens aliénés sera personnellement responsable de la régularité de cet emploi.

Les biens revendiqués par l'Etat, les départements ou les communes ne pourront être aliénés, transformés ni modifiés jusqu'à ce qu'il ait été statué sur la revendication par les tribunaux compétents.

Art. 6.—Les associations attributaires des biens des établissements ecclésiastiques supprimés seront tenues des dettes de ces établissements ainsi que de leurs emprunts, sous réserve des dispositions du troisième paragraphe du présent article ; tant qu'elles ne seront pas libérées de ce passif, elles auront droit à la jouissance des biens productifs de revenus qui doivent faire retour à l'Etat en vertu de l'article 5.

Le revenu global desdits biens reste affecté au paiement du reliquat des dettes régulières et légales de l'établissement public supprimé, lorsqu'il ne se sera formé aucune association culturelle apte à recueillir le patrimoine de cet établissement.

Les annuités des emprunts contractés pour dépenses relatives aux édifices religieux seront supportées par les associations en proportion du temps pendant lequel elles auront l'usage de ces édifices par application des dispositions du titre III.

Dans le cas où l'Etat, les départements ou les communes rentreront en possession de ceux des édifices dont ils sont propriétaires, ils seront responsables des dettes régulièrement contractées et afférentes auxdits édifices.

Art. 7.—Les biens mobiliers ou immobiliers grevés d'une affectation charitable ou de toute autre affectation étrangère à l'exercice du culte seront attribués, par les représentants légaux des établissements ecclésiastiques, aux services ou établissements publics ou d'utilité publique, dont la destination est conforme à celle desdits biens. Cette attribution devra être approuvée par le Préfet du département ou siège l'établissement ecclésiastique. En cas de non-approbation, il sera statué par décret en Conseil d'Etat.

Toute action en reprise ou en revendication devra être exercée dans un délai de six mois à partir du jour ou l'arrêt préfectoral ou le décret approuvant l'attribution aura été inséré au *Journal officiel*. L'action ne pourra être intentée qu'en raison de donations ou de legs et seulement par les auteurs et leurs héritiers en ligne directe.

Art. 8.—Faute par un établissement ecclésiastique d'avoir, dans le délai fixé par l'article 4, procédé aux attributions ci-dessus prescrites, il y sera pourvu par décret.

A l'expiration dudit délai, les biens à attribuer seront, jusqu'à leur attribution, placés sous séquestre.

Dans le cas où les biens attribués en vertu de l'article 4 et du paragraphe 1^{er} du présent article seront, soit dès l'origine, soit dans la suite, réclamés par plusieurs associations formées pour l'exercice du même culte, l'attribution qui en aura été faite par les représentants de l'établissement ou par décret pourra être contestée devant le Conseil d'Etat statuant au contentieux, lequel prononcera en tenant compte de toutes les circonstances de fait.

La demande sera introduite devant le Conseil d'Etat, dans le délai d'un an à partir de la date du décret ou à partir de la notification, à l'autorité préfectorale, par les représentants légaux des établissements publics du culte, de l'attribution effectuée par eux. Cette notification devra être faite dans le délai d'un mois.

L'attribution pourra être ultérieurement contestée en cas de scission dans l'association nantie, de création d'association nouvelle par suite d'une modification dans le territoire de la circonscription ecclésiastique et dans le cas où l'association attributaire n'est plus en mesure de remplir son objet.

Art 9.—A défaut de toute association pour recueillir les biens d'un établissement public du culte, ces biens seront attribués par décret aux établissements communaux d'assistance ou de bienfaisance situés dans les limites territoriales de la circonscription ecclésiastique intéressée.

En cas de dissolution d'une association, les biens qui lui auront été dévolus en exécution des articles 4 et 8 seront attribués par décret rendu en Conseil d'Etat, soit à des associations analogues dans la même circonscription ou, à leur défaut, dans les circonscriptions les plus voisines, soit aux établissements visés au paragraphe premier du présent article.

Toute action en reprise ou en revendication devra être exercée dans un délai de six mois à partir du jour où le décret aura été inséré au *Journal officiel*. L'action ne pourra être intentée qu'en raison de donations ou de legs et seulement par les auteurs et leurs héritiers en ligne directe.

Art. 10.—Les attributions prévues par les articles précédents ne donnent lieu à aucune perception au profit du Trésor.

Art. II.—Les ministres des cultes qui, lors de la promulgation de la présente loi, seront âgés de plus de soixante ans révolus et qui auront, pendant trente ans au moins, rempli des fonctions ecclésiastiques rémunérées par l'Etat, recevront une pension annuelle et viagère égale aux trois quarts de leur traitement.

Ceux qui seront âgés de plus de quarante-cinq ans et qui auront, pendant vingt ans au moins, rempli des fonctions ecclésiastiques rémunérées par l'Etat, recevront une pension annuelle et viagère égale à la moitié de leur traitement.

Les pensions allouées par les deux paragraphes précédents ne pourront pas dépasser quinze cents francs.

En cas de décès des titulaires, ces pensions seront réversibles, jusqu'à concurrence de la moitié de leur montant, au profit de la veuve et des orphelins mineurs laissés par le défunt et, jusqu'à concurrence du quart, au profit de la veuve sans enfants mineurs. A la majorité des orphelins, leur pension s'éteindra de plein droit.

Les ministres des cultes actuellement salariés par l'Etat, qui ne seront pas dans les conditions ci-dessus, recevront, pendant quatre ans à partir de la suppression du budget des cultes, une allocation égale à la totalité de leur traitement pour la première année, aux deux tiers pour la deuxième, à la moitié pour la troisième, au tiers pour la quatrième.

Toutefois, dans les communes de moins de 1,000 habitants et pour les ministres des cultes qui continueront à y remplir leurs fonctions, la durée de chacune des quatre périodes ci-dessus indiquées sera doublée.

Les départements et les communes pourront, sous les mêmes conditions que l'Etat, accorder aux ministres des cultes actuellement salariés par eux des pensions ou des allocations établies sur la même base et pour une égale durée.

Réserve est faite des droits acquis en matière de pensions par application de la législation antérieure, ainsi que des secours accordés, soit aux anciens ministres des différents cultes, soit à leur famille.

Les pensions prévues aux deux premiers paragraphes du présent article ne pourront se cumuler avec toute autre pension ou tout autre traitement alloué, à titre quelconque par, l'Etat, les départements ou les communes.

La loi du 27 juin 1885, relative au personnel des Facultés de théologie catholique supprimées, est applicable aux professeurs, chargés de cours, maîtres de conférences et étudiants des Facultés de théologie protestante.

Les pensions et allocations prévues ci-dessus seront incessibles et insaisissables dans les mêmes conditions que les pensions civiles. Elles cesseront de plein droit en cas de condamnation à une peine afflictive ou infamante ou en cas de condamnation

pour l'un des délits prévus aux articles 34 et 35 de la présente loi.

Le droit à l'obtention ou à la jouissance d'une pension ou allocation sera suspendu par les circonstances qui font perdre la qualité de Français, durant la privation de cette qualité.

Les demandes de pension devront être, sous peine de forclusion, formées dans le délai d'un an après la promulgation de la présente loi.

TITRE III.

DES EDIFICES DES CULTES.

Art. 12.—Les édifices qui ont été mis à la disposition de la nation et qui, en vertu de la loi du 18 germinal an X, servent à l'exercice public des cultes ou au logement de leurs ministres (cathédrales, églises, chapelles, temples, synagogues, archevêchés, évêchés, presbytères, séminaires), ainsi que leurs dépendances immobilières et les objets mobiliers qui les garnissaient au moment où lesdits édifices ont été remis aux cultes, sont et demeurent propriétés de l'Etat, des départements et des communes.

Pour ces édifices, comme pour ceux postérieurs à la loi du 18 germinal an X, dont l'Etat, les départements et les communes seraient propriétaires, y compris les Facultés de théologie protestante, il sera procédé conformément aux dispositions des articles suivants.

Art. 13.—Les édifices servant à l'exercice public du culte, ainsi que les objets mobiliers les garnissant, seront laissés gratuitement à la disposition des établissements publics du culte, puis des associations appelées à les remplacer auxquelles les biens de ces établissements auront été attribués par application des dispositions du titre II.

La cessation de cette jouissance, et, s'il y a lieu, son transfert seront prononcés par décret, sauf recours au Conseil d'Etat statuant au contentieux :

1. Si l'association bénéficiaire est dissoute ;
2. Si, en dehors des cas de force majeure, le culte cesse d'être célébré pendant plus de six mois consécutifs ;
3. Si la conservation de l'édifice ou celle des objets mobiliers classés en vertu de la loi de 1887, et de l'article 16 de la présente loi est compromise par insuffisance d'entretien, et après mise en demeure dûment notifiée du Conseil municipal ou, à son défaut, du préfet ;
4. Si l'association cesse de remplir son objet ou si les édifices sont détournés de leur destination ;
5. Si elle ne satisfait pas soit aux obligations de l'article 6 ou du dernier paragraphe du présent article, soit aux prescriptions relatives aux monuments historiques.

La désaffectation de ces immeubles pourra, dans les cas ci-dessus prévus, être prononcée par décret rendu en Conseil d'Etat. En dehors de ces cas, elle ne pourra l'être que par une loi.

Les immeubles autrefois affectés aux cultes et dans lesquels les cérémonies du culte n'auront pas été célébrées pendant le délai d'un an antérieurement à la présente loi, ainsi que ceux qui ne seront pas réclamés par une association cultuelle dans le délai de deux ans après sa promulgation, pourront être désaffectés par décret.

Il en est de même pour les édifices dont la désaffectation aura été demandé antérieurement au 1^{er} juin 1905.

Les établissements publics de culte, puis les associations bénéficiaires seront tenus des réparations de toute nature, ainsi que des frais d'assurance et autres charges afférentes aux édifices et aux meubles les garnissant.

Art. 14.—Les archevêchés, évêchés, les presbytères et leurs dépendances, les grands séminaires et facultés de théologie protestante seront laissés gratuitement à la disposition des établissements publics du culte, puis des associations prévues à l'article 13, savoir : les archevêchés et les évêchés pendant une période de deux années ; les presbytères dans les communes où résidera le ministre du culte, les grands séminaires et facultés de théologie protestante pendant cinq années à partir de la promulgation de la présente loi.

Les établissements et associations sont soumis, en ce qui concerne ces édifices, aux obligations prévues par le dernier paragraphe de l'article 13. Toutefois ils ne seront pas tenus des grosses réparations.

La cessation de la jouissance des établissements et associations sera prononcée dans les conditions et suivant les formes déterminées par l'article 13. Les dispositions des paragraphes 3 et 5 du même article sont applicables aux édifices visés par le paragraphe premier du présent article.

La distraction des parties superflues des presbytères laissés à la disposition des associations cultuelles pourra, pendant le délai prévu au paragraphe 1^{er}, être prononcée pour un service public par décret rendu en Conseil d'Etat.

A l'expiration des délais de jouissance gratuite, la libre disposition des édifices sera rendue à l'Etat, aux départements ou aux communes.

Les indemnités de logement incombant actuellement aux communes, à défaut de presbytère, par application de l'article 136 de la loi du 5 avril 1884, resteront à leur charge pendant le délai de cinq ans. Elles cesseront de plein droit en cas de dissolution de l'association.

The crux of the whole difficulty is to be found in article 8 of clause II. :—

Dans le cas où les biens attribués en vertu de l'article 4 et du paragraphe 1^{er} du présent article seront, soit dès l'origine, soit dans la suite, réclamés par plusieurs associations formées pour l'exercice du même culte, l'attribution qui en aura été faite par les représentants de l'établissement ou par décret pourra être contestée devant le Conseil d'Etat statuant au contentieux, lequel prononcera en tenant compte de toutes les circonstances de fait.

In case, then, there were in a parish two rival associations, each claiming the church and the other property of the association, it is the Council of State that would decide between them. As far as the text of the law is concerned the Bishop or the Holy See would have no authority in such matters. Some, indeed, contend that the Council of State would be bound by law to take the Bishop's view of the case into consideration, and to give it effect. But the law does not say so. It simply says in article 4 of the same clause that the association must conform to the rules of the general organisation of the Church. 'En se conformant aux règles d'organisation générale du culte dont elles se proposent d'assurer l'exercice.' So that it may be left to a tribunal of practical atheists to decide what are the rules of the general organization of the Catholic Church.

When the Bill was going through Parliament plenty of verbal promises were made that the approval of the Bishop would invariably be required by the Council of State ; but good care was taken not to embody these promises in the law. The text was left intentionally vague. The commentators have already set to work on it, and various interpretations are given according to the politics and point of view of the commentator. Here is what a prominent lawyer says, in one of the recent commentaries :—

¶ L'agrément donné par l'évêque ou par Rome à un prêtre chargé d'assurer le service du culte et présenté par une association cultuelle ne liera pas le Conseil d'Etat qui restera maître de donner l'investiture légale à telle autre association dont le

candidat n'aura pas bénéficié des faveurs de l'évêque, mais, par contre, le Conseil d'Etat devra s'incliner devant une décision de l'autorité ecclésiastique reprouvant un candidat. En d'autres termes il résulte des articles 4 et 8 combinés que l'évêque s'il n'a pas un droit de présentation, a tout au moins, un droit de veto.¹

Thus in case of the death of a Parish Priest, the association of laymen in the parish would have the right of nomination. They could give a 'call,' like the Presbyterians; and if the Bishop were allowed to interfere at all, he would have at the very outside the right of *veto*.

Is it any wonder that Pope Pius X should declare this provision as opposed to the very constitution of the Church?

The law was forced on the Church in the rudest and most insulting fashion. It was framed under the ægis of M. Combes, a stupid and brutal fanatic. It would be rather too absurd to think that a man of the *calibre* of M. Combes could do what the great revolution failed to do, and what Napoleon could not accomplish. The Protestant newspaper, *Le Temps*, and the Protestant leaders, de Pressensé, Buisson, Sabatier, are shedding crocodile tears over the situation, lamenting the irreconcilable spirit of the Church, and endeavouring in their underhand, hypocritical fashion, to do all the harm to Catholicism that they can accomplish. They would like things to go quietly for the present in order that gradually and whenever a favourable occasion offered they might foment schism and revolt. They are, of course, in high favour in England, and are quoted by leading English newspapers as if they represented public opinion in France. We shall see. For the first time in half a century the issues are now clear, and Catholics the world over have confidence in the ability, the courage and the power of endurance of their brethren in France.

J. F. HOGAN, D.D.

¹ *La Séparation des Eglises et de l'Etat*, par J. Gautier, Docteur en Droit. Sous Bibliothécaire à la Faculté de Droit de Paris.

HYMNI HORARUM

A NEW TRANSLATION

AD PRIMAM

THE star of day has risen now :
To God as suppliants let us bow,
That in the doings of this day
All that might harm be kept away.

May God our tongue restrain and curb,
Lest horrid sounds of strife disturb ;
And may He soothe and screen our eyes,
Lest earth's poor vanities surprise.

May the heart's inmost depths be pure,
And may we be from sloth secure.
May pride of flesh be worn, subdued,
By frugal use of drink and food.

That so, when day has taken flight
And order has led back the night,
We, pure through abstinence, may sing
Glory unto our heavenly King.

Glory to God the Father be !
Glory, coequal Son, to Thee !
And to the Holy Ghost be praise
On earth, in heaven, through endless days.

AD TERTIAM

Now, Holy Spirit, Who art one
With God the Father, God the Son,
Deign quickly here to come and rest,
Poured out in graces o'er my breast.

May mouth and tongue, mind, senses, strength,
Sound forth confession true at length ;
And may love's flame mount high and higher,
Till all around shall catch its fire.

Father of mercy, be it done !
Thou too, coequal only Son !
Who with the Holy Ghost dost reign
In glory that shall never wane.

AD SEXTAM.

O mighty Ruler, God of truth divine !
Who dost the world's vicissitudes sustain,
Makest the morn with splendour new to shine
And biddest noon flash out its fires again.

Extinguish all the baneful flames of strife,
Subdue the noxious heat's too fiery glow,
Bestow upon the body healthful life,
Upon the heart true peace, O Lord, bestow.

Father most merciful, oh ! hear our cry.
Hear us, coequal sole-begotten Son !
Who with the Holy Ghost dost reign on high
While all the everlasting ages run.

AD NONAM

O God, of all things binding force,
Thyself unchanged for aye,
Distinguishing time's silent course
By each successive day.

Light in the evening grant us, Lord !
That nought may life destroy ;
But may a holy death's reward
Lead on to endless joy.

Grant, Father, O most merciful !
Grant, sole coequal Son !
Who with the Holy Ghost dost rule
While countless ages run.

MATTHEW RUSSELL, S.J.

PRIMARY EDUCATION GRANTS: SHOULD IRELAND'S GRANT BE INCREASED?

IN view of the late Chief Secretary for Ireland's dictum 'that no more money could be economically spent on Primary Education in Ireland' it may to some seem impertinent to talk of increasing the present grant. But on the other hand, there is a large body who are of opinion that the extempore utterances of a Minister anxious to ward the shafts of a troublesome Opposition cannot be imbibed implicitly. What method of reasoning Mr. Wyndham employed which enabled him to reach the extraordinary conclusion expressed above, it is not our intention to discover, but probably it was that known to logicians as *suppressio veri*. Even he himself must have seen its falsity, as he afterwards expressed himself to the effect that it would require £175,000 or £200,000 to put the education in Irish Primary Schools on a proper basis. Now, we do not stop to inquire at present if you can have a satisfactory educational edifice by building on an unsatisfactory foundation, as Mr. Wyndham alleged the basis of our primary school system to be. The main intention of this paper is not to show how the money should be applied, but to inquire if we are justly entitled to the increase in the School Grant which would be necessary for the purpose of properly financing Irish Primary Education.

To effect our purpose it will be necessary to inquire into the methods which have been employed of allocating the School Grant among the three countries of the United Kingdom, and to see if Ireland has been fairly treated according to the principles of distribution.

The first in priority, as well as in importance, is that known as the Goschen method of distribution of equivalent grants for educational purposes. When school fees were abolished in England the Government came to the decision to give the people of England, out of the Imperial

Exchequer, an annual grant of ten shillings per pupil in average attendance, and Mr. Goschen, then Chancellor of the Exchequer, proposed his mode of allocating the School Grant in these words :—

I propose to give to each country a share in proportion to the general contributions of that country to the Exchequer. On this principle England will be entitled to 80 per cent., Scotland to 11 per cent., and Ireland to 9 per cent. This division is, if anything, a little too favourable to Ireland, as its contributions are in reality only 8·7 per cent., but I have felt obliged to give the benefit of the doubt to the poorer country.¹

In 1891, Parliament sanctioned the Goschen method of distribution, that is, the division of the School Grant among England, Scotland, and Ireland, in the proportion of 80, 11, and 9, respectively. From this procedure it was understood that Ireland's share of the School Grant should permanently bear a fixed ratio to the amount paid to England. England was to get a capitation payment of ten shillings on the average attendance, and Ireland was to get nine-eightieths of the amount voted for England.²⁴

Accepting, then, this principle of distribution, it will be interesting to ascertain how far the English Treasury has adhered to the arrangements submitted to, and sanctioned by Parliament. In doing so, it is important to remember that it was the Imperial Parliament sanctioned the amount of School Grant payable to Ireland to be nine-eightieths of that payable to England. Have the arrangements sanctioned by Parliament been adhered to? Has Ireland been voted as School Grant nine-eightieths of the amount voted for England? In a word, has faith been kept with Ireland in regard to the amount paid this country as School Grant?

We have conclusive proof that from the beginning the English Treasury did not observe the compact adopted by Parliament for the distribution of this Grant. 'My Lords' of the Treasury, whether by accident or design, provided for Ireland *less* than the amount to which she was entitled. During the years 1892-6 the arrears of School

¹ *Hansard*, vol. 324, cols. 301-2.

Grant which were due to Ireland amounted to £95,434. After a protracted struggle for their recovery, in which His Grace the Archbishop of Dublin took an honourable part, by directing attention to the matter in a brilliant series of letters to the Dublin Press, the arrears were paid in 1900.¹ The Treasury thus admitted that the School Grant for Ireland should increase with the increase in the English Grant, and that the former should bear to the latter the constant ratio of 9 to 80.

But you will say, perhaps, that 'My Lords' of the Treasury, having had their errors pointed out to them, have since kept to the correct calculation of nine-eightieths of the English Grant when allotting Ireland's portion. If that may be your opinion let the following table supply the answer :—

Financial Year.			Amount of English Grant.	Amount Payable to Ireland on the Proportionate Principle.	Amount provided in the Estimates.	Amount unprovided.
			£	£	£	£
1896-7	Original	Estimate	2,241,000	252,112	255,000	—
1897-8	do.	do.	2,285,000	257,062	255,000	2,062
1898-9	do.	do.	2,303,000	259,087	255,000	4,087
1899-0	do.	do.	2,332,000	262,350	250,000	12,350
1900-1	do.	do.	2,374,565	267,138	250,000	17,138
1901-2	do.	do.	2,391,588	269,053	250,000	19,053
1902-3	do.	do.	2,430,321	273,411	240,000	33,411
1903-4	do.	do.	2,561,991	288,224	240,000	48,224
1904-5	do.	do.	2,645,284	297,594	240,000	57,594
1905-6	do.	do.	2,702,500	304,031	235,000	69,031

Though the above table does not contain the 'Supplemental Estimates' nor the items of 'Further Expenditure' (if there were any), to which we have not access at present, it shows at a glance that Ireland, owing to the non-observance of the legal mode of distribution of the School Grant—the Goschen principle—has been annually defrauded of a very considerable amount of the sum to which she is legally entitled. It was stipulated that the Irish School Grant should increase as the grant for England increased and that

¹ *Sixty-seventh Report of Commissioners of National Education*, p. 52.

it should bear to the English Grant the ratio of 9 to 80. But is this the case? By referring to the table you will see that the English Grant is yearly increasing while the Irish Grant is actually diminishing. In 1896-7 the School Grant for England was £2,241,000, and the corresponding grant provided for Ireland was £255,000. Since that year the Grant for England has increased by £461,500, while the Irish Grant, instead of increasing, has actually diminished by no less than £20,000. Now, we trust we have demonstrated pretty clearly to impartial readers that according to the sanctioned Parliamentary principle of distribution of School Grants, Ireland has all the time been playing a losing game, and the amount of her losses is no small one.

If the money column headed 'Amount unprovided' in the table given above be added, we get the sum of £262,950, which has been withheld from this country owing to the non-adherence of the Treasury to the legal mode of allocation of the School Grant ordered by Parliament. And on the other hand it is generally admitted by educationists in this country that Irish Primary Education has been all these years starving for lack of funds. Therefore, the question of the arrears of Grant now due is one that imperatively demands the attention of the Press, the Irish Members of Parliament, and all those who have regard for the educational progress of the people of Ireland. So much for the Goschen principle, which, unfortunately for this country, has been set aside. With the other two methods which hold the field for precedence we now propose to deal.

From 1892 to 1896, the attendance at English schools very largely increased, and the Treasury officials, ever on the alert to grasp an opportunity to economise in certain fields of Irish expenditure, found it to their advantage to substitute the method of payment of the School Grant according to the average attendance for the Goschen method as fixed by Parliament. With a diminishing population and a consequent diminution in the average attendance of pupils at our schools it is obviously unfair to Ireland to have her School Grant calculated on this basis. Mr. Goschen refused

to distribute the Grant on this basis for the reason that such a proposal was 'at variance with the fundamental principle of his scheme ;' and Mr. Balfour declared that if any such principle were adopted they 'might give too little to one country and too much to another.' On the 11th June, 1891, a Scotch M.P. asked if the Government were prepared 'to concede the right of the people of Scotland and Ireland to a similar Grant (as in England) of ten shillings per child in average attendance ;' and Mr. Goschen's reply to this interrogator was as follows :—

My Budget Estimate was prepared upon the basis that the Education Grant would be distributed in the proportion of 80 per cent. to England, 11 per cent. to Scotland, and 9 per cent. to Ireland. The honourable member's suggestion is that the grant should be distributed in proportion to the number of children . . . in average attendance. In view of the very different educational circumstances of the three parts of the United Kingdom, complications would undoubtedly ensue if the method of distribution suggested by the honourable member were adopted instead of distribution upon the same principle as the Probate Grant.¹

When the attendance at Irish schools was such that a capitation grant of ten shillings per unit of average attendance would have been more advantageous to Ireland the predominant partner refused to allocate the School Grant on this basis. But when the attendance in England had increased, and the attendance in Ireland had fallen to such an extent that our share on the capitation basis would be less than under the Goschen arrangement, then the capitation mode of payment was illegally adopted. The fundamental principle of Mr. Goschen's scheme was departed from ; the fear that one country might get too little and another too much vanished the moment a capitation payment of ten shillings per pupil in average attendance gave less to Ireland than nine-eightieths of the English Grant.

The substitution of the capitation basis of payment of the School Grant for the proportionate principle was made by the Treasury without Parliamentary sanction, and does

¹ *Hansard*, Vol. 354, col. 155.

not seem to have met with opposition from the Irish M.P.'s. Nevertheless, the arrangement is, as the Bishop of Kildare has described it, 'most unfair to Ireland.' Let us show its advantage to the Treasury. In 1897 the average attendance at Irish National Schools was 521,141,¹ and when a capitation payment of ten shillings per pupil would have given Ireland £260,570 as her share of the School Grant, the Goschen principle of payment was professedly adhered to. In accordance with that principle we were entitled to £257,062 (independently of any sums which should accrue under the Supplemental Estimates), while the amount actually provided for us in the Estimates, as shown in the above table, was only £255,000. Had Ireland, then, asked for payment on the capitation basis she would have been informed that such a mode of payment was fundamentally opposed to the principle of Mr. Goschen's mode of distributing the School Grant. In the words of the late Prime Minister, Mr. Balfour, she would be told that were such a mode of distribution adopted some of the constituents of the United Kingdom would receive too little while others would receive too much, and consequently the School Grant had to be allocated upon the 'only other principle at once clear, intelligent, and equitable'²—that is, the Goschen principle. Thus we have shown that even Treasury officials themselves were, at one time, opposed to the capitation basis of payment of the School Grant, as being unfair to some of the countries contributing to the Imperial Exchequer, and undoubtedly it is inequitable to Ireland. To our contention, that Ireland's share of the School Grant should not be calculated on the basis of average attendance, the present-day Treasury apologists reply that it is our own fault if we fail to secure increased grants. 'Why not,' they say, 'take sufficient interest in the education of your children to ensure their regular attendance at school?' There is some truth in the argument advanced by 'My Lords' of the Treasury. The attendance of pupils at the

¹ *Seventieth Report of Commissioners of National Education*, p. 22.

² *Sixty-second Report of Commissioners of National Education*, p. 29.

Irish schools could and should be largely increased by enforcing the Compulsory Attendance Act. But is it really just to lay the entire blame for the present low average attendance on the shoulders of the Irish people? 'The evil that men do lives after them,' and though the days when—

Still crouching 'neath the sheltering hedge or stretched on
mountain fern,

The teacher and his pupils met feloniously to learn

are, happily, gone, yet we are experiencing their evil effects to-day. Penal legislation and industrial restraint having depopulated our country, and banished the love of learning from the hearts of many of our people, our responsible legislators charge us as being accountable for the evil effects of their own misdeeds. What arrant hypocrisy!

The third and most recently introduced mode of allocating Grants from the Imperial funds is in the proportion of the respective populations of the three countries. For the purpose of carrying out the provisions of the English Education Act of 1902, there was voted for England an additional grant of £1,400,000, and Ireland's equivalent of that sum, calculated on the Goschen principle, would be £145,000, but Mr. Wyndham expressed the opinion that a calculation on that basis would give less than Ireland was entitled to, and he contended that the basis of population was the only just mode of distribution. So, on the basis of population our share amounted to £185,000. Were we paid that sum for educational purposes? Let us see. The Chancellor of the Exchequer declared that though an Equivalent Grant was due to Ireland for this large sum given for educational purposes in England, yet this Grant was not to be allocated for educational purposes in Ireland. It was set apart as the nucleus of a development fund, to which savings from other sources were to be attached. This large sum of money, admittedly due to Irish Primary Education, was sequestered by Mr. Wyndham from its legitimate purpose, and used for the extension of railways, the building of harbours, the equip-

ment and efficiency of dredgers, for everything, in fact, except for the education of the masses, though its equivalents in England and Scotland had been devoted for the latter purpose. It is true we got for primary education out of such a large amount a sum of £24,000—insignificant though it be, it was reluctantly given by the late Government. The sum devoted to education in England, for which this sum, £185,000, is supposed, on the basis of population, to be the equivalent, has been increased by over £1,000,000 since 1902. Ireland's share still remains at £185,000. No addition has been made to it from any source whatever, though it was promised the cost of the Irish Judiciary would be cut down, that the enormous sums spent on the Royal Irish Constabulary would be kept within normal limits, and the development fund was to be enriched from every conceivable source. The Irish M.P.'s were induced to give their sanction to a Bill proposing that the money be called a development fund, to prevent unexpended balances being returned to the Treasury.

The sequel to this clever device—for such it was—has been stated. The Treasury forthwith commenced to relieve itself of numerous ordinary forms of expenditure to the detriment of the Development Fund. Practically every purpose for which the Development Fund is now utilized should be served by the Treasury. Now, this is manifestly a grievous injustice to primary education in Ireland—this misapplication of the Equivalent Grant—and should be remedied forthwith by the present Government, who propose to govern Ireland according to Irish ideas. The vast majority of the local bodies in this country, county and district councillors, the Catholic Hierarchy, the school managers and teachers, demanded that this local fund should be devoted to primary education. And we trust that our present sympathetic and distinguished Chief Secretary will prevail upon 'My Lords' to respect the wishes of the people, as expressed through their representatives, and right the wrong that has been done to National Education here by the misappropriation of the badly needed funds required for its efficient working. The unexpended

balance of this fund for the past few years amounted to £120,928, and to this was added £185,000, the amount granted for the past year, making a total of £305,928. And how much of this sum was proposed to be spent directly on National Schools for the past year? Just £41,495, or less than a seventh of the whole grant! There was no less than £92,177 carried forward to this year's account, and this notwithstanding the fact that Irish National Schools are—many of them—unsanitary, badly equipped, ill-ventilated, overcrowded, badly heated in winter, and that the teachers are—many of them—not in receipt of a sufficient salary to maintain themselves respectably, with the result that increasing numbers are crossing the channel where their services are better appreciated and paid for accordingly, while many have left the profession in despair and followed other callings, their education having being provided at the nation's expense. We may well ask how long is this to continue?

The following table shows the amount of Educational Grant voted per unit of the population in the three countries for 1905-6 :—

COUNTRY.				Amount voted for Education 1905-6.	Population in 1901.	Amount voted per head, 1905-6.
England	..	..	..	£ 13,105,475	£ 32,526,075	Pence 96
Scotland	..	..	..	1,822,695	4,472,000	98
Ireland	..	..	..	1,400,777	4,456,546	75·4

The figures in the foregoing table demonstrate that in regard to grants for education England gets 96 pence per head of the population, Scotland, still more fortunate, gets 98 pence; while Ireland, the poorest of the 'sisters,' gets but 75·4 pence. If Ireland were not always treated as the Cinderella of the 'sisters' she should have obtained almost as large a share of the grant as Scotland, but Scotland

got £421,918 (in the year we are considering) more than this country received the same year.

Now, there is no valid reason advanced for the great disparity between the education grants voted for Scotland and Ireland, respectively. The population of Scotland in 1901, was only 15,454 greater than that of Ireland, and for this small difference in population we find a difference of over £420,000 in the Education Estimates of the two countries. We contend that so long as Ireland forms a part of the Empire, so long the people of this country are entitled to the same amount for education as is expended on the same number of people in any other part of the Empire. From the above table it is seen that during the past financial year, England got for education the sum of £13,105,475, and under the Goschen arrangement Ireland should get the nine-eighthieth of this amount, or £1,474,366. She got instead £1,400,777. On the basis of population, which Mr. Wyndham contended is the proper mode of distribution, Ireland's grant should be £1,783,297. Thus it will be seen that no matter which mode of distribution we adopt *Ireland is getting less than the amount to which she is entitled*, and if we turn to the Education Estimates for the present year, 1906-7, we find that Ireland is still more unjustly treated, as her grant is increased by only £1,502, while the English estimate is increased by £490,224, and the Scotch by £154,838. After a perusal of the foregoing facts your unbiassed readers will undoubtedly answer, *in the affirmative*, the question asked at the beginning of this article.

The Report of the Commissioners of National Education for 1904, contains the following :—

It seems to us to be involved in the Legislative Union and to be a necessary consequence of the identity of taxation in Great Britain and Ireland that the Irish child should enjoy equal advantages, so far as education is concerned, with children in English and Scotch schools. Whether these advantages should be secured by grants from the rates or from the Exchequer is a secondary question with which not we, but the Government, are concerned. It is our duty to lay before the Government and the Lords Com-

missioners of His Majesty's Treasury the immediate requirements of the system of National Education, which requirements must be satisfied if the existing educational inequality between Great Britain and Ireland is even in a small measure to be redressed.

Here a body of gentlemen, loyal to the core, feel compelled, in the discharge of their responsibilities as administrators of the system of education, to enter their protest against the inequality of treatment meted out to this country in the matter of funds for educational purposes. The grievance is, therefore, not an imaginary one, and cannot be set down as a further instance of 'the wild hysterics of the Celt.' The Commissioners also state that the Government should apply the remedy, which must be found either in increased Imperial grants or in local taxation.

But if—and we have shown it to be the case—the Treasury is not dealing fairly with Ireland in the matter of adequate grants for education, this question of local taxation should not arise. What! propose an additional tax on this unfortunate country which was acknowledged by a Royal Commission, consisting of a majority of able British financiers, to be over-taxed to the tune of two and three-quarter millions of pounds sterling per annum! The proposal is preposterous. And what guarantee should we have, were the tax levied, that it would be expended on Irish Primary Education? Rather would there not be reason to fear that the Empire-builders would take another notion of conquering 'fresh fields and pastures new'? And, then, we should find ourselves involved in the consequent expenditure, which would have to be met by contributions from every conceivable source. Ireland has had to bear part of the expenditure of millions which had, it seems, to be squandered that the Rand might have its compounds from the blending of the blood of Boer and Briton. And history often repeats itself. Let us have our legitimate share of the School Grant, and there will be no necessity for additional taxation.

Is there any prospect of our demands in this respect

being conceded? Said the present Prime Minister, in Liverpool, some short time ago: 'I do not grudge money spent upon useful purposes which redound to the advantage of the people and which are really productive. I do not object to money spent on Education.' If this means that the expenditure will be characterised by just distribution among the three countries, that the Irish 'poor man's child' will be afforded equal facilities of advancement to those enjoyed by the 'happy English child,' it will have the approbation of every Irishman of whatever politics or creed who has the slightest regard for the educational interests of the nation. So that a Minister who is really anxious to restore to this country the equivalents of the grants voted for education in England may safely rely on the support of Irish politicians of every shade, irrespective of how their views conflict on other questions. Our eminent Chief Secretary, the Right Hon. James Bryce, M.P., D.C.L., etc., has given expression to some thoughts on the state of Irish Primary Education, and admits that more funds are needed. 'Irish education,' he says, 'is a century behind, and everything that is spent in developing the national talent will be of the greatest possible benefit to the country.' Like the Premier, he is of opinion that money spent on education would be 'really productive.' And again:— 'As to the question of how reforms are to be effected. In the first place we want more money, and all I can do is to plead for a liberal treatment of Irish education, because without more money very much cannot be done.' So far Mr. Bryce has done very little to remedy this grievance, but he has shown no lack of sympathy which we trust he will soon translate into tangible proofs of his sincerity. Sympathy goes but a short way in redressing wrongs; hard cash in this case would go much further.

The latest striking ministerial pronouncement on this subject emanated from no other than Mr. Asquith, Chancellor of the Exchequer:—

I offer [said he] this assurance to gentlemen from Ireland, so far as my legal powers allow *I will see that in educational matters particularly, in which Ireland has a real grievance, Irish funds are*

not unduly encroached upon, and that the Imperial Exchequer will contribute all it can possibly be expected to do in justice for the special interests of Ireland.

In view of these sympathetic utterances we might well ask in the words of a present-day poet :—

Is this, O Lord, Thy promised dawn,
These signals on our sky,
Or but a corpse-lit meteor shown
To lure us with a lie ?

Seoradh na Cearbáin.

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF SOME OCCULT PHENOMENA

IT has been well and truly remarked by an eminent authority that the quality most essential for all scientific investigation is perfect honesty of mind and judgment, and in the light of this remark it may seem strange that in regard to the science of the occult, many of the traditional errors and fallacies which have so long prevailed should still co-exist with the march of scientific discovery. But when we reflect how difficult it is to disburden the mind of many preconceived fallacies in regard to modern mysticism which have been handed down to us from past generations, and which are still readily accepted by the popular mind, and when we consider, too, how elusive and capricious seem to be the natural laws which investigators claim govern occult phenomena hitherto termed spiritualistic, it will not strike us as strange, that many of the errors which our ancestors accepted as incontrovertible facts should still remain with us. In fact the attitude of the popular mind in regard to the phenomena of the occult would seem to have undergone very little change during the last hundred years, and we are now no nearer to attaining the certainty of scientific progress in these matters than we were at the beginning of the last century. To quote from J. S. Mill's *Elements of Logic* :—

In the departments of enquiry relative to the more complex phenomena of nature, and especially those of which the subject is man, whether as a moral, an intellectual, a social or even a physical being, the diversity of opinions still prevalent among instructed persons, and the equal confidence with which those of the most contrary modes of thinking cling to their respective tenets, are proof not only that the right modes of philosophising are not yet generally adopted on these subjects, but that wrong ones are.

Now, whilst we think the attitude of the popular mind still remains pretty much the same as regards the many forms of spiritualistic belief prevalent amongst our forefathers, at the same time there is the tendency, among a certain class, to treat all such forms of belief as folk-lore and fairy tales, unbecoming the spirit of this enlightened age of scientific advancement ; but in view of the many long-continued and carefully conducted investigations in the domain of modern mysticism, and in the light of the remarkable evidence of many disinterested and impartial witnesses, men of conspicuous ability, and of high social and literary standing, it is evident that contemptuous rejection on the one hand, and unmitigated credulity on the other, are equally to be avoided. The scientific mind, it is true, cannot yield blindly to the mere authority of a name, it calls for facts which will bear the investigation of searching criticism based upon experimental evidence ; which will stand any scrutiny, any severity of test, which science may suggest or demand. It demands that trickery and deception be not palmed off on the public under the guise of scientific discovery, but in the present incomplete state of scientific inquiry in regard to the phenomena of the occult, we can only suggest a probable hypothesis which can afford an adequate and rationalistic interpretation of most of the phenomena termed spiritualistic with which we are acquainted.

It may be well to point out that in this paper the terms *spiritualism*, *medium*, etc., are employed not in the popularly accepted signification, as implying a belief that disembodied spirits can communicate with us through the medium of certain persons supposed to be susceptible to such influence, but for want of a more appropriate term, as expressing that particular class of phenomena which are commonly supposed to be due to such preternatural influence.

The point of inquiry, then, is how far modern spiritualism is reducible to scientific laws, whether the phenomena are purely spiritualistic and beyond nature, or whether they are to be accepted partly as a science, and partly as

due to the intervention of preternatural agencies. If we are led to conclude that these supposed spiritualistic manifestations are governed by definite laws, it follows from the immutability of nature's laws, that the same causes acting in like circumstances should produce the same effects. There can be no caprice as to their manifestations. If, on the other hand, we are to suppose them due to spiritualistic intervention, we should hardly expect to find from beings supposed to possess a plenitude of knowledge and wealth of intellect, such vulgar errors of judgment and fact, such meanness of intelligence, as have frequently been manifested in their communications.

Of the two hypotheses, therefore, that which seems to involve the least incongruity is the first, viz., that, generally, the occult phenomena termed spritualistic are amenable to fixed and definite natural laws, that, therefore, the causes acting in similar circumstances produce the same results, that if such results are not invariably obtained, it is due to the fact that our knowledge of these laws or forces being yet in an incomplete and embryonic stage what may seem to us to be similar circumstances with the same causes acting, are not so in reality, and that if sometimes caprice is exhibited in regard to their manifestations, it is because the precise conditions under which the phenomena at one time are produced, are at other times really absent. It is on this account chiefly that table-turning, spirit-rapping, apparitions, and other alleged spiritualistic revelations still hold a position undemonstrative to science and unsatisfactory to evidence.

We are all familiar with the accounts of spiritualistic séances; the occurrences are related with a regard to accuracy and detail which can leave no reasonable doubt as to their objective reality, and this being supported by the testimony of men of recognized ability and of unimpeachable intergity, puts the matter beyond that stage wherein doubt can reasonably be entertained. The facts, then, cannot be called in question, but as to the means by which these effects are brought about, we are now in

this age of scientific enlightenment no nearer any satisfactory explanation, than we were when these remarkable phenomena first began to call for detailed and systematic investigation. Committees without number, composed of men of the highest social and literary standing, have been formed for the purpose of making a systematic enquiry into the causes by which these alleged spiritualistic phenomena are produced, but beyond recording an indefinite number of marvellous occurrences, based, it would seem, on evidence of the strongest kind, no definite results have been transmitted to the future keeping of history.

The scientific world is sceptical and scornful, because it is here brought face to face with phenomena which no recognized laws of physical science can satisfactorily explain, and short of doubting the veracity and integrity of the witnesses, the only possible solution they are prepared to accept is, that taking into consideration the limits and fallacies of our senses, that continuous and accurate observation which is necessary to detect trickery and sleight of hand is beyond the powers of our ordinary faculties, and this, they say, taken in connection with the fact that almost invariably these occurrences take place in circumstances (partial darkness, etc.) which favour the perpetration of fraud and render its detection extremely difficult if not impossible, goes far to show that no phenomena of the kind have yet been witnessed, which fraud as the all-sufficient cause cannot satisfactorily explain; and not without a fair show of reason do they adhere to their opinions, for not infrequently fraudulent exposures of a most humiliating kind have been witnessed, and even amongst the most noted professional mediums of modern times, not a few have been from time to time detected in the commission of fraud, and in very many instances when additional precautions were taken to ensure the honesty and genuineness of the occurrences, and to make fraud impossible, the phenomena either ceased entirely or occurred only while the precautions were temporarily relaxed. Hence, probably, as affording them more intellectual satisfaction than any

other, the hypothesis of fraud is the only one they are at present prepared to accept :—

The spiritualist [remarks Sir William Crookes] tells of flowers with the dew fresh on them, of fruit and living objects being carried through closed windows and even solid brick walls.

The scientific investigator naturally asks that an additional weight (if it be only the thousandth part of a grain) be deposited on one pan of his balance when the case is locked, and the chemist asks that the thousandth part of a grain of arsenic be carried through the sides of a glass tube in which pure water is hermetically sealed.

Crookes' opinion, as a man of science, must always command the highest respect, but in view of the enormous mass of evidence which the Society for Physical Research has accumulated within recent years, it can hardly, I think, be conceded that the hypothesis of fraud covers all recorded cases of spiritualistic phenomena. Even amongst those many eminent psychologists of strongly materialistic views, who have distrusted mediumistic intervention in any shape, and who have approached the investigation of these remarkable phenomena with strongly preconceived notions of a fraudulent interpretation, not a few have been forced to the conclusion that many of the phenomena observed by them put such a hypothesis entirely out of the question, and even in regard to the performance of one of the most celebrated mediums of modern times, Daniel Dunglas Home, Crookes himself was forced to admit that 'certain of Home's phenomena fall quite outside the category of marvels producible by sleight of hand or specially prepared apparatus.' Professor Barrett, who formed one of the Committee of Inquiry into the phenomena of Home, expressed his firm conviction that Home's phenomena cannot possibly be explained on the hypothesis of fraud, and in regard to other similar occurrences which he himself observed, he remarks, 'certain unexplicable phenomena, which came under my repeated observation in broad daylight, could not be satisfactorily explained either on the ground of

fraud, or hallucination.' Let it be remarked, too, that Home himself was always eager in soliciting scientific inquiry into the remarkable occurrences of which he was the medium, and on all occasions gave every possible facility for detailed and systematic investigation. On the testimony, therefore, of reliable and trustworthy investigators, and on the evidence of witnesses whose veracity cannot be questioned, we are compelled to admit that many instances of occult manifestations have been witnessed which do not admit of any fraudulent interpretation, and, being forced to this conclusion, we are forced to admit the physical reality of all similar occurrences, at least until the hypothesis of fraud has been firmly established.

The hypothesis of deception and hallucination being therefore eliminated, two possible theories yet remain to be considered (*a*) spiritualistic intervention, and (*b*) that of a new, but hitherto undiscovered physical force. That there are certain extraordinary phenomena termed spiritualistic, which do not fall within the category of any hitherto defined law of natural science, is a fact which cannot reasonably be called in question, but because these marvels are undemonstrable with that degree of accuracy and certainty which marks the investigations of scientific inquiry, it by no means follows, therefore, that they are not governed by natural laws. Until comparatively recent times, light rays which were neither reflected nor refracted, were entirely unknown to science, but the discovery of the X-rays disclosed the remarkable fact that certain rays are governed by neither of these laws. Why it is we do not know, we are only assured of the fact? Wireless telegraphy, too, is a discovery which the wildest dreams of the earlier scientists never contemplated as being within the category of those things amenable to natural laws; whilst the investigation of the properties which its discoverers claim for radium, tends to completely upset the premature conclusions of some modern scientists that 'the limits of physical law are already well known and defined.' So in regard to the extraordinary phenomena assumed to be

spiritualistic. Many of them fall quite outside any hitherto recognized laws of physical science, yet it is quite within the bounds of possibility that these remarkable occurrences may yet turn out to be phenomena having laws of their own, constituting a hitherto undiscovered or rather unexplored field of science. In a former article we had occasion to refer to Reichenbach's theory of odic forces. Baron Reichenbach, the original propounder of this theory of a new and extraneous force, professed to have discovered in this new force an adequate and satisfactory explanation of many of the phenomena termed spiritualistic. As the result of many varied and carefully conducted experiments with different subjects, he discovered, in numerous cases, evidences of attraction and repulsion between certain of the more sensitive subjects and an ordinary horse-shoe magnet. Many of them testified to the appearance of a luminous flame emanating from the poles of the magnet. And not only that, but from any object with which the magnet had come in contact. As the result of further careful investigation, the Baron was led to infer the presence of this wonderful agency in other things than magnets, and, as the result of further experiments, he discovered that the human body itself was a source of this newly-discovered faculty. When the Society for Psychical Research was first established, in 1882, one of the fields of its investigations was to be 'a critical revision of Reichenbach's researches with certain organizations called sensitive, and an inquiry whether such organizations possess any power of perception beyond a highly exalted sensibility of the recognized sensory organs,' and as a result of this revision 'the flamelike emanations, from crystals, the poles of a magnet, newly-made graves, etc., were confirmed in the report of the Society's proceedings. It is true only four of those experimented upon professed to observe these remarkable phenomena, but in circumstances of this kind it is evident that the rarity of the occurrences affords the very strongest proof of their genuineness and authenticity, as we know in the domain of mysticism comparatively few possess the

faculty of perception necessary to observe the manifestations of the occult.

Now, as to the practical application of Reichenbach's occult physical force, to the elusive phenomena alleged to be spiritual. Pursuing his investigations, the Baron was satisfied that this new force originated from chemical action, wherever such action was to be found, and for many of the occurrences termed preternatural (table-turning, spirit rapping, churchyard apparitions, etc.), Reichenbach professed to find a rational and satisfactory interpretation. 'The material nature of this force,' the author remarks, 'is to me, as yet, as completely occult and hidden as it is enigmatic, as much so as that of light, electricity, and of other dynamics,' but whilst it differed from these essentially it was supposed to possess many of their properties, and to be universally diffused, and associated with every known substance. The subjects with which Reichenbach experimented, having been induced by him to take a series of moonlight excursions through churchyards and cemeteries, recognized as emanating from certain graves, particularly newly-made graves, a flickering and magnetic light similar to that which was observed to be emitted from the poles of the magnets, the cause of which the Baron was led to conclude was due to the chemical action of decomposition of the bodies, and, hence, taking into consideration the hallucinatory temperaments of percipients of such phenomena, and making due allowance for the little embellishments which such tales receive from their repeated narration, as well as from the preconceived notions of the percipient as to how a phantom should act in such cases, Reichenbach advanced this as a plausible and satisfactory explanation of the traditional churchyard ghost. Modern mystics who adhere tenaciously to Reichenbach's principles profess to find in this force many properties common to magnetism and electricity, and amongst the more important phenomena which characterize its development are the reciprocal attraction and repulsion of bodies through which this force is sufficiently diffused, such attraction and repulsion being

manifested more particularly in the presence of individuals of that particular temperament which lends itself to the development and retention of such force.

Now, the London Dialectical Society, the first Committee of whose proceedings we have any definite records, having been formed for the purpose of inquiry into the alleged spiritualistic phenomena of movement of objects without physical contact, table-turning, spirit rapping, and all analogous manifestations, as the result of long-continued investigation, established conclusively—

1st. That under certain bodily or mental conditions of one or more of the persons present, a force is exhibited sufficient to set in motion heavy substances without the employment of any muscular force, without contact or material connection of any kind between such substances and the body of any person present.

2nd. That this force can cause sounds to proceed, distinctly audible to all present, from solid substances, not in contact with, nor having any visible or material connection with the body of any person present, and which sounds are proved to proceed from such substances by the vibrations which are distinctly felt when they are touched.

I shall give one instance of such manifestations as being typical of a class. It is taken from Sergeant Cox's work, *What am I?*—

On Tuesday, 2nd June, 1873, a personal friend (Mr. Stainton Moses) came to my residence in Russell Square, to dress for a dinner party to which we were invited. He had previously exhibited considerable power as a psychic. Having half an hour to spare, we went into the dining-room. It was just six o'clock, and of course broad daylight. I was opening letters, he was reading the *Times*. My dining-table is of mahogany, very heavy, old fashioned, six feet wide, nine feet long. It stands on a Turkey carpet, which much increases the difficulty of moving it. A subsequent trial showed that the united efforts of two strong men standing were required to move it one inch. There was no cloth upon it and the light fell full under it. No person was in the room but my friend and myself. Suddenly as we were sitting thus, frequent and loud rapping came upon the table. My friend was then sitting holding the newspaper with both hands, one arm resting on the table, the other on the back of a chair, and turned sideways from the table so that his legs and feet were not under the table but at the side of it. Presently the solid table quivered as with an ague

fit. Then it swayed to and fro so violently as almost to dislocate the big pillar-like legs, of which there are eight. Then it moved forward about three inches. I looked under it to be sure it was not touched, but still it moved and still the blows were loud upon it.

This is but an instance of hundreds of similar cases recorded in the report of the proceedings of the Society for Psychical Research. Granting then the existence of some such force, many occult phenomena would fall within the category of physical and scientific laws, and hence a simple and satisfactory theory which affords an adequate explanation of the proverbial rapping and rumbling sounds peculiar to haunted houses, or other places occupied by individuals whose organism have this remarkable quality developed to that degree of strength and intensity necessary to produce such extraordinary manifestations; and not only in the human organism would some such force seem to diffuse itself, but may also become developed in inorganic substances. Different bodies may develop forces of opposite polarity, and where such bodies happen to be within each other's magnetic field there results the phenomenon of repulsion and attraction by which are produced the movements of objects from place to place without contact, table-rapping, and other unaccountable and enigmatic phenomena alleged to be spiritualistic.

As to how far the operations of this force are directed by the will, and characterized by intelligence, the most careful investigations reveal nothing very definite, but it would seem that when located in the nerve-centres communicating directly with the brain, the operations of this power are generally within the control of the mental faculties, otherwise the characteristics of an intelligent agent are generally absent.

A variation of this odyllic force is the telepathic faculty, by which mind can directly communicate with mind, although separated by long distances. The nature of this subconscious faculty and the circumstances which attend its operation and development have been already dealt with in an earlier number.¹ As we have there endeavoured

¹ See I. E. RECORD, June.

to show, this faculty is not only independent of our ordinary senses, but would seem to require for a perfect discharge of its functions, that the operations of our other faculties should be temporarily suspended. Hence its work is frequently carried on during sleep, hypnotic trances, and similar circumstances of mental abstraction. We have numerous instances, carefully investigated by the Society for Psychical Research, and supported by unquestionable evidence, where two sympathetic temperaments setting themselves to communicate with each other in this remarkable manner, over considerable distances, have recorded the same ideas, and reproduced each other's thoughts in a singularly striking manner, and with a degree of accuracy which should preclude all possibility of mere coincidence. And this theory, too, it would seem affords a rationalistic interpretation of nearly all recorded cases of ghost stories and so-called spritualistic apparitions (abstracting for the moment from Reichenbach's own theory of churchyard ghosts mentioned above). The Society for Psychical Research, in the report of its proceedings, has put on record many authentic cases of such manifestations, all of which seem possible of explanation on this hypothesis of systematic interchange of thought between individual minds. Sometimes the apparitions are the result of experimental thought-transference, but generally they are produced quite spontaneously, and altogether independently of the will either of the agent or of the percipient; sometimes the instances are recorded of the apparition appearing before the death of the person represented, sometimes afterwards, but before the death is known to the percipient; in whatever circumstances they are produced, the evidence in the cases recorded points very strongly to the conclusion that such apparitions may be due to telepathic intercommunication between minds which are reciprocally sympathetic.

By earnest concentration of thought, such as usually occurs to those attending on the last moments of a dying friend, the vivid and realistic nature of the thought consciously or unconsciously transmitted, causes the

phantasm to be produced before the visual organs of the recipient by which he seems to see the image of his deceased or dying relative, as represented in the phantasy of those present at his dying bed-side. In other words, like the transmitter and receiver of a wireless message, the minds must be mutually sympathetic, and as more frequently this necessary reciprocal condition of temperament will be found to exist between relatives or friends (it being again supposed that it is this supersensuous telepathic faculty, which causes us to be attached to some persons and repelled by others, even at first sight), the belief that generally prevails of apparitions being visible only to one percipient is easily accounted for. 'Just as a note of the violin will cause the thin glass to vibrate and "sing," so will a strong thought tend to awaken similar vibrations in minds attuned to receive it,' and hence it is that certain definite information, generally regarding death or serious illness, is conveyed to percipients by voice or dream or visible phantasm long before the information has reached them through the ordinary channels of communication. In all ages and amongst all peoples the belief in the appearances of ghosts, death-wraiths, apparitions, etc., has been tenaciously clung to. Nor has such belief been confined alone to the uneducated or superstitious. No doubt the number of instances where such apparitions recorded are purely subjective is very considerable, but the Paris International Congress of Experimental Psychology, under the direction of Professor Henry Sidgwick, which undertook the investigation of this matter in the interest of truth and science, having proposed the question, 'Have you ever when believing yourself to be completely awake, had a vivid impression of seeing or being touched by a living being or inanimate object, or of hearing a voice, which impression, so far as you could discover, was not due to any external physical cause?' received answers from 17,000 persons, of which 2,272 were in the affirmative, and the accuracy of the reports being subject to the strictest investigations of the Society, their authenticity was almost in every case corroborated by evidence of the highest kind.

In regard to the spiritualistic hypothesis, that manifestations and disturbance such as we have here contemplated, are generally due to preternatural agency, or activity of the spirits of deceased persons, a word will suffice. Viewing the hypothesis from a common-sense standpoint, abstracting from any traditional or preconceived notions we may have entertained, *a priori* we should not expect such familiarity of intercourse, such vulgar methods of communication as are generally manifested in spiritualistic séances, and *a posteriori* in view of the very complete and effective nature of the investigations carried out by the Society for Psychical Research, the amount of evidence collaborated in its favour would not be sufficient to justify a belief in such a primitive hypothesis. Are we, then, unhesitatingly to reject all belief in the intervention of preternatural agents and disembodied spirits? Assuredly not. No one doubts, for example, as to the nature of the agencies by which that holy man the Curé of Ars was being everlastingly tormented, or by which fanciful and suggestive pictures were presented to the vision of St. Antony, but, at the same time, the analogy is hardly complete in regard to similar or even more marvellous phenomena conducted by the professional medium, nor could we be justified in laying down that such phenomena in other circumstances are not controlled by certain undiscovered laws of physical science. To conclude, therefore, we assert the existence and operation of a hitherto unknown force, that knowing the forces of Nature to be still imperfectly explored, and in view of recent scientific researches by which many marvellous secrets have been wrested from Nature's keeping, we are to look on all authenticated cases of occult manifestation, whether physical, mental or psychical, as being explicable and demonstrable in this hypothesis, that in certain isolated cases, phenomena of a similar kind may be brought about through the instrumentality of preternatural agents, but that such preternatural activity can generally be diagnosed either from the circumstances of the persons, or the nature of the phenomena manifested.

P. SHERIDAN.

GLIMPSES OF THE PENAL TIMES (1697-1725)

AT the close of the seventeenth century Protestants in Ireland were confident that the Catholic religion would before long disappear from the country. Their words and their deeds show that they imagined the object of their heart's desire to be almost within their grasp. Only one effort more seemed to be necessary in order to extirpate Popery. The little that Cromwell had left for others to do had been all but accomplished by William III at the Battle of the Boyne. Armed resistance on the part of the quondam followers of James II was no longer to be apprehended, so there was nothing to prevent the Orange party from dealing the final blow.

A decisive measure was therefore taken to get rid at once and for ever of the more obnoxious members of the Catholic clergy ; and though the others should be suffered to remain, it was resolved that they were not to have any successors. The measure just alluded to was the ' Act of Banishment.' We quote part of it.

THE NINTH YEAR OF WILLIAM III. 1697.

CHAPTER I. (IRELAND).

An Act for banishing all Papists exercising any ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and all regulars of the Popish clergy out of this kingdom.

Whereas it is notoriously known that the late rebellions in this kingdom have been contrived, promoted, and carried on by Popish archbishops, &c., &c.

His Majesty is graciously pleased that it be enacted, and be it enacted by the King's Most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons in Parliament assembled, and by authority of the same, that all Popish archbishops, bishops, vicars-general, deans, Jesuits, monks, friars, and all other regular Popish clergy, and all Papists exercising any ecclesiastical jurisdiction shall depart out of this kingdom before the first day of May, which shall be in the year of our Lord One Thousand Six Hundred and Ninety-Eight ; and if any of the said ecclesiastical persons

shall be at any time after the first day of May within the kingdom, they, and every one of them, shall suffer imprisonment and remain in prison without bail or mainprize till he or they shall be transported beyond seas, out of his Majesty's dominions, wherever his Majesty, his heirs or successors, or the chief governor or governors of this kingdom for the time being shall think fit; and if any person so transported shall return into this kingdom, they, and every one of them, shall be guilty of high treason; and every person so offending shall for his offence be adjudged a traitor, and shall suffer loss and forfeit as in the case of high treason.

Of course those in power would have denied that they were actuated by bigotry and religious intolerance, and they would have asserted that their own course of action was perfectly just and lawful. In fact William III did so in a letter to his Austrian ally the Emperor Leopold I. And almost a century afterwards, when rancour had somewhat decreased and calm judgment was beginning to assert its claims, an intelligent Protestant, Henry Flood, during the debate on the Catholic Question in the House of Commons, 1782, said, 'the laws which followed on the revolution of 1688 were not laws of persecution, but of political necessity.' Flood was a high-minded man, and spoke in good faith, but he made a great mistake. Grattan took the correct view of the matter. In his speech of May 30th, 1815, Sir H. Parnell said of Henry Grattan, that he was the man 'to whom was due all the merit of having virtually carried this great question; and to whom every Catholic would always look up as to his great deliverer from the most persecuting system that ever disgraced a Government or aggrieved a people.'¹

By the defeat of James II the Catholics had been reduced to such an extremity, that apart from their peaceable dispositions, from them the Government of that day had not the slightest reason to apprehend disturbance. Its fear was a feigned one, a mere pretext for satisfying its hatred of the ancient faith.

At the time it was known to the Government that there were 833 secular and 389 regular priests in Ireland, as

¹ See Amherst's *History of Catholic Emancipation*, Vol. ii., p. 213.

appears in a list compiled from returns sent up from various military districts. It is given by Father Coleman, O.P. in his article, 'The General Exile of 1698.'¹ A footnote on same page states that according to Dr. Renahan there were 892 secular and 495 regular priests then in the country. Father Coleman rightly considers that the military returns were incomplete. As regards the regulars, this can be shown by the fact that according to an official document 424 were banished. It is found in the twenty-second volume of the Philosophical Transactions.

An account of the Romish clergy, according to a return made in 1698, communicated by Captain South.

Cavan, Regulars, Seculars.

Shipt for foreign parts, by Act of Parliament, the number of Regulars following, their passage and provisions being paid ^a for by the Government, viz. :—

From Dublin	153
Galway	170
Cork	75
Wexford	26
	<hr/>
	424

If Dr. Renahan's total be correct, as may well be assumed, the work of transporting regulars was well executed, for out of the 495 only 71 succeeded in escaping detection. It would, however, appear that the civil authorities were soon informed that all had not gone, for the Act of Banishment was followed by three Proclamations in rapid succession, viz., 1697-8, 3 January (Lords Justices), *i.e.*, (the Marquis of Winchester, and the Earl of Galway : they were sworn in in May 31, 1697, and remained in office till May 18, 1699) 'For banishing the Popish Clergy.' 1697-8, 5 February (Lords Justices) 'Against the Popish Clergy.' 1698, 7 June (Lords Justices) 'Against the Popish Clergy.'

¹ I. E. RECORD, January, 1899, p. 20.

^a As an example of how this was done, we quote the following entry :
 'Paid to Martin Tucker, Esq., to be by him paid over to Warham Temmett, Esq., for so much he disbursed for Provisions, etc., furnished for the transporting of two Regular Friars, as by Warrant dated the 10th of July, 1700, with acquittance appears £4 16s. 6d. (Vice-Treasurer's Ledger, 1700, p. 81. Record Office, Dublin.)

(N.B.—The originals may still be seen in the Record Office, Dublin.¹) As these were insufficient to rid Protestants of the presence of the troublesome priests, another was issued. It is reproduced here almost in full.

**A PROCLAMATION BY THE LORDS JUSTICES AND COUNCIL.
BERKELY, GALLWAY.**

Whereas several Popish Archbishops, &c., &c.

And that from time to time since the making the said laws, the chief Governors and Council of the Kingdom have taken all imaginable care to have the said two several acts of Parliament put into due execution, on the due and strict observation whereof the peace and security of this Kingdom do in a great measure depend.

Notwithstanding which we have received certain information, that some Popish Arch-Bishops, Bishops, Vicars-General, Deans, Jesuits, Monks, Fryers, and other Regulars of the Popish clergy, and other Papists exercising Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, and who were in this Kingdom at the making of the said Act, were entertained, concealed, and harboured by several of His Majesty's subjects in this Kingdom, and remained in this Kingdom after the time limited by the said Act for their transportation, and some of them who were so transported beyond the seas out of His Majesty's Dominions have since their transportation returned again into this Kingdom, and other Popish Arch-Bishops, Bishops, Vicars-General, Deans, Jesuits, Monks, Fryers, and other Regulars of the Popish clergy, and others exercising ecclesiastical jurisdiction, have lately come into this Kingdom, and daily come over in great numbers, which can be with no other purpose than to withdraw His Majesty's good subjects from their due allegiance and obedience, and to stir up and move sedition and rebellion in this Kingdom, and disquiet the minds of His Majesty's loyal subjects here.

We, therefore, the Lords Justices and Council having taken the premises into our consideration, for the more effectual and better execution of the said two several recited Acts of Parliament, have thought fit, and accordingly we do think fit by this

¹ From the Earl of Crawford's *Handlist of Proclamations* it appears that the first of such edicts was that issued by Queen Elizabeth, January 1, 1580-1, 'for ejecting Jesuits.' This was followed by five similar Proclamations in the reign of James I. and by five more in the reign of Charles II. After the period of which we are treating, other decrees of banishment were made. The last ones apparently are those of October 8th, 1716 (Lords Justices), 'For banishing the Popish Clergy' (reign of George I), and of February 28, 1743-4 (Lord Lieutenant, the Duke of Devonshire), 'Commanding all Justices of the Peace strictly to put into execution the laws against Popish Archbishops, Bishops,' etc.

our Proclamation, strictly to charge all Mayors, Sheriffs, &c., &c., to make strict and diligent enquiry after all such person and persons as they shall find to have offended against the said recited Statutes, or either of them. And we do hereby publish and declare that all and every such person and persons who shall remain or stay in this Kingdom, or return or come into this Kingdom, or that shall conceal or harbour such person or persons, &c., shall be proceeded against with the utmost rigour the said several Acts direct and appoint.

And for the better encouragement of all and every such person who shall discover, &c., &c., We, the Lords Justices and Council do hereby publish, declare, and promise, that if any person and persons shall discover such Popish Archbishop, Bishop, Vicar-General, Dean, Jesuit, Monk, Fryer, or other regular Popish clergy exercising ecclesiastical jurisdiction, so remaining in this Kingdom, or coming and returning into this Kingdom contrary to the tenor of the said Acts, or either of them, so that such person or persons be apprehended and convicted for such offence, the person or persons so discovering the same, shall for such discovery have and receive as a reward, the several sums of money following, viz., for every such Titular Popish Archbishop or Bishop, the sum of fifty pounds; for every such pretended Vicar-General, or Popish Dean, or other regular Popish clergy exercising ecclesiastical jurisdiction, twenty pounds; for every such Jesuit, Fryer, or Monk, ten pounds.

Given at the Council Chamber, in Dublin, the 13th day of September, 1699.

The Act of Banishment is the one referred to in the first place; it and an 'Act to prevent the return of subjects of this Kingdom who have gone into the Dominions of the French King in Europe,' are those referred to in the second place. This Proclamation proved as ineffectual to deter ecclesiastics either from remaining in Ireland or from returning to Ireland as any other of the numerous Proclamations of the same tenor issued before or after 1699. All honour to the men who despised them. Some Bishops and proscribed priests did remain in the country, and others who had been forcibly exiled for a time returned. They did so at the risk of their lives, and if they were not destined to martyrdom *in reality*, they were martyrs *in spirit*. If it be true in Ireland that 'sanguis martyrurum est semen Catholicorum,' it is equally true that the faith was kept

alive by those 'quibus dignus non erat mundus : in solitudinibus errantes, in montibus, et speluncis, et in cavernis terrae.' It seems almost incredible that any of them escaped, for at this time, as will be seen from documents to be given in the sequel, the 'Priest-catchers' were on the alert and scoured the country from one end to the other. Yet by the special providence of God, the Blessed Virgin, and St. Patrick, those devoted Bishops and priests were shielded and protected. To the zealous labours of both these classes the preservation of the faith in Ireland is in a great measure due. They assisted their ecclesiastical subjects or equals, the parochial clergy, not indeed condemned to wholesale banishment in 1698, but mentally reserved for gradual extinction in 1704 by means of the deep-laid scheme entitled, 'An Act for Registering the Popish Clergy.'

During the course of a search for documents bearing on the history of those Irish Martyrs whose cause is now being introduced, some documents referring to 'confessors' of the faith were accidentally brought to light. It has been thought that they will be interesting to the readers of the I. E. RECORD. Most of these papers were found in the Record Office, Dublin. They form part of various collections ; some are Proclamations, others Indictments, others Returns, others Petitions to Lord Lieutenants. They throw considerable light on the history of the period.

For instance, the Proclamation presently to be quoted shows in the clearest manner the devotion of the people of Clonfert to their Bishop. They rescued him at great risk to themselves. One reliable statement about a fact of this kind is worth more than many indefinite and unfounded assertions about things in general.

The Bishop of Clonfert, Maurice Donnellan, to whom allusion has just been made, was a distinguished ecclesiastic. From the Consistorial Records (in the Vatican Archives) the following particulars are taken.

In the University of Alcala where he had studied, he received the degree of D.D. After his return to Ireland he taught Philosophy and Theology for years in his native

diocese of Clonfert. He was chosen its Vicar Capitular on the death, in 1687, of Bishop Keogh, whose V.G. he had been. James II nominated him, and on September 19th, 1695, he was preconized. At the time of his appointment Maurice Donnellan was over sixty years of age. Such was the venerable prelate to whom may be given the first place among these Confessors of the Faith. For the knowledge of an interesting episode in his career we are indebted to the first part of the following Proclamation :—

1703, April 30. Council Chamber, Dublin.

Mount-Alexander, Thomas Earle [Lords Justices]

Whereas [Maurice] Donelan, a titular Popish Bishop, styling or calling him- self Bishop of Clonfert, was on the 20th day of March last, with great force and violence, and against the known laws of this kingdom, rescued and taken out of the custody of William Elliot, Neale Montgomery, Edward Jones, and William Fredericks, &c., in her Majesty's highway in the county of Galway, by a great multitude of persons, near three hundred in number, some whereof were mounted on good horses, and well armed, and others on foot (the said titular Popish Bishop being before that time apprehended, and then in custody, as aforesaid, by force and virtue of a warrant from one of her Majesty's Justices of the Peace for the said county) to the great terror of her Majesty's good subjects and endangering the peace of this kingdom.

Fifty pounds are then offered for the apprehension of the said Maurice Donelan to all persons, 'over and above all sums they are or shall be entitled to by virtue of any former law or proclamation.' We may, however, say that no paper has been found in the Record Office which would show that the Bishop fell again into the hands of his persecutors. The Proclamation then proceeds to give us some account of another confessor of the faith :—

And whereas we have received further information that Morrogh, a titular Popish Vicar-General, who was (pursuant to the laws in force in this kingdom) put on shipboard in the harbour of Cork, in order to be transported, and being so on board, both made his escape and is now harboured and concealed by evil disposed persons, and acts as Vicar General since making such escape, to the contempt of her Majesty's authority, we have thought fit to declare that whoever shall discover the said Morrogh, so he may be apprehended, shall receive the sum of

twenty pounds for so doing, which said sum shall be paid by the Clerke of the Council or his deputy, upon his or their producing a certificate under the hand of the judge or judges of Assize before whom the said Popish Vicar-General shall be tried and convicted, and that all persons who shall any way harbour or conceal him, shall be proceeded against with the utmost severity of the law.

William Kildare, C.S.
Abercorn.
Charles Fielding.
Richard Pyne.

Robert Doyne.
W. Robinson.
Charles Deering.

This Vicar-General of Cork, the Very Rev. Peter Morrogh, who, however, was arrested afterwards, appears to have been a very troublesome priest. His name occurs in several papers. Before quoting them, it is well to explain that though some of them contain the names of other ecclesiastics, they cannot be given here at present *in extenso*. The following document, however, which is of an earlier date than the Proclamation, refers to him only :—

A presentment of the Grand Jury at an Assizes held for the City & County of Corke, this 27 July, 1702, which we humbly desire the present Lords Justices of Assize may lay before their Excellencies the Lord Justices.

We also find that Peter Morrogh, Titular Vicar General of the diocese of Cork, who was tried and convict at the Assizes held in the City of Corke, the 26 of March, 1702, & is now in the County Goale, hath oftentimes since his conviction exercised his Function by marrying of several Protestant young couples to their great prejudice and to the discomfort and dissatisfaction of their parents, & doth publicly declare that he will continue so to do, to all that will apply to him.

Robert Rogers.

John Terry.
Augustus Carre, jun.
John Bastone.
John Willis.
Thomas Auston.
Thos. Berry.
Allen Andrewes.

James French.
P. Renen.
Wm. Roberts.
War. St. Leger.
John Champion.
Witt : Spread.
John Kift.
Thos. Tinkers.
Hugh Mitchell.

[*Press mark. Presentments No. 70.*]

Father Morrogh did not, however, enjoy very long the liberty he had won by his courageous escape. Another

official document preserved in the Record Office (Warrant Book 1703), which was written about fourteen months afterwards, shows that he had been recaptured. There is not space here for a long explanation of what is meant by a Concordatum Warrant, so suffice it to say that it is an order for payment on the Treasury issued by the Lord Lieutenant and the Privy Council. The extant ones mostly refer to rewards given for the arrest of priests, rapparees, tories, etc. Our one runs as follows :—

BY THE LORD LIEUTENANT AND COUNCIL.

ORMOND.

We think fit and do so conclude, condescend, and agree by these our Letters of Concordatum to grant that Joseph Francklyn shall have and receive the sum of twenty one pounds six shillings for apprehending Peter Murrogh, a Titular Popish Vicar Generall. These are, therefore, to will and require you out of such Her Majesty's treasure as now remains under your charge or shall next come to your hands to pay the said Joseph Francklyn or his assigns, the said sume of twenty one pounds six shillings, and for your so doing, these our Letters of Concordatum together with his Acquittance or the Acquittance of his Assigns, shall be as well unto you as to the Comptrollers of your accounts, and all other persons concerned therein a sufficient Warrant, and discharge in that behalf.

Given at the Council Chamber in Dublin, the 9th day of September, 1703.

Richard Cox.	Will. Dublin.
Edw. Down and Connor.	Chas. Fielding.
Rt. Pyne.	Abercorne.
Robt. Doyne.	Richd. Meath
	Will. Kildare.
	St. George Clogher.

At the time the Irish Parliament considered it necessary to stimulate the zeal of the Judges and the Grand Juries against the oppressed ecclesiastics. It was notorious that numbers of them had either never left the country or had come back without waiting to ask permission. It was also known that some of those arrested had not been transported. Hence the Judges were required to furnish returns of all those tried before them, and to state the nature of the sentence. It is well that such returns have been preserved, for they show the working of

one of the Penal Laws, and that one not the least. The first of these returns (that of the Chief Baron) mentions only Father Peter Murrough. The relevant passages have been extracted from Judge Upton's and the Lord Chief Justice's Returns. Before we give them, however, it may be interesting to many readers to quote the official report of the proceedings in Parliament, in compliance with which the Grand Juries and the Judges subsequently sent in their several reports.

Mr. Molesworth, according to Order, reported from the Committee of the whole House appointed to take into consideration the state of the nation, that they were come to several resolutions in the matter to them referred, which he delivered in at the table, and are as follows:

Resolved. That the House be moved, that all Sheriffs of counties, Clerks of the Crown and Peace, and Gaolers, do give an account to this House what Popish Archbishops, Vicars-General, Deans, Jesuits, Monks, Fryars, and other Regular Popish clergy, and Papists exercising any ecclesiastical jurisdiction convict, are or have been in their several custodies, together with the reasons why such of them as remain in their custody have not been transported; as also what Popish Regulars and Dignitaries convict have been transported according to the Statute, and when and what Regulars or Dignitaries not convict do remain in their custody: to which resolution the Question being put, the House did agree, and ordered the same accordingly.

Mr. Molesworth reported a further resolution of the said Committee, which is as followeth:

Resolved. That the House be moved. That the Judges do give an account to this House, what Regulars and Persons of the Popish religion, exercising ecclesiastical jurisdiction, have at any time been brought before them, together with the proceedings thereupon. To which resolution the Question being put, the House did agree, and ordered the same accordingly.

Mr. Molesworth reported a further resolution of the same Committee, which is as followeth:

Resolved. That the House be moved. That the Judges give an account what Applications have been made to them by Grand Juries or otherwise, relating to Popish Regulars, and others exercising ecclesiastical jurisdiction, together with their proceedings thereupon. To which Resolution, the Question being put, the House did agree, and ordered the same accordingly.¹

The Returns, so far as Father Peter Murrough is con-

¹ *Journals of the House of Commons (Ireland)*, Vol. i., p. 327.

cerned, do not give further information. But even though they do not increase our knowledge, it seems better to quote them in these pages where they will be preserved. Some have conjectured that this Father Peter Murrough, V.G., was identical with Father John O'Murrough, O.P., who was also imprisoned in Cork at the same time and in virtue of the same Penal Law.¹ This surmise seems to be incorrect. Though at the time a Dominican might be V.G. of Cork, as was Father Richard O'Brien, O.P., fifty years later, and though only one Father Morrough is mentioned in the Returns as being in Cork prison, nevertheless, Father Peter Murrough and Father John Murrough appear to be distinct individuals. The Dominican was unable to leave Ireland in 1698, owing to gout, the Vicar-General effected his escape from a ship in Cork harbour; the Vicar-General was on bail in 1703, the Dominican had died by 1702.

RETURNS.

The following is the Chief Baron's :—

[*Press mark, No. 78.*]

In obedience to the order of the honourable House of Commons made the fifth day of October, 1703, I have examined the Assizes Bookes of the severall circuites I have gone since the makeing of the statute in this kingdom against Papists exercising ecclesiastical jurisdiction and regulers of the Popish clergy & doe find

That at the Assizes held in the county of Corke the 13th day of August in the 13th year of His late Majesty Peter Morrough accused as a Popish Vicar General was bound by recognizance to appeare at the said Assizes, but did not, and *Exactus non* was entered thereupon which was all the proceedings against any of them.

Nor doe I find or remember that any regular or persons of the Popish Religion exercising ecclesiastical jurisdiction hath at any time bin brought before me, nor hath ther bin any applications made to me at any the said Assizes by the Grand Juries or otherwise relating to the said Regulers or others exercising ecclesiastical jurisdiction other than aforesaid. All which I humbly certify to this honourable House this 22nd day of October, 1703.

N. DONNELLAN.

(*Endorsed*). Mr. Barron Donnellan's return concerning

¹ *Hibernia Dominicana*, p. 584.

Roman Catholic Regulars. Delivered into this office by Mr. Garstin, 27th Oct., 1703.

The next mention we find of him is this :—

[*Press mark, No. 77.*]

(*Endorsed*). Mr. Justice Upton's Returns concerning Priests, delivered into the Office by Mr. Justice Upton, 26^o Oct., 1703.

Com. Civit Corke } At the Assizes held for the County of the
Book of Assizes } City of Corke, Thursday, the 15th day of
No. 5 } July last past in the book of assizes, for the
county of the said city is entered Peter Murrough, committed
by the Maior of Corke for making his escape out of a ship wherein
he was to have been transported to Portugal, being pretended
Popish Vicar General of Corke, in the margin of which book
I find him entered for transportation.

The last mention in the Returns is this :—

[*Press mark, No. 80.*]

(*Endorsed*). The Lord Chief Justice Pyne's certificate about the Popish regulars. Delivered by himself, 25^o Oct., 1703.

That att the Assizes held the 13th day of August, in the thirteenth year of his late Majestie in the county of the City of Corke, Peter Morrough accused as a Popish Viccar General, was bound by recognizance to appeare but did not, and *Exact. non* was entered on the Bayle.

In the presentment of the Cork Grand Jury, of which the part referring to Father Murrough has been transcribed above, mention is made also of the imprisonment at the time of 'Doctor John Slyne, Titular Bishop of Corke.' He was one of the greatest Irish prelates at the beginning of the eighteenth century. A D.D. of the Sorbonne, he had been for twelve years Professor of Moral Theology in the Propaganda. Dr. Sleyne, as he spells his name, was consecrated (in St. Isidore's, the church of the Irish Franciscans, Rome), on April 13th, 1693, being then about seventy years of age. James II had nominated him to the united dioceses of Cork and Cloyne.¹ He evidently made no delay before entering on his arduous mission, for in 1695 he ordained some priests, including a Father James Dwyer, in Cork.² In 1698 because he did not obey the Act of Banishment,

¹ See Brady's *Episcopal Succession*, Vol. ii., p. 93

² See Lists of Registered Popish Priests.

Dr. Sleyne was arrested and imprisoned. His life in Cork Gaol was a hard one. Great vigilance was exercised, for he was no doubt regarded as a valuable prisoner. In the Archives of Propaganda there is a copy of a letter which he addressed from prison to the Sacred Congregation praying for some relief.¹ 'Monsignor Sleyne . . . hora Vescovo di Cork espone alle EE. VV. trovarsi gia da due anni in prigione per la santa fede in quel Regno privo d'ogni umano sussidio, onde supplica l'EE, VV. della loro benigna protezione. Resp. Dentur ex pecuniis collectis pro una vice 300.' There is in the Vatican Archives also a letter which refers to his incarceration. It was written by the Primate (Dominic Maguire, O.P.) to the agent in Rome of the Irish Bishops, Giuseppe della Nativita (Poerio) O.D.C.² The Primate requests him to apply for extraordinary faculties to grant matrimonial dispensations for the Irish Bishops, and says : 'L'ultime di tal tenore procurate, furono per il Signor Dr. Sleyn, hoggi Vescovo di Cork, ivi attualmente in priggione e custodito con gran stretteza.' He was still in prison on October 27th, 1702, as we see from his memorial written on that day to Count Wratislaw, the Austrian ambassador in London. The letter, which is now preserved in the Record Office, Dublin, has been published by Cardinal Moran in an article, 'The Condition of Catholics one hundred years ago.'³ A summary of nine documents referring to the Bishop will be found in the same article. All these are now in the Dublin Record Office. One of them runs thus :

DUBLIN CASTLE,
8th August, 1702.

SIR,

The Lords Justices have directed me to send you the enclosed Warrant for the transportation to Portugal of the Titular

¹ *Atti. Irlanda*, fol. 205, Die 19 Julii, 1700.

² Father Joseph Power, O.D.C., of Loughrea, was one of the most influential Irishmen in Rome. A MS. by Father Edmund de Burgo, O.P., which is now preserved in the Archives of the Dominican General mentions the following incident. The Internuncio at Brussels, Orazio Spada, believing the report of William the Third's minister, stated in a letter to Pope Innocent XII that the Penal Laws against Bishops and Regulars had been revoked. When Irish people had an audience and complained of the persecution, the Pope used to say, 'I know better; I heard what has lately been done in your favour,' till Father Power told the Pope that he himself was one of those who had been banished to France.

³ *Dublin Review*, 1882, Jan.

Bishop of Corke and a Fryar, and also of one Martin a Fryar, which will be brought you from Lymerick, orders being sent thither by this night's post to send him forward to Corke. I am likewise commanded to acquaint you that what Charges you are at in the Transporting these Fryars, &c., will be repaid you by the Government upon Notice thereof being sent to

Your most humble servant,

J. DAWSON.¹

The Bishop was exiled soon after, for on March 27th he wrote to Propaganda announcing his arrival in Lisbon. Clement XI in a letter on behalf of the Irish Catholics addressed to John V of Portugal (September 28th, 1709), assures him that reliable information about their desperate condition will be given him by the Bishop of Ccrk.² Dr. Sleyne passed his declining years in the Dominican Convent of Buon Successo, Lisbon, the Irish community of which showed all reverence to this noble confessor of the faith until his death, which took place on February 16th, 1712.

REGINALD WALSH, O.P.

¹ It may perhaps be said here that the well-known street in Dublin is called after this official, who was Secretary of State for Ireland.

² *Hibernia Dominicana*, p. 158.

UMBRA APOSTOLORUM

SI vis, Carissime lector, nomina Apostolorum, quos selegit Dominus Noster Jesus Christus, profundius figere animo, imprimis ante oculos ponas verbum—Baptism—ac deinceps animadvertas quod

ex litera—B—	habetur	Bartholomaeus (Nathaniel) ;
„ A	„	Andreas ;
„ P	„	Petrus et Philippus ;
„ T	„	Thomas ;
„ I	„	Jacobus major, Jacobus minor, Joannes, Judas (Thaddeus) et Judas Iscariotes ;
„ S	„	Simon ;
„ M	„	Mattheus ;

Haec posita si attente scrutaris, apostolos numero ad duodecim reperies eorumque proinde nomina haud facile oblivisceris. Frustra insuper laboraveris, si forte praeter id (baptism) ullum-undecunque conquirendum quaeras verbum, quod haec Apostolorum nomina umbret ac iisdem omnibus singulisque apte accommodatos praebeat indices. Quae cum ita sint, non abs re fore arbitratus fui, si in subsidium tironum praefata suppeditarem typis excudenda.

T. RAFTER.

CORRESPONDENCE

'POPE ADRIAN IV A FRIEND OF IRELAND'

REV. DEAR SIR,—May I ask you to find space for a word of protest against a passage of the article bearing the above title in the I. E. RECORD for July. I have no wish to prolong the discussion, and am quite satisfied to leave the argument as I have stated it in my article in the *Month*. But your contributor does not confine himself to the historical issue upon which we differ; he tells your readers: 'Father Thurston writes for all the world like a man who believes that Pope Adrian could do nothing better or wiser than hand over Ireland to England; that Henry II and his Norman followers were just the men to effect a moral reformation of Ireland; and that, as for the bishops, clergy, nobles and people of Ireland, they were served right.'

May I say, in the most emphatic terms, that it never entered into my head to suppose any of these things. There is not a word in my article (of which I enclose copies) which could reasonably give such an impression. My one object was to examine into the question as an interesting historical problem, and I have rather gone out of my way to state as fully as possible the points which make against my own view.—I am Sir, your obedient servant,

HERBERT THURSTON, S.J.

31, Farm Street, Berkley Square,
London, W., 15th July, 1906.

DOCUMENTS

ENCYCLICAL LETTER OF HIS HOLINESS POPE PIUS X TO
THE BISHOPS OF FRANCE

SANCTISSIMI DOMINI NOSTRI PII DIVINA PROVIDENTIA PAPAE X

EPISTOLA ENCYCLICA

AD ARCHIEPISCOPOS ET EPISCOPOS GALLIAE

VENERABILIBUS FRATRIBUS GALLIAE ARCHIEPISCOPIS ET EPISCOPIS

PIUS PP. X.

Venerabiles Fratres, salutem et Apostolicam Benedictionem,

Gravissimo officii munere defungimur, eoque iamdudum vobis debito, quibus post latam legem de Gallicae Reipublicae Ecclesiae-que discidio edicturos Nos tempori significavimus, quid ad tuendam conservandamque istic religionem facto opus esse arbitramur. Equidem expectationem desiderii vestri ut produceremus usque adhuc, non modo magnitudo et gravitas huius causae fecit, sed illa etiam singularis caritas, qua vcs vestraque omnia, pro immortalibus nationis in Ecclesiam meritis, prosequimur. Damnata igitur, ut debuimus, improba lege, id considerare diligentissime coepimus, ullamne demum eiusdem praescripta legis relinquerent Nobis facultatem ita ordinandae in Gallia religiosae rei, ut sacrosancta principia quibus Ecclesia nititur, nihil detrimenti caperent. In quo visum Nobis est, vos etiam Galliae Episcopos adhibere in consilium universos; indictoque vestro omnium conventu, hoc ipsum vobis maxime, de quo consultaretis, mandavimus. Nunc autem, cognitis consultis vestris, exquisitis complurium Cardinalium sententiis, re diu et multum Nobiscum meditata, magnisque precibus implorato *Patre luminum*, omnino videmus faciendum, ut quod ipsi fere ad unum omnes censuistis, idem Nos Apostolica auctoritate confirmemus. Itaque de consociationibus civium, quales, divini cultus exercendi causâ, lex constitui iubet, sic decernimus, nullo eas pacto confari posse, quin sanctissima iura, quae ad vitam ipsam Ecclesiae pertinent, violentur. Dimissis vero consociationibus istis, quas probare Nos quidem conscientiam officii prohibemur, opportunum videri potest experiri, an liceat, earum loco, aliquod aliud institui consociationum genus, quod simul

legitimum sit et canonicum, atque ita laboriosissima, quae imminent tempora, catholicis Gallis defendere. Profecto tam sollicitos atque anxios ista Nos tenent, ut nihil magis; atque utinam spes affulgeat, si non bona, at aliqua tamen, posse Nos, divino salvo iure, id inire experimenti ut dilectos filios tantorum malorum metu liberemus. At quoniam, hac manente lege, spes istiusmodi nulla ostenditur, istud alterum consociationum tentare genus, negamus fas esse, usque dum legitime certoque non constiterit, divinam Ecclesiae constitutionem, atque immutabilia Romani Pontificis et Episcoporum iura, eorumque in bona necessaria Ecclesiae, praecipue templa, potestatem, incolumia per consociationes easdem et tuta semper fore: contrarium velle Nos, nisi religionem officii deserendo, atque interitum Ecclesiae Gallicae conficiendo, non possumus.

Restat, Venerabiles Fratres, ut vos, omni utentes ope, quacumque vos iura civitatis uti siverint, disponendo instruendoque religioso cultui operam detis. Nec vero hac tanta in re tamque ardua passuri sumus Nostras desiderari partes. Utique licet absentes corpore, cogitatione tamen atque animo vobiscum erimus, vosque consilio atque auctoritate opportune iuvabimus. Quapropter animose suscipite, quod, suadente Ecclesiae patriaeque vestrae amore, imponimus vobis onus: ceterum conquiescite in bonitate providentis Dei, cuius tempestivum auxilium non defuturum Galliae, omnino confidimus.

Iamvero quibus criminationibus religionis hostes decreta haec mandataque Nostra sint excepturi, non difficile est prospicere. Contentent persuadere ponendo; nequaquam Nos Ecclesiae Gallicae salutem spectasse tantum; aliud etiam, alienum religione, habuisse propositum: invisam Nobis esse in Gallia formam Reipublicae, eiusque evertendae Nos gratiâ velificari studiis partium: ea Nos abnuisse Gallis, quae non invite Apostolica Sedes aliis concessisset. Ista Nos et similia, quae, ut licet e certis quibusdam indiciis cernere, late ad irritandos animos spargentur in vulgus, iam nunc indignando denuntiamus esse falsissima, vestrumque, Venerabiles Fratres, et bonorum omnium erit redarguere, ne scilicet imperitos ignarosque decipiant. Nominatim vero quod ad illud attinet, faciliorem se alibi Ecclesiam impertivisse in causa simili, monstretis oportet, hoc eam fecisse, quum diversa prorsus verterentur momenta rerum, quumque praesertim divinis Hierarchiae rationibus aliquo saltem modo consultum esset. Quod si quaeapiam civitas ita ab se segregavit Ecclesiam, ut plenam ei communis libertatis

copiam fecerit, liberumque in propria bona arbitrium reliquerit, non uno quidem nomine iniuste se gessit, sed tamen in conditione Ecclesiam collocasse dicenda est non omnino intolerabili. Verum multo secus agitur hodie res in Gallia : ubi iniustae huius legis conditores instrumentum sibi comparasse non tam ad separandam a Republica Ecclesiam, quam ad opprimendam videntur, Ita, studia pacis professi, concordiamque polliciti, inferunt religioni patriae bellum atrox, iniectisque acerrimarum contentionum facibus, cives cum civibus committunt, quanta cum pernicie ipsius reipublicae, nemo non videt. Studebunt profecto certaminis huius et eorum quae secutura sunt, malorum in Nos transferre culpam. Sed quisquis facta sincero iudicio aestimaverit, quae Ipsi etiam in Litteris Encyclicis *Vehementer Nos* attigimus, diiudicabit, utrum Nos reprehendendi simus qui, alias ex aliis perpassi iniurias toleranter, dilectae nationis causâ, ad ultimum coacti sanctissimos Apostolici officii transire terminos, negavimus posse ; an potius tota in eis culpa resideat, qui catholici nominis invidiâ ad haec usque extrema provecti sunt.

At enim catholici ex Gallia homines, si vere suum Nobis obsequium studiumque praestare volent, ita pro Ecclesia contentent, quemadmodum eos monuimus, constanter nimirum ac fortiter, nihil tamen seditiose violenterque faciendo. Non vi, sed constantia, tamquam in arce iustitiae collocati, frangent aliquando inimicorum contumaciam : intelligant vero, quod diximus iam iterumque est dicendum, ad hanc se victoriam nisuros frustra, nisi summa inter se coniunctione in tutelam religionis conspirarint. Nostram habent de nefastae legis usu sententiam ; sequantur, ut oportet, volentibus animis ; et, quidquid quisque de hac ipsa re adhuc disputando tenuit, caveant, obsecramus, ne quis quem propterea offendat, quod melius viderit. Quid consentientium voluntatum connexarumque virium contentio possit, mature capiant ex adversariis documentum ; et quo pacto his licuit nequissimam civitati imponere atque inurere legem, eodem nostris tollere eam licebit et extinguere. In tanto Galliae discrimine, si quidem universi omnes, quotquot maximum patriae bonum summa sibi ope tuendum putant, Nobiscum et cum Episcopis suis et inter se coniuncti, pro religione, quo modo opus est, elaborabunt, non solum non desperanda Ecclesiae Gallicae salus est, sed sperandum brevi fore, ut ad dignitatem prosperitatemque pristinam resurgat. Nos, quin Nostris satisfacturi sint praescriptionibus et votis, minime dubitamus : interea divinam benignitatem conciliare vobis omnibus, patrocinio confisi **MARIAE IMMACULATAE**, impense studebimus.

Auspicem caelestium munerum ac testem paternae benevolentiae Nostrae, Vobis, Venerabiles Fratres, universaeque Gallorum genti Apostolicam benedictionem amantissime impertimus.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum, die X Augusti, in festo Sancti Laurentii Martyris, anno MCMVI, Pontificatus Nostri quarto.

PIUS PP. X.

DECISION OF BIBLICAL COMMISSION

COMMISSIO PONTIFICIA PRO STUDIIS DE RE BIBLICA PROVEHENDIS.

PENTATEUCHI AUTHENTIA EIUSQUE INTEGRITAS CONFIRMATUR.

Propositis sequentibus dubiis Consilium Pontificium pro studiis de re biblica provehendis respondendum censuit prout sequitur :

I. Utrum argumenta a criticis congesta ad impugnandam authenticam Mosaicam sacrorum Librorum, qui Pentateuchi nomine designantur, tanti sint ponderis, ut posthabitis quampluribus testimoniis utriusque Testamenti collective sumptis, perpetua consensione populi Judaici, Ecclesiae quoque constanti traditione nec non indiciis internis quae ex ipso textu eruuntur, ius tribuant affirmandi hos libros non Moysen habere auctorem, sed ex fontibus maxima ex parte aetate Mosaica posterioribus fuisse confectos ?

Resp. *Negative.*

II. Utrum Mosaica authenticia Pentateuchi talem necessario postulet redactionem totius operis, ut prorsus tenendum sit Moisen omnia et singula manu sua scripsisse vel amanuensibus dictasse ; an etiam eorum hypothesis permitti possit qui existimant eum opus ipsum a se sub divinae inspirationis afflatu conceptum alteri vel pluribus scribendum commisisse, ita tamen ut sensa sua fideliter redderent, nihil contra suam voluntatem scriberent, nihil omitterent ; ac tandem opus hac ratione confectum, ab eodem Moyse principe inspiratoque auctore probatum, ipsismet nomine vulgaretur ?

Resp. *Negative ad primam partem, affirmative ad secundam.*

III. Utrum absque praeiudico Mosaicae authenticiae Pentateuchi concedi possit Moysen ad suum conficiendum opus fontes adhibuisse, scripta videlicet documenta vel orales traditiones, x quibus, secundum peculiarem scopum sibi propositum et sub divinae inspirationis afflatu, nonnulla hauserit eaque ad verbum

vel quoad sententiam, contracta vel amplificata, ipsi operi inseruerit ?

Resp. *Affirmative.*

IV. Utrum, salva substantialiter Mosaica authentia et integritate Pentateuchi, admitti possit tam longo saeculorum decursu nonnullas ei modificationes obvenisse, uti additamenta post Moisis mortem vel ab auctore inspirato apposita, vel glossas et explicationes textui interiectas ; vocabula quaedam et formas e sermone antiquato in sermonem recentiore translatas ; mendosas demum lectiones vitio amanuensium adscribendas, de quibus fas sit ad normas artis criticae disquirere et iudicare ?

Resp. *Affirmative, salvo Ecclesiae iudicio.*

FULCRANUS VIGOUROUX, P.S.S.

P. LAURENTIUS JANSSENS, O.S.B.

Consultores ab Actis.

**DECISION OF THE SACRED CONGREGATION OF THE COUNCIL
ON THE RIGHTS OF CHAPLAINS TO CONFRATERNITIES**

THEATINA. IURIUM CAPELLANORUM CONFRATERNITATUM.

Nonnullis in locis Theatinae Archidioeceseos, cum praeter parochum et capellanum confraternitatis ibidem erectae nulli sacerdotes reperirentur, Pro-vicarius generalis, ex mandato sui Archiepiscopi, in libello S. Rituum Cong. oblato exposuit saepe contingere ut capellanus, aetate plerumque iunior, ad fere omnes functiones sacras in ecclesia confraternitatis peragendas adnitatur, dum parochus continenter ex eo refragatur, quod nil vel admodum parum adventitiorum emolumentorum ipsi cedat. In his adiunctis ut certa norma ad controversias huiusmodi dirimendas habeatur, Pro-vicarius trium dubiorum solutionem humiliter exposulavit.

Quum vero Sacra Rituum Congregatio, audita Commissione liturgica, quae exquisito voto R. Consultoris inhaesit, rem H. S. C. remisisset, quaestio hodie resolvenda proponitur.

En autem quibus verbis facta dubia sunt proposita : quaesitum scilicet est :—

‘ 1° Se la risposta al quesito 10° del decreto emanato da cotesta S. C. in data 12 Gennaio 1704, intorno ai diritti dei parroci e delle confraternite, riguardi soltanto le messe parate, quelle cioè che si celebrano con l’assistenza dei ministri, come pare doversi dedurre dall’aggettivo *solenne* aggiunto a Messa, o anche le Messe cantate semplici, come pretendono i parroci.

'2° Se la risposta al quesito 20° dello stesso decreto si riferisca indistintamente a tutti i sudditi del parroco, o solamente a quelli che sono ascritti alle confraternite.

'3° Se i cappellani possono liberamente celebrare tridui e novene nelle chiese delle confraternite, anche nei giorni non contemplati negli statuti.'

Ex his dubiis, uti patet, duo priora ad interpretationem sese referunt responsionum quae sunt in celebri decreto S. RR. C. 'Urbis et orbis,' n. 2123, dato sub die 10 mensis Decembris a. 1703, et a Clemente Papa XI die 12 Januarii 1704 approbato; postremum vero dubium versatur circa triduanas et novendiales preces, de quibus in decreto specialis mentio non habetur.

Interim notandum est Consultorem a S. RR. C. de sententia apposite rogatum, votum hisce verbis conclusisse:

'Ad questiones propositas solvendas, prius notandum est sequens decretum S. C. Concilii diei 13 Januarii 1844 (apud Thesaur. resolut. S. C. Concilii, tom. 104, pag. 8-13), *Reatina*, ss. functionum.'

Quaesitum est: Dub. I. '*An liceat capellano novenas, triduos et alias functiones cum expositione et benedictione SSmi. Sacramenti explere in oratorio S. Dominici independenter a parrocho in casu.*'

Dub. II. '*An liceat eidem capellano missas solemniter canere independenter a parrocho in casu?*' Et S. Cong. Concilii respondit: 'Ad I^{um} et II^{um} Affirmative in omnibus ad formam decretorum Urbis et Orbis S. Congr. Rituum diei 10 Decem. 1703 (scil. num. 2123), salvo tamen iure Episcopi super licentia benedicendi populum solemniter cum SSmo. Sacramento prout de iure.'

'Itaque ad I^{um} quaest. respondeo *Affirmative* ad primam partem, *Negative* ad secundam. Ad II^{um} quaest. *Affirmative* ad primam, *Negative* ad secundam partem. Ad III^{um} quaest. *Affirmative*, salvo tamen, etc., ut supra.'

Nunc, ut nonnulla attingamus, quae propius ad rem faciant et aliqua rationum momenta hinc inde adducamus, notandum est primum quod proponitur dubium, verti super responso dato ad 10^{um} in praefato decreto a. 1703. Cum nempe tunc quaesitum esset: '10° *An celebratio missarum solemnium per annum, sive pro vivis sive pro defunctis, sit de dictis iuribus parochialibus,*' responsum fuit: '*Negative*, prout iacet, sed licere confratribus dumtaxat in festivitatibus solemnioribus eiusdem ecclesiae vel oratorii, ut in *Brundusina*, sub die 1 Iunii 1601.'

Quae responsio ex parte capellanorum videretur tantummodo

respicere missas quae cum ministrorum adstantia canantur, cum ipsa responsio se quidem referat ad dubium ita tunc concinnatum : ' *An celebratio missarum solemnium per annum . . . sit de dictis iuribus parochialibus.*' Iamvero ipse 'ritus servandus in celebratione missae' qui Missali Romano Praemittitur, supponere videtur solemnem missam esse quae cantetur cum ministris.

Quod si ad solemnitatem non opus est concursu populi et apparatu extrinseco, necessarium tamen videtur ut missa cum diacono et subdiacono canantur.

Atque heic animadverti etiam posset quod ex responsione ad 10^m videretur celebrationem ipsarum missarum solemnium non esse per se de parochialibus iuribus, quia ad interrogationem hac in re respondetur ' *Negative* per se prout iacet ; ' eo minus igitur dicenda erit de parochialibus iuribus missa quae cum cantu ab uno sacerdote celebratur.

In quam sententiam et Curia Theatina inclinare videtur, dubio ita confecto : ' *Se la risposta . . . riguarda soltanto le messe parate, quelle cioè che si celebrano con l'assistenza dei ministri, come pare doversi dedurre dall'aggettivo solenne, aggiunto a messa, o anche le messe semplici, come pretendono i parroci.*'

In specie vero quoad missas de requie cum cantu adest dilucidum decretum S. R. R. C. diei 10 Maii 1879 : ' *An liceat in aliena Ecclesia et apud regulares cantare missam de requie, quam fideles celebrari petunt pro parentibus vel amicis defunctis, postquam funeralia in ecclesia parochiali persoluta fuerint, etiamsi missa exequialis in ecclesia parochiali non celebratur.*' Resp. ' *Affirmative*, servatis tamen rubricarum regulis.'

E contra ex parochorum parte videretur responsum ad 10^m quamlibet missam cum cantu respicere, quia secus ipsius responsionis finis frustraretur, qui fuit confratribus limites hac in re imponere, adhibitis hisce verbis : ' *licere confratribus dumtaxat in festivitatibus solemnioribus eiusdem ecclesiae vel oratorii.*'

Praeterea dum missa cum adstantia diaconi et subdiaconi, quia maiores expensas exigit, fit rarior, quibusdam in locis frequens est usus ut sacerdos sine ministris sacrum cum cantu conficiat, quo in casu eleemosyna ipsi celebranti fere integra cedit. Cum vero parochi onus animarum curae persentiant, congruum iustitiae non esset frequentioribus emolumentis ipsos privare.

Parochi autem argumentum adducunt eis taxas super lucris adventitiis a fisco imponi, utpote Curia Theatina exponit :

'Gli arcipreti reclamano continuamente, non solo perchè ritengono spettare a loro esclusivamente i diritti di stola bianca e nera, ma anche perchè l'agente fiscale, senza tener conto della rivela fatta per la liquidazione del supplemento di congrua, aumenta incessantemente la tassa di ricchezza mobile su gl'incerti.'

Quod si etiam stricto iure missa cum cantu confraternitatibus non fuerit praefato decreto interdicta, tamen id ex aequitate inducendum videretur, adiunctis saltem inspectis dioecesis de qua agitur.

Secundum autem dubium est circa responsum ad 20 eiusdem decreti a. 1703. Cum enim quaesitum esset sub n. 20^o: '*An ad parochum spectet facere officium funebre super cadaveribus sepeliendis in saepedictis ecclesiis et oratoriis publicis confraternitatum,*' responsum fuit '*Affirmative, quando tumulandus est subiectus parochus intra cuius fines est ecclesia vel oratorium.*' Nunc vero proponitur dubium: '*Se la risposta al quesito 20^o dello stesso decreto si riferisca indistintamente a tutti i sudditi del parroco, o solamente a quelli che sono ascritti alle confraternite.*'

Quoad nempe eos qui confraternitati sint adscripti propatula sunt verba decreti, iusta quae ius peragendi funus in ipsa confraternitatis ecclesia competit parochus, intra cuius paroeciae fines est ecclesia confraternitatis, si tumulandus eidem parochus est subiectus; quod in aliis decisionibus SS. CC. confirmatum fuit, si vero tumulandus non est subditus parochus intra cuius paroeciae limites est ecclesia confraternitatis, tunc ius funerandi pertinet ad capellanum, ut ex pluribus decisionibus desumitur.

At ex adverso quod spectat ad ipsam formam qua proponitur dubium, adnotandum videtur si responsio ad 20, valet quoad confratres e vita functos, eo magis valere quoad reliquos parochi subditos. Contrario quidem ordine servato, alia proposita fuerunt huiusmodi dubia ad H. S. C. et responsum hoc in sensu prodiit, ut in *Aprutina* 28 Ianuarii 1893, Iuris funerand, in qua ad dubia: '1. *An confraternitates, de quibus supra, exemptae sint, a parochiali iurisdictione, et ius habeant funerandi super cadaveribus illorum qui ad eorum ecclesiam pro funere exponi elegerunt et ab ipsis deferri ad coemeterium voluerunt, salva tamen parochus quarta funeraria in casu.* 2. *An confraternitates quae ordinibus religiosi non successerunt ius habeant funerandi independenter a parochus solummodo super cadaveribus confratrum, salva semper eidem quarta funeraria in casu,*' rescriptum fuit: Ad 1^{am} et 2^{am} *Negative et amplius.*

Et hoc eruitur ex ipsa parochiali iurisdictione.

Quoad denique tertium dubium, ex parte parochorum dene-gandum videretur capellanos triduanas et novendiales preces caeterasque functiones sacras in ecclesiis confraternitatum libere exercere posse. Et parochorum rationes communi iure nituntur, quia ipsi auctoritatem in omnibus ecclesiis et oratoriis habent, ex eo quod in solo et ambitu paroeciae continentur, cap. *Dilectus*, 2 de *capellis monachorum*; quum e contra confraternitates non ad hoc sint institutae, ut ecclesiasticas functiones obeant et hierarchicum ordinem in Ecclesia perturbent, sed ut, sociatis viribus, actus poenitentiae ac misericordiae opera impendant. Quod eo magis patet, si quis consideret quam caute Apostolica Sedes privilegia regularibus concesserit, quorum merita a laicorum sodalitiis longissime absunt.

Adde quod sacras functiones a digniori peragi convenit, et quidem ab eo qui ex officio vocatur, non vero a mercenario et conductitio operario, qui auctoritatem suam a laicis recipit et non raro rebus novis studere solet.

Et si decretum S. RR. C. a. 1703 edixerit functiones quasdam ex iuribus stricte parochialibus non esse, non ideo eruendum est eas cuilibet sacerdoti competere.

Neque in casu praetereunda est Pro-vicarii generalis relatio quoad ne honestas quidem artes, quibus capellani ad suas ecclesias functiones trahunt, et quoad frequentia nec parva emolumenta quae ita au ferunt parochis.

At ex parte capellanorum videretur triduanas et novendiales preces ceterasque functiones sacras in suis ecclesiis libere peragere posse tiam diebus quae in statutis non adnumerantur; quoad enim functiones quae a statutis praescribuntur, nulla quaestio esse potest, cum statuta confirmata fuerint superiori auctoritate.

Revera ex *cap. ult. de officio archidiaconi* iam eruitur ecclesias positas intra limites parochialis ecclesiae subesse ei tantum in parochialibus iuribus, non quoad alia nisi paroecia causas et rationes suae petitiones afferat, ut argumentatur Benedictus XIV *loc. cit.*, num. 108; non apparet autem qua de causa triduanas et novendiales preces parochialibus iuribus pertineant.

Plures decisiones autem SS. CC. huic thesi pro capellanis adstipulantur. Neque decisiones quae prodire ante decretum a. 1703 attendi debent, sed potius responsiones quae ex tunc datae fuerunt seu post praefatum decretum et in quo sit sequendum indicarunt.

Quibus decisionibus in praesentiarum addi etiam posset urgente nequitia temporum, nulli medio parcendum esse ut foveatur pietas laicorum, praesertim in pia sodalitia coeuntium promotione inter ipsos ss. functionum.

His utrinque adnotatis sueta sapientia et prudentia EE. PP. proposita dimiserunt dubia, respondentes :

Ad I^{um} '*Per se et generatim loquendo, affirmative ad 1^{am} partem, negative ad 2^{am} et ad mentem quae est, ut quoties missa sollemnis cum ministris in aliquo loco habitualiter haberi non possit ob cleri defectum, et missa cum cantu sine ministris ordinario stet loco missae sollemnis, Archiepiscopus opportunis ordinationibus caveat ne ex hoc rerum statu spiritus legis seu decreti anni 1703 frustretur et abusus subrepat.*'

Ad II^{um} '*Affirmative ad 1^{am} partem ; negative ad 2^{am}.*'

Ad III^{um} '*Affirmative sub dependentia Episcopi.*'

NOTICES OF BOOKS

THE IRISH UNIVERSITY QUESTION. With special reference to Trinity College, Dublin, and its Medical School. Dublin: James Duffy & Co. 1906. Price 1s. net.

WE are glad to see in pamphlet form the two remarkable addresses of his Grace the Archbishop of Dublin, on the Medical School of Trinity College, together with the correspondence that resulted from them in the newspapers. As our readers are already pretty well acquainted with both we need do no more than call attention to the fact that the whole controversy will be now found in a very convenient form in this pamphlet. There is no more skilful controversialist than the Archbishop. His opponents grant even so much, and his skill has seldom been shown with greater effect than in this particular controversy. We have here a fine proof of the prestige and efficiency of Trinity College. What would it be if it had no rivals but held a complete monopoly?

J. F. H.

DICTIONNAIRE DE PHILOSOPHIE ANCIENNE, MODERNE ET CONTEMPORAINE. Par l'Abbé Elie Blanc, Chanoine de Valence, Professeur de Philosophie à l'Université Catholique de Lyon. Paris: P. Lethielleux, 10, Rue Cassette. 1906. 12 francs.

THIS is a very valuable work, and is sure to be found most useful by students and even by professors of Philosophy. It contains about four thousand articles in alphabetical order, giving the definitions of philosophical terms, an exposition of the chief philosophical doctrines and biographical sketches of the principal philosophers. Much that it contains, is, of course, to be found in various histories of Philosophy; but the alphabetical arrangement makes it unique of its kind and particularly useful to scholars and students. It is, moreover, well up to date; giving, for instance, a clear idea of what is known as the 'method of immanence,' which has had such vogue in recent times in France.

The work is carefully and conscientiously done. It reflects the highest credit on its learned author and on the Catholic Institute of Lyons.

J. F. H.

ART AND IRELAND. By Robert Elliott. With a Preface by Edward Martyn. Dublin : Sealy, Bryers and Walker.

WE have only had time to glance over this work, which is of the highest interest to the clergy of Ireland. Next month we shall say what occurs to us on a careful perusal of its contents. Meanwhile we can only note that it contains many things of supreme interest to those who are concerned either in the building or decoration of churches.

J. F. H.

THE VOYAGE OF THE 'PAX.' By Dom Bede Camm, O.S.B. London : Burns and Oates. 2s. 6d. net.

THIS really beautiful allegory was intended by the author for the instruction and edification of young postulants for the habit of the Benedictine Order, but it will be found to serve a much wider sphere of literary pleasure and religious usefulness. It is the old story, but freshened into new life and grace, of the voyage through the sea of the World to the Golden City of the Prince. Many vessels were on a vast ocean, several bound for the city of God ; one bore the banner of the Seraph, another the device A.M.D.G., another *Jesu Christi Passio*, another was called 'The Hound of God.' 'These were gallant boats, and others were there like to them, and all were manned by crews of young oarsmen full of zeal and fervour. But methought that on the *Pax* the hymns were more incessant, and the oars moving more swiftly and more evenly than on all the rest beside.' There, too, was the mighty vessel the *Praecepta Dei*, which trusted not to oarsmen, but to its sails alone, and so depended on the wind. And there, too, was the *Gloria Mundi*, which meant to stay at the fair city of Voluptas.

The *Pax* was the pilot boat, and its captain guided his course by a chart inscribed *Regula Sancti Patris Benedicti*. The voyage is not without its vicissitudes for the crew of the *Pax*. There are some deserters to the *Gloria Mundi* ; some find the labour of the pilot boat not to their taste, and join the ship *Praecepta Dei* ; one falls a victim for a time to the allurements

of the golden bottle *Concupiscentia Carnis*, but is saved by *Penitence*; another falls overboard in weakness, and narrowly escapes the jaws of the monster heresy; but he is saved by the heroic charity of his brother, who baffles the monster by the sign of the Prince. One stop is made in the voyage of the *Pax*—at the Isle of Sacerdotium. The *Pax* completes its journey after many dangers passed, and its young crew, having seen the total wreck of the *Gloria Mundi*, are received at the Golden Gate by the Prince and the Blessed One.

LOSS AND GAIN; THE STORY OF A CONVERT. Cardinal Newman. CALLISTA; A TALE OF THE THIRD CENTURY. Cardinal Newman. FABIOLA; A TALE OF THE CATACOMBS. Cardinal Wiseman.

MESSRS. BURNS AND OATES have published a beautiful new edition of the above-named household works. The volumes are bound in richly decorated bindings, and are highly gilt. They are suitable for presentation prizes or the Catholic home library. They are published at 3s. 6d. each.

THEKLA; AN AUTOBIOGRAPHY. By Lady Herbert. London: Burns and Oates. 2s. 6d. net.

THIS is an interesting story, suitable for the parochial library.

THE MADONNA OF THE POETS. London: Burns and Oates. 2s. 6d. net.

THIS is an Anthology of Poems in honour of our Lady, collected from various sources, mostly from the English poets from A.D. 1100 downwards. Among the poems of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries we find contributions levied from Robert Southwell, John Donne, Ben Jonson, Sir John Beaumont, Herrick, Herbert, Crashaw; while the nineteenth century utters the praises of Mary through Wordsworth, Aubrey de Vere, Rossetti, Coventry Patmore, Lionel Johnson, Katherine Tynan Hinkson, and others. The Anthology has been collected by Anita Bartle. The volume is bound with much taste, is printed on thick art paper, uncut, and is illustrated in a novel but excellent style by photogravures of the Madonnas of Botticelli, Perugino, and the two Lippis.

THE WRITINGS OF ST. FRANCIS OF ASSISI. Newly translated into English. With an Introduction and Notes by Father Paschal Robinson, O.F.M. Philadelphia : The Dolphin Press. 4s. net ; cloth, 2s. net.

THIS, the most recent, is the most learned contribution to the literature that has grown about the name of the sweet saint of Assisi. The introduction, which occupies some thirty-two pages, is scholarly and judiciously critical. Yet the writer does not claim to have said the last word on the authenticity of all the saint's writings. 'Criticism may yet take away from St. Francis some writings now commonly ascribed to him : it may even give him back others, at present with seemingly greater likelihood made over to one or another of his immediate followers,' Such is the temper of the critical introduction. How well fitted is Father Robinson for his task of editor and critic, is evident from the apparatus of references at the foot of each page, and the six pages of bibliography at the end of the volume. He has collated all the Franciscan manuscripts, and read every work that deals with his subject. The authentic works of St. Francis are not numerous, and are compassed in one small volume. The saint was in no sense a man of letters, though his influence on Dante is well known. The writings are occupied with 'the poverty, humility, and Holy Gospel of the Lord Jesus ;' the ideas are repeated in various forms by the simple, child-like mind of the seraphic saint, because he regarded them as all-sufficing. The influence of the troubadours, and of the romances of the age of chivalry is curiously evident in the imagery and ornaments of the saint's writings.

"*Uj Christiani Ha et Romani sedis*" "As you are children of Christ, so be you children of Rome."
Ex Dictis S. Patricii. In Libro Armasiano, fol. 9.

The Irish Ecclesiastical Record

A Monthly Journal, under Episcopal Sanction.

Thirty-ninth Year } OCTOBER, 1906. [Fourth Series.
 No. 466. } Vol. XX.

The German Catholic Congress, 1906.

Rev. James MacCaffrey, S.T.L., Maynooth College.

Dialogues on Scriptural Subjects: The Pentateuch.

H. D. L.

The Church and the Universities in Countries of Mixed Religions.

Rev. Daniel Coghlan, D.D., Maynooth College.

Glimpses of the Penal Times—II.

Rev. Reginald Walsh, O.P., Rome.

Art in Ireland.

The Editor, Maynooth College.

Notes and Queries.

THEOLOGY. *Rev. J. M. Harty, D.D., Maynooth College.*

The Mass 'Pro Populo.'

LITURGY. *Rev. Patrick Morrisroe, Maynooth College.*

Use of Cope, and the saying of certain Prayers at Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament. Indulgences of the First Sunday of each Month.

Documents.

The Cathedraicum and 'Missa Pro Populo.' The 'Honoraria' of certain Masses. Matrimonial Dispensation. Matrimonial Dispensation in Brasil.

Notices of Books.

Institutiones Juris Publici Ecclesiastici. The Great Fundamental Truths of Religion. Selectio Spiritualis Alumno Clerico Meditanti Proposita. The Ordinary of the Mass. La Renaissance Catholique en Angleterre XIXème Siècle. The Ring of Day. The Secret of Carrickferneagh Castle. A Collection of Masses.

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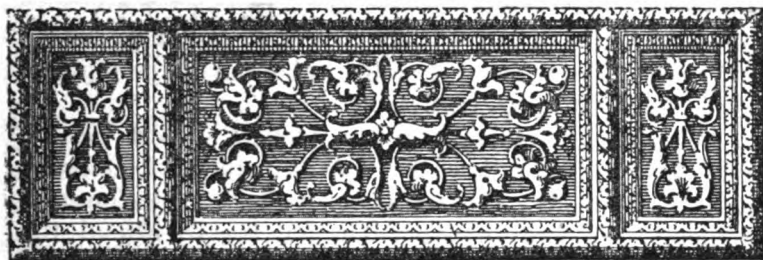
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THE GERMAN CATHOLIC CONGRESS, 1906

THE announcement that Essen had been selected as the meeting place for the Catholics of Germany in 1906, came as a surprise to many unacquainted with the circumstances of the country. They had heard of the city by the Ruhr as the centre of a great mining district, and as the home of the immense steel and gun works of the family of Krupp. They had conjured up in their imagination the picture of a city hastily thrown together without order or architectural beauty, dusty with the dust of the surrounding coal-fields, and gloomy with the smoke of its numberless factories. Cologne, Munster, Munich, Freiburg, Regensburg—all these had many attractions for the members of a congress, but how could Essen be placed in comparison, even for a moment, with those beauty spots of Germany?

They forgot, however, that the workmen in this great industrial centre of the Rhinelands are the hope of the Catholic Party; that through weal and through woe they have remained true to their tradition of loyalty to their Church, and that despite the herculean efforts of that Socialism which has overrun Germany, and dechristianized to a great extent such places as Protestant Saxony, the Rhinelanders stand where they have always stood since they received the faith eleven centuries ago. The selection of this working-men's city for the Catholic parliament of

Germany was a tribute at once to the loyalty of its people, and to the importance of the labour plank in the programme of the Catholic movement.

Personally, though, for other reasons I was pleased with the selection. Essen lies on the borders of Holland; and, therefore, on the route to Ireland from Southern Germany. It was thus possible for me to attend the Congress without serious inconvenience, and at the same time it afforded an opportunity of comparing the Catholic strength and organization in Baden with that of their co-religionists of the Rhine provinces and of Westphalia.

The opening of the Congress was fixed for Sunday, the 20th August, and it was midnight on the Saturday preceding before I could leave Freiburg. The journey through the night and in the early hours of the morning by Bonn and Meyence, along the Rhine, and past Cologne with its towering cathedral, could hardly be described as pleasant, but the inconveniences were lightened by the kindness and courtesy of the railway officials upon whom the name Essen on the railway ticket seemed to act as a letter of introduction. The consciousness, too, that everything had been arranged for me beforehand at the Congress itself, helped to relieve the fatigue. By sending a small subscription to the local Committee I had received a ticket with the name of the hotel at which a room had been secured for me and the charge per day, a notification of the place and time at which I might celebrate Mass, the number of my chair during the public meetings in the hall of assembly, and finally a guide book to Essen with a map of the city.

The morning was dark and threatening, but as we neared Essen the clouds cleared away and the sun shone forth warm and bright, promising a good day for the opening procession. In the little wayside stations, as the express flew through, crowds were gathered waiting for trains to convey them to the place of meeting. From the windows of many of the houses the white and yellow flag—the Papal colours—could be seen floating in the breeze, a sure sign that we were in a friendly country.

In Essen itself all was life and bustle. The streets were spanned with triumphal arches, and the inhabitants seemed to have vied with each in the decorations of their houses. The bells from different churches rang out a welcome to the visitors who poured in from every village in Germany. At nine o'clock a special Mass of the Holy Ghost was sung by Cardinal Fischer of Cologne, to invoke the guidance of the spirit in the deliberations of the Congress. Thousands thronged the church for the ceremony, whilst the vast crowds who could find no place in the building wended their way to the other churches in which Masses were celebrated during the whole morning.

Two o'clock was the hour fixed for the working-men's procession. As the time approached the footpaths along the streets were packed by sympathetic onlookers, so that it was almost impossible to find standing-room. Over forty thousand men marched in the ranks with their banners and bands, and as one listened to the steady military tramp of this enormous multitude, and as one gazed at the quiet determined faces of the men as they passed, one could not help feeling that the Catholic Church is still a force to be reckoned with by the governments of Europe. The processionists converged from different routes on the great square of the city where the Cardinal Bishop, with the prominent leaders of the Catholic Party, had taken their places, and after presenting their respectful homage to their Bishop and receiving his blessing, the members filed away towards the fifteen different halls prepared through the city for the workmen's meetings.

At eight o'clock on Sunday evening the first public meeting of the assembly was to be held. The question naturally occurred to me how could any building be found large enough to accommodate the immense numbers likely to be present. The local Committee had, to a great extent, solved the difficulty. They had erected an immense hall—about 300 feet in length and 150 feet in width, with galleries running around the whole building, and in the centre of one of the side galleries a raised platform for the

accommodation of the speakers and distinguished visitors. Despite the enormous multitude seeking admittance there was no sign of disorder or rushing. The chairs for the accommodation of the visitors were numbered, and as the members presented their cards, willing and capable stewards were at work to guide each individual to his place. Looking around the hall as the hour approached for the opening of the assembly, I could hardly help feeling proud of the display made by the Catholics of Germany. The ground floor was thronged with all that was best in the life of the country. There could be seen the nobility of the Empire, some of them who could trace back their ancestry to the days of Barbarossa, the landed proprietors, the manufacturers, and best and truest of all, the honest sturdy labourers and peasants of the district. One gallery running the full length of the hall, was reserved for the ladies who were hardly less enthusiastic than their husbands and brothers and sons, while the end gallery was packed by the representatives of the Catholic student societies from all the Universities of Germany. All felt equal in the possession of the one religion, and all felt proud at such a display of Catholic strength.

Punctually at the hour fixed for the beginning of the proceedings, the President of the Local Committee advanced to the speakers' dais, and opened the meeting with the usual German Catholic salutation, *Gelobt sei Jesus Christus* (May Jesus Christ be praised), to which the audience sent up a mighty response, *In ewigkeit* (forever); and the choir sang the special ode of welcome specially prepared for the occasion. The President then addressed the immense assembly. In the name of the local Committee he welcomed the members of the Congress who had mustered their forces from every village in Germany, he welcomed the representatives of the Catholics of Austria, whose presence was an additional proof of the bond of union existing between the two great nations of Central Europe, he bade a special welcome to the strangers who, although not speaking the German tongue, had come to sustain and to cheer the Catholics of Germany in their

defence of the Catholic faith. After him the representatives from the different States of Germany delivered their messages of welcome and congratulation with which they had been charged by the different organizations, and the letters and telegrams of prominent men to whom invitations had been addressed were read by the Secretary. Finally, as the Bishop of the city in which the Congress was held, the Cardinal of Cologne welcomed the members of the Congress, and at the request of the President imparted his benediction to the kneeling multitude.

For so far it was only a display of strength, but on the next day the real work of the Congress begun. The different Committees were appointed—on the labour question, on education, on the missions, on Catholic organization, on the press, etc. The discussions in the different halls were quite public, and every man was free to express his views on the points submitted. Finally, after a lengthy and at times heated debate, after amendments had been proposed and fully discussed, the resolutions were put to the meeting, and if carried at the committee, were drawn up and submitted to the general assembly. It was at these committees that the solid useful work was done, and it was very gratifying to remark how earnestly the members followed the discussion as was evidenced by the number of speakers representing every interest, how seriously, and at times how warmly, the different parties pressed their views upon the meetings, and how gracefully in the end, when the question was put, the minority withdrew their opposition. No question affecting Catholic interests, and more especially no question affecting German Catholic interests was neglected. The fullest freedom of discussion was allowed and was taken advantage of, and the greatest patience, moderation and good feeling were displayed throughout the proceedings.

Besides these committee meetings it should be noted, too, that the different Catholic societies of Germany took occasion to hold their particular conferences during the week. The Bonifatius Verein for the support of the missions, the Vincenzverein (charity), the Total Abstinence

Society of Germany, the Catholic Teachers' Reunion, the Piusverein, the Reunion of Priests who had studied in Rome, the Student Corporations from the different Universities. In this way the members of the different bodies were given an opportunity, not alone of meeting and discussing their own particular grievances and requirements, but had also the advantage of being present at the general work of the Congress, and of hearing the views of prominent fellow-religionists who were not members of their special societies, while at the same time these particular reunions and meetings helped to give the general Congress a strength and an influence for good to which it could not otherwise have attained. This is a point of view which should not be lost sight of by those who are interested in the organization of such Catholic congresses.

Another point which deserves notice is the fact that the whole proceedings, from the beginning to the end, were open to the Press. The Catholics of Germany had nothing to conceal, and nothing to be ashamed of. They were not met to stir up a religious war, or to indulge in attacks on those outside the Church; they had no reason to fear publicity or to imitate the example of their Protestant countrymen in conducting their proceedings behind closed doors. They were met to discuss the Catholic interests of Germany, to examine their own position, their weak points as well as their strong points, to emphasize their grievances, and to formulate their demands. Their public men—and some of them holding the highest positions in the land—were not ashamed to let their countrymen know they were taking part in a Catholic Congress. They invited publicity and they got it to their heart's content. Years ago, when the Catholic Congresses were only in their infancy, the opposition papers showed their contempt by taking no notice of the proceedings. Now, the leading journals on all sides sent their representatives to the Congress, and their pages were filled each morning with an account of its work. The reporters for over seventy different papers were accommodated at the press-table, and every facility was afforded of obtaining a complete report

of the proceedings. 'What we demand of the non-Catholic journals,' said the President, 'is that they give a truthful account of our proceedings. If to this they append their own judgments and criticisms that is their own affair; every man may criticise us as he will and as he can. One thing, however, is clear from the presence of these men in our midst, and that is that the assembly of the Catholics can no longer be neglected. We Catholics, we, too, form an integral portion of Germany, and we wish that all parties should clearly understand that we must get equal treatment in our own land.'

It used to be said by the friends and supporters of Bismarck, in the days of the Kulturkampf, that no man could be at the same time a good German and a good subject of the Pope. Loyalty to the State was incompatible with loyalty to the Church. Yet at the Catholic Congress patriotism and religion seem to have blended together very well. On either side of the platform were to be seen the statues of the Pope and of the Emperor, telegrams expressing their homage and devotion were despatched simultaneously to the heads of the Church and State, and as the replies arrived from the Kaiser and the Pope nothing could exceed the respectful enthusiasm of the audience.

The attitude of the present Pontiff to the German Catholic Congress can be judged from his Encyclicals of last spring, in which he held up the German organizations as a model that could be profitably adopted by the Catholics of Italy. This year he specially honoured the assembly by requesting Cardinal Vannutelli to assist at its deliberations. We have seen Cardinal Vannutelli in Ireland, and the memory of the welcome extended by the Irish people to the delegate of the Pope, is a thing that cannot easily pass away. And yet, the welcome extended to him in Ireland could not exceed in the slightest the reception extended to him by the Catholics of Germany. As his Eminence took his place on the platform, the vast assembly sprang to their feet as one man, cheer after cheer was given for the Pope and the Cardinal, and as his Eminence rose to address the

gathering the enthusiasm could hardly be described. His speech was delivered in Italian, but though the words must have been only sounds for most of those listening, the gestures and the intonations, in themselves expressive, seemed to have been understood by all. At any rate it is certain that they applauded wholeheartedly, and that the applause was generally at the right place.

Every evening a general meeting was held at which papers on subjects of public interest were read and discussed. It is impossible to sketch these in particular, but the titles will be a sufficient indication of the value and necessity of this portion of the Congress. The first was read by a member of the Centre Party, and dealt with the new School Law just passed in Prussia. He described the attitude of the Centre Party towards the Bill, the nature of the compromise arrived at, and the great advantage secured by the present legislation, namely, the security of tenure of the confessional schools in all districts where they at present exist. The next was by a merchant from Mayence, and dealt with the 'Family and Social Life according to the Christian Ideal.' These two occupied the first evening. At the next public session, the meeting was opened by a paper from one of the judges on the position of the Papacy since the occupation of Rome. This speech was important in view of the fact that Germany, as the ally of the Italian King, has an interest in a peaceful settlement of the present difficulty. The speaker made it clear that the Pope, as the head of a Church with his subjects scattered through all the kingdoms of the world, should never be the mere subject of any particular power, that to secure the freedom which the Pope requires he must be himself a sovereign; that the Law of Guarantees is only an Italian law that might be changed with a change of cabinets, and that of itself it supposes the Papacy, which from its nature must be international, to be hemmed up by the laws of one particular state. The other papers dealt with 'Popular Education,' 'Art,' and the 'Position of Woman in Modern Society.'

Wednesday's public meeting was given over to a paper on the Bonifatius Verein (Mission Society), on the duty of Catholics in the Social and Public Life of Germany and on the Church and Labour Question. The last day was occupied by the Secretary of the Catholic Working-men's Society on the same subject, and though only a workman himself his paper could well bear comparison with any that had gone before, and no speaker was listened to with greater attention or received more enthusiastic applause. The last contribution dealt with Revelation and Science. It treated in a popular yet masterly way the difficulties which are now so often urged from the point of view of science against the Catholic position.

It should be noted, too, that most of the papers were read by laymen. The clergy were present in great numbers, and followed the discussions with interest, many of the Bishops attended to show their appreciation of the good work that was being done, and those who could not do so sent letters and telegrams of congratulation and approval. But all the same the great burthen of organizing the Congress, and of carrying on the discussions, was undertaken by the laymen. It was a real pleasure to hear how some of these handled subjects which in this country are generally dealt with only by the clergy. Of two of these speeches I retain the most vivid recollection, one on the necessity of supporting the Catholic missions, and one on the more strict enforcing of the laws against public immorality, and I can safely say that no clergyman, no matter how great might have been his earnestness and his powers of oratory, could have produced such a striking effect. I could not help thinking that the country was fortunate which in these days produced such speakers and such appreciative listeners.

At the final meeting the President again addressed the assembly. He thanked the Cardinal Bishop of Cologne and Cardinal Vannutelli for their kindness in having assisted at the deliberations of the Congress, he thanked the Catholics of Germany for having come in such numbers, and the people of Essen for the hearty welcome which they had

extended to all their visitors. He recapitulated the principal points which had been discussed during the Congress, and finally besought the Cardinals and the Bishops present to impart their episcopal benediction to the assembly. The members all stood up and joined in the hymn so popular in Germany, *Grosser Gott wir loben dich*, and finally the proceedings were closed as they had been begun with the salutation, *Laudetur Jesus Christus in aeternum*.

In the evenings during the Congress, concerts and various entertainments were provided in the city gardens; the museums and the art treasures of Essen were opened to the public, and in ecclesiastical art in particular Essen possesses no mean collection. A pilgrimage was organized to the tomb of the patron of Essen, St. Ludgerus, which was attended by immense crowds of men, many of whom received Holy Communion during the Mass which was celebrated at the shrine of the saint. Every provision was made by the Committee for the comfort and convenience of the immense crowd of visitors, and the patience with which the stewards listened to and answered those seeking their assistance, was something never to be forgotten. The kindness and courtesy of the railway officials, the street-car operators and the policemen could not be excelled in any part of the world.

It only remains for me to mention that the Catholic student corporations from the different universities were well represented at the Congress. A special gallery had been reserved for them at one end of the hall, and it was always packed during the public meetings. On the second morning of the proceedings the students went in procession with the banners of their different corporations to assist at Mass in the cathedral, and afterwards proceeded through the principal streets. The effect of such a demonstration on such an occasion could not be easily estimated. In the evening they had their student banquets, which were a rallying point not only for the young men still engaged upon their studies, but for hundreds who have long since forsaken the university, but who have not forgot their devotion to their old corporations. One could not help

thinking, as one saw the splendid array of students and workmen passing through the streets in procession, that the Church had fully realized the work that lies before her at the present time, in the fields of education and of social reform, and that her cause was not so hopeless as some croaking pessimists would have us believe.

JAMES MACCAFFREY.

DIALOGUES ON SCRIPTURAL SUBJECTS: THE PENTATEUCH

DIALOGUE I.—PRELIMINARY

FATHER, I have been reading recently in the Catholic journals allusions to a decision regarding the authorship of the Pentateuch issued from the Biblical Commission at Rome. Every other day I notice paragraphs in newspapers and reviews about Bible questions—they are frequently discussed amongst us students, who are preparing for various professions. Now, you know me from my childhood, and believe, let me hope, that I am and intend to remain always a loyal son of the Church—in fact, nothing gives me greater pleasure than to study her history, witness her triumphs, observe the wonderful guiding Providence which sustains her in the midst of her numerous and powerful enemies; yet I must confess, that on these questions which are now being agitated in Scriptural matters, I find myself sadly deficient, even in what I may call the main outlines and rudimentary principles of these discussions. I know well there are many learned works written on these subjects; articles teeming with erudition appear from time to time in Catholic periodicals, but somehow or another they are to me of little value. I have not the time to read books, and even if I had, they are so full of quotations from the Scriptures, and the Fathers, and from learned authors; there are so many technical terms used, that desirous as I am to have information I feel rather repelled from, than attracted to, the reading of them. It has occurred to me that I would come to you, my parish priest, who have been always my friend and my counsellor, and ask you to explain to me, as simply as you can, some of the leading features of these important discussions.'

Thus spoke Patrick O'Flaherty, law student, to his parish priest, the Rev. James O'Brien, one day, as he paid

him a visit at the parochial house during his midsummer holiday.

‘My dear young friend,’ replied Father James, ‘I deeply sympathise with you, as I understand your position. I am pleased to see that you desire to get some information on these subjects, and will be only too glad to give you any assistance I can. But you must not expect too much from me. I am not, and never have been, a professor of Scripture. When in college I studied for nearly two years what is called the Introduction to the Sacred Scriptures. I then got a grasp of some leading principles and general information which I have endeavoured to retain. I read occasionally, as opportunities offer, some of these articles to which you have referred, through which I keep myself in touch with the controversies of the day, and out of this very limited store I may be able to supply you with some of the information which you desire.’

PATRICK O’FLAHERTY.—I am much obliged to you, Father, for your kindness. And, first of all, would you let me know something about this Biblical Commission.

FATHER O’BRIEN.—On the 18th of November, 1893, our late Holy Father, the great Leo XIII, wrote a most beautiful Encyclical on the study of Holy Scriptures. Like all such documents written in Latin, it got its title from the Latin words with which it begins, viz., *Providentissimus Deus*. It has been translated, together with his other Encyclicals, into English, and published a few years ago in America, with a preface by the Rev. John J. Wynne, S.J. I would recommend you strongly to get this invaluable work, which contains the thoughts and teaching of the illustrious Leo on this and all the other great questions of the day. In this particular Encyclical His Holiness impresses on the Bishops of the Catholic Church the necessity of having the study of Scripture placed in a position of importance in their seminaries and academical institutions, of providing themselves with a continuous succession of capable teachers who would devote themselves exclusively to the study and teaching of Scriptural subjects. He exhorted them in particular to see that the preliminary

studies which are contained in the treatise called the 'Introduction' to the Sacred Scripture should be carefully cultivated, and he further laid down the principles and rules which should guide the professors in the discharge of their sublime office. As a sequel to this important Encyclical, he conceived the idea that it would be well to have beside him in Rome a body of men from all parts of the Christian world, the most learned in Scriptural subjects, who would act as a kind of council for him—who would devote their time and talents to the special study of every new phase of thought or scientific discovery that may arise in this connection, and furnish him with the results of their studies and deliberations, so that the Church may be fully abreast with what is called the 'higher criticism.' Such is the origin and meaning of the Biblical Commission.

P. O'F.—But what is meant by the 'higher criticism,' a word I often hear used—but I do not well understand what it means?

FR. O'B.—Criticism in general, as you know, is the act of judging the merits or otherwise of works, say of literature or art, and applied to the Bible. Biblical criticism is that branch of Scripture science which deals with the authority of the sacred books. This may occur in two ways. One may be enquiring into the authority of a whole book—or considerable portion of it—or merely into the correct reading of say some particular text. In the former case, the criticism is called 'higher' because of the greater importance of the matter with which it deals; in the latter, it is called verbal, textual, or lower criticism. The former deals with those elements which constitute the authority of a book or part of a book, namely, their genuineness, integrity, and veracity; the latter with minor details such as the correct reading of individual passages and the like. I should observe, however, that the term 'higher criticism' is oftentimes identified in the eyes of many persons with the anti-religious destructive tactics of those enemies of revelation who are called rationalists, because of the use they make of it in their onslaughts on the authority of the Bible.

P. O'F.—But, pray, Father, what do you mean by

rationalists; who are they; what are their aims and tactics?

FR. O'B.—A rationalist is a man who makes reason the sole arbiter of what is true and false, of what is right and wrong. Hence divine revelation, miracles, prophecies, and all such things which are above the ken of human reason, are summarily rejected by rationalists. These people take the Bible as they would any other book, and anything in it either above, or incompatible with, their own reasoning power, they either summarily reject, or so explain away as to make it fit in with their own notions and the data of human reason. This rationalism, which dates back to the middle of the eighteenth century, is the logical outcome of private judgment, the fundamental principle of Protestantism. What the tactics and aims of these men are is graphically described by Leo XIII in his Encyclical *The God of all Providence*. Let me read it for you. Here it is :—'In earlier times, the contest was chiefly with those who, relying on private judgment, and repudiating the divine traditions and teaching power of the Church, held the Scriptures to be the one source of revelation and the final appeal in matters of faith.' His Holiness is alluding here to the early Protestants.

Now [he continues], we have to meet the rationalists, true children, and inheritors of the older heretics, who trusting in their turn to their own way of thinking, have rejected even the scraps and remnants of Christian belief which had been handed down to them. They deny that there is any such thing as revelation, or inspiration, or Holy Scripture at all; they see instead only the forgeries and falsehoods of men; they set down the Scripture narratives as stupid fables and lying stories: the prophecies and oracles of God are to them either predictions made up after the event or forecasts formed by the light of nature; the miracles and wonders of God's power are not what they are said to be, but the startling effects of natural law, or else mere tricks and myths; and the apostolic Gospels and writings are not the work of the apostles at all. These detestable errors whereby they think they destroy the truth of the divine books, are obtruded on the world as the peremptory pronouncements of a newly invented *free science*; a science, however, which is so far from final, that they are perpetually modifying and supplementing it. And there are

some of them, who, notwithstanding their impious opinions and utterances about God, and Christ, the Gospels, and the rest of Holy Scripture, would fain be considered both theologians and Christians and men of the Gospel, and who attempt to disguise by such honourable names their rashness and their pride. To them we must add not a few professors of other sciences, who approve their views and give them assistance, and are urged to attack the Bible by a similar intolerance of revelation. And it is deplorable to see these attacks growing every day more numerous and more severe. It is sometimes men of learning and judgment who are assailed; but these have little difficulty in defending themselves from evil consequences. The efforts and acts of the enemy are chiefly directed against the ignorant masses of the people. They diffuse their deadly poison by means of books, pamphlets and newspapers; they spread it by addresses and by conversation; they are found everywhere; and they are in possession of numerous schools, taken by violence from the Church, in which, by ridicule and scurrilous jesting, they pervert the credulous and uninformed minds of the young to the contempt of Holy Scripture.

I hope I need not apologise for reading for you this long extract from the Encyclical.

P. O'F.—Indeed, no, Father; on the contrary, I am extremely grateful to you for so doing, as I have herein a good specimen of those Encyclicals, which will make the name of the thirteenth Leo immortal. I can now realise to some extent the deep and dangerous designs of these men, and the snares by which Catholic young men like myself are surrounded from the unguarded and promiscuous reading of many things which are considered learned and up-to-date. As a result of this quotation I have made up my mind to purchase this book, as I have no doubt that the master mind of the great Leo XIII has treated every other subject of pressing importance with equal force and lucidity in his imperishable Encyclicals.

FR. O'B.—Quite right; and what subject has he left untouched? He has an Encyclical on the evils affecting modern society—one on socialism, communism, nihilism; one on the study of scholastic philosophy; one on Christian marriage; one on freemasonry; one on the Christian constitution of states; one on human liberty; one on the chief duties of Christians as citizens; on the condition of the

working-classes, and so on. But I am afraid I am digressing. You began by asking me for some explanation of the recent decision of the Biblical Commission regarding the authorship of the Pentateuch.

P. O'F.—Yes, Father ; but before you enter on that, I would wish to get from you some preliminary notions regarding the Pentateuch itself.

FR. O'B.—This is only natural. The word Pentateuch means a work consisting of five books, it is a five-fold book, and is used to designate the five first books of the Old Testament. Amongst the Jews, these books were called the Law—or the Law of Moses. It is probable enough that what are now five books were originally only one. Many Biblical scholars think, that as written by Moses, it was only one book, but subsequently the Jews divided the whole work into five parts, designating each part or book by the opening words—the same is now done in the case of Papal Encyclicals, as I have already told you. Hence, in the Hebrew Bible you will find the name of the first book *Beresith* the first word in that book, which in English means 'In the beginning,' and so with the other four. The Greeks, however, gave them different names, according to the matter of which they treated, and the Latinized forms of these Greek names are those by which they are now usually known. Hence the first book is called Genesis, from a Greek word which means origin or generation ; because the subject matter of that book is the history of the beginning of the world and of the human race. The second book is called Exodus, from the Greek word which means 'departure,' because it deals principally with the departure of the Israelites out of Egypt. The third is called Leviticus, because it treats of the office of the priesthood or Levites. The fourth is called Numbers, because it gives the census of the Israelites, and the fifth is called Deuteronomy, from a Greek word, which means a second law, because it contains a résumé or recapitulation of the whole law.

P. O'F.—As a bare outline explanatory of the mere names of these five books, it is quite clear—but I would

ask you to give me a somewhat more comprehensive summary of the matter of each of these books.

FR. O'B.—Most certainly ; and I am very pleased that you have asked me to do so, because for the fruitful study of any book one of the best ways is, before going into details, to get a good general outline of the principal argument, and order of treatment of the author. Now, the Pentateuch or five books, is principally an exposition of the Mosaic law, but it is also, to a great extent, historical. In fact, the book of Genesis is exclusively historical, for it is occupied solely with the history of the human race from the creation of the world to the death of Joseph. The first three chapters tell us of the creation of all things by God—the history of Adam and Eve, their happiness, temptation, fall, punishment ; the promises of a Redeemer. In the following five chapters, you have a record of the spread of the human family ; their corruption, and the destruction of the whole human race by the Deluge, with the exception of Noe and his family. After this comes the history of the new propagation of the human race through the family of Noe, and its division into tribes and nations. The remaining portion of this book, from the twelfth to the fiftieth chapter, is devoted to the history of the Hebrew people ; of their father and founder, Abraham ; of his children and descendants ; the twelve patriarchs, and the tribes to which they gave their names ; of the selling of Joseph by his brethren, his life, sojourn, and death in Egypt. The events connected with this portion are given more diffusely and in detail than those in the early chapters of the book.

The book of Exodus treats of the history of the Hebrew people in the land of Egypt ; how they were multiplied and oppressed by the Pharaohs ; the birth, rearing, and education of Moses—his divine mission to free his people from the bondage of Egypt ; the history of the ten plagues ; the departure of the Israelites from Egypt ; the celebration of the first Pasch ; the pursuit of the Israelites by Pharaoh and his hosts ; the miraculous passage of the former through the bed of the Red Sea, and the destruction of the latter ; the journeying of the Israelites through the desert to

Mount Sinai ; the giving of the Law, and exposition of it, and all that appertained to the tabernacle and Ark of the Covenant—in a word, the whole history of the Israelites from the time they left the land of Egypt until the end of the second year of their wandering in the desert.

The book of Leviticus contains a history of all that belonged to the priesthood, sacrifices, and ritual of the Jewish people—such as the consecration and duties of the priests, the various kinds of sacrifices, the different rites with which they were to be offered up, also the various festivals to be observed.

The book of Numbers treats of the wanderings of the Israelites through the desert for the space of thirty-nine years. The numbering of the people and the Levites ; the death of Aaron ; the murmuring of the people, and the chastisements inflicted on them by God ; the history of the brazen serpent ; the slaughter of the Madianites, and the history of Balaam.

The book of Deuteronomy represents to us the Israelites, now at the end of their wanderings, before entering into the Promised Land, being addressed by Moses, who explains to them anew the provisions of the law, reminds them of God's merciful dealings with them ; proscribes the worship of idols ; and in forcible language propounds the sanction of the law—the rewards and blessings to be bestowed on them who would observe it, and the terrible punishments awaiting the offenders against it. Knowing that his end was at hand, by divine direction he appointed Josua to succeed him ; he blessed his people, and within view of the Promised Land, which he never entered, he breathed forth his soul.

P. O'F.—Now, Father, having given me this interesting summary of the subject matter of Pentateuch, perhaps you would kindly let me know, what period of time is covered by this history.

FR. O'B.—It is better not to touch that question just now ; we may speak about it later on. For the present, let us keep to what is certain. But I may say to you instead, that portions of the contents of the Pentateuch, especially

those concerning genealogies, sacred rites, and such things, which are interesting enough for those who make a profound study of the Sacred Scriptures, to an ordinary reader like you may prove dry and tedious. But there are other portions, such as the history of Abraham's sacrifice in the land of Vision, the marriage of Isaac with his kinswoman, Rebecca, the promises made to the patriarchs about the Messia, and the two beautiful Canticles of Moses, one after the passage through the Dead Sea and the other before his death, which for sublimity of thought and elegance of style, prescinding altogether from the divine character of the book, you will find rarely excelled. These and like parts I would recommend you to read often.

P. O'F.—Perhaps you would now explain to me the nature of the recent decision of the Biblical Commission, about which I asked you in the beginning of our conversation.

FR. O'B.—Certainly, but not now; you must have patience. In order that you may understand it clearly, the way has to be prepared. Not to weary you to-day, I will defer this to a future occasion.

H. D. L.

THE CHURCH AND THE UNIVERSITIES IN COUNTRIES OF MIXED RELIGIONS

I HAVE already treated of the duties and claims of the Church in regard to primary and higher education in Catholic countries,¹ and of her discipline in regard to primary schools in countries of mixed religions;² and in the present article I purpose to study the principles and discipline of the Church in regard to Universities and University Colleges in countries where Catholics live side by side with fellow-citizens of other religious denominations.

As in the case of primary schools, so in the case of universities, the Church positively and formally 'approves' one university, another she 'tolerates,' another she declares 'intrinsically dangerous to faith and morals' without however adding a special ecclesiastical prohibition, another she is bound to 'condemn absolutely' and to formally prohibit Catholics from frequenting it, and with regard to others she may adopt simply a policy of 'nullum judicium ferendum,' a policy of observation, permitting Catholics to frequent them provisionally but passing no judgment on them, and meanwhile keeping a vigilant eye on them to see if they contain, in their actual working, any danger to the faith or morals of the Catholic students. I will consider first, in the abstract, the conditions necessary for ecclesiastical approval, the circumstances that necessitate the various forms of ecclesiastical disapproval, the duties of parents and students in regard to colleges condemned by the Church, and the duties of the Pastoral office towards those—if any—who frequent such colleges; and secondly I will briefly review a few well-known and familiar examples of ecclesiastical policy in regard to 'mixed' and dangerous universities or university colleges.

¹ I. E. RECORD, Jan., 1906.

² *Ibid.*, April, 1906.

I.

What are the conditions necessary that the Church can formally and positively approve a University? In the first place, as I pointed out in a former article,¹ university education differs from primary and intermediate education in this, that religious instruction should form an obligatory part of the programme of education in primary and intermediate schools, but does not enter into the obligatory programme of work in universities and university colleges; and consequently the Church can approve a university though the students are not obliged to have lessons in Christian Doctrine, but she cannot approve a system of primary or intermediate education which does not include religious instruction in its programme of obligatory school work. Religion is taught as a science if there be a theological faculty in a university; and a Catholic theological faculty must be established by and continue under the control of the Church. But apart from the consideration of a theological faculty, what are the essential characteristics of the university which the Church can approve? I may answer negatively, by saying that in constitution it must not be 'secular,' nor 'mixed,' nor, of course, 'secular and mixed.' When we designate a system of primary education 'secular' we have in mind primarily the fact that religious instruction is excluded, though we know that a secular system also implies the exclusion of ecclesiastical authority from the schools, the abolition of tests for teachers, and free access to the schools for children of all religious denominations. But when we designate a system of university education 'secular' or 'Godless,' we should understand it primarily if not exclusively of the complete and absolute subjection of the university to the secular power and of the denial to the ecclesiastical authority of the right of exercising vigilance and supervision over the appointment and continuance in office of teachers and over the teaching of the university in order to safeguard the faith and morals

¹ I. E. RECORD, Jan., 1906.

of the students. The absence of religious instruction from the programme of obligatory college work does not make a university 'secular' or 'Godless,' for religious lessons are not the work of a university or university college. In a Catholic country, as I have already written,¹ the Church does not claim the right of appointing or approving the professors outside the faculty of theology, 'but the right of exercising vigilance and remonstrating and commanding that a particular person reasonably suspected or proved to be dangerous to the faith or morals of the students be not appointed or deprived of his appointment.' The first and fundamental condition, therefore, for the 'formal approbation' of a university by the Church is the recognition of the right of the bishop to exercise vigilance over the university for the preservation of the purity of faith and morals.

A 'secular' system is also invariably 'mixed,' at least in theory; that is, there are no tests for teachers or students and the college with its offices and emoluments is open to all denominations. A 'mixed' system, however, is not necessarily 'secular'; it may enforce in primary schools denominational religious instruction, and in universities it may recognise, formally or virtually, the right of the Church to exercise supervision over all that may concern the faith and morals of its subjects. The 'mixed' system supposes that, by law, entrance to the college and access to its emoluments and offices are open to members of all religious denominations. Then it is a 'mixed' college, at least in theory and in law, but it may be purely denominational in reality.

The presence of a few non-Catholic teachers or students in a Catholic university would not prevent the formal approval of the university: the university would receive approbation, and the presence of the few non-Catholics would be said to be tolerated. But if the professorships and entry to a college were open by law to non-Catholics generally, if professors could not be vetoed on the sole

¹ I. E. RECORD, Jan. 1906.

ground of being Protestants or infidels, then the system of education would be the 'mixed' system, and I think, for reasons to be indicated farther on, the university would not be formally approved by the Church, but only tolerated. And, of course, a system which is both 'secular' and 'mixed' cannot be 'approved' by the Church.

Protestants, no doubt, will claim that this justifies their contention that a Catholic university must be a priest-ridden institution where liberty of thought and investigation which is absolutely indispensable to university work, is altogether impossible. But then we can legitimately ask, do they themselves claim to be a part of the Christian Church or to have a Christian episcopate? Do they really admit that the Holy Ghost appointed bishops to rule the Church of God up to the gates of the university, but forbade them to cross the threshold of the seat of higher learning? Do they themselves permit in their universities liberty to teach doctrines distinctively Roman? In the belief of Catholics episcopal jurisdiction over universities is not a doctrine apart and superadded to the general body of episcopal claims. It does not differ specifically from the pastoral office and duty of teaching, of fostering and protecting faith and morals in the castles of the nobles and in the cabins of the poor, in the warehouse and training establishment, in a word, wherever full-grown men are congregated whose religious education is already completed. Authority over and responsibility for the university student is an essential part of the pastoral office which knows no limit or boundary in sea, or mountain, or walls, or gates. If we speak, for example, of a priest, the Church exercises jurisdiction over him at the altar, in the tribunal, in the pulpit, in his publications; and on what Christian principle can he be exempted from Church authority in the university? The Church can reach the ordinary priest or layman with her censures; she can cut off the university professor from the Church; but she cannot remove him from his position of danger to the faith and morals of his students, unless the State recognises, formally

or equivalently, her right of effective vigilance in respect to the faith and morals of her university subjects.

Appertaining as it does to the functions of the universal pastoral office, the Church cannot allow her right of supervision of universities to be denied. Hence the following propositions were condemned in the Syllabus of Pius IX :—

Totum scholarum publicarum regimen, in quibus juvenus christianae alicujus Reipublicae instituitur, episcopalibus dumtaxat seminariis aliqua ratione exceptis, potest ac debet attribui auctoritati civili, et ita quidem attribui, ut nullum alii cui-cumque auctoritati recognoscatur jus immiscendi se in disciplina scholarum, in regimine studiorum, in graduum collatione, in delectu aut approbatione magistrorum (n. 45) . . . Postulat optima civilis societatis ratio, ut populares scholae, quae patent omnibus cujusque e populo classis pueris, ac publica universim Instituta, quae litteris severioribusque disciplinis tradendis et educationi juventutis curandae sunt destinata, eximantur ab omni Ecclesiae auctoritate, moderatrice vi et ingerentia, plenoque civilis ac politicae auctoritatis arbitrio subjiciantur ad imperantium placita et ad communium aetatis opinionum amussim (n. 47.)

II.

The Church declares certain colleges 'intrinsically dangerous to faith and morals' without issuing a special ecclesiastical prohibition to frequent these colleges. What are the dangers to faith and morals apprehended in such colleges? May Catholic students frequent these colleges? What are the duties of pastors towards the Catholic students—if any—who frequent them?

1. We may assume that in colleges declared intrinsically dangerous to faith and morals, ecclesiastical right of supervision and vigilance is altogether denied. But though this be a denial of an essential office and duty of the pastoral charge, it does not necessarily carry with it, in fact and in practice, grave dangers to faith and morals. The sources of danger to faith and morals, generally referred to in ecclesiastical official documents, are human respect, non-Catholic teachers and non-Catholic fellow-students. The dangers from non-Catholic teachers and students would be, of course, immensely aggravated if the

purpose and policy of the school were the proselytism of the Catholic student or the extirpation of Catholicity, and the danger is much more acute in residential colleges than in non-residential universities. The dangers from heretical teachers and heretical fellow-students are admirably stated in an Instruction of the Holy Office relative to the schools of Berne in Switzerland which I will quote, though it does not deal formally with university colleges:—

Auctoritas quippe praeceptorum [says the Holy Office] quae maxime in adolescentium animis valet, ad ea omnia approbanda quae in iis vident ex iisve audiunt, naturali quadam vi eos rapit; quo fit ut illorum erga religionem indifferentia, errores ipsi haereticae catholicaeque religionis contemptus, venenato quodam alitu, tenella pectora inficiat extinctoque calore omni pietatis penitus corrumpat. Cui pesti haud minus lethifera accedit haeticorum condiscipulorum contagio, quorum corrupti mores, indita ex sectario dogmate indocilitas, quaeque pueriles animos vehementissime movet, in catholicam fidem atque Ecclesiae praecepta mordax dicacitas, si quid incorruptum aut firmum in ipsis manserit, labefactent ac perdant necesse est . . . Neque vero illud quispiam sibi persuadeat immunes ab hac pernicie scholas illas fore quae materiam a religione discretam atque profanam habent. Etenim praeterquam quod eadem in illis ab haeticorum, sive praeceptorum sive discipulorum, vitae ratione ac familiaritate scandala impendunt, novus profecto in humanis rebus sit oportet qui non sentiat etiam in ejusmodi scholis aditum haeticis magistris undequaque aperiri, ut puerilem simplicitatem opportune et importune, data et non data occasione circumveniat et in laqueos inducat, cujus quo magis inopinae atque occultae sunt artes, eo magis sunt ad perdendum efficaces. Itaque non tantum quae sacris sed etiam quae profanis disciplinis, non tantum quae metaphysicae aut ethicae, sed etiam quae mathesi aut physicae, aut historiae, aut humanis litteris, aut linguis, aut artibus quibusvis tradendis institutae sunt, periculi atque exitii plenas ejusmodi scholas esse nulla ratione est dubitandum.¹

In the abstract this is true universally of all times and countries and schools. There *can* be grave danger from non-Catholic teachers and fellow-students, even in purely secular or scientific classes. A teacher *could*, for example, make a covert hostile allusion to the principle of authority in the Church even when teaching mathematics, by re-

¹ Instructio S. C. S. Officii, given in the *Collectanea S. Congregationis De Propaganda Fide*, pars. i., cap. xv., De Scholis, n. 477.

marking significantly that mathematical conclusions are not received on authority, that scientific work and authority are mutually incompatible. And hence I have stated that I think the Church would not give 'formal approval' to a college if the professorships were by law equally open to all, Catholics and non-Catholics. The Church does not 'approve' this mixed system of education. But when we are called on to decide a concrete case; whether, for example, there actually is danger to faith and morals in this particular college, we have to take account of what actually happens or is likely to happen, considering all the circumstances of the case, in this particular college. When the Church condemns certain colleges as intrinsically dangerous to faith and morals it is not a condemnation of a mere abstract theory or system of education, but of the colleges considered as they actually are. It is not a declaration of a remote or slight spiritual danger. It is a declaration that, in regard to the ordinary type of manhood, there is a grave and proximate danger of mortal sin in attendance at such colleges. The danger is not constituted by such a declaration, but the declaration pre-supposes the danger; and if the danger did not really exist the declaration would be founded on an erroneous assumption of fact. This danger cannot be proved to demonstration or mathematically; but it would be the greatest temerity to question the existence of actual danger when it is affirmed authoritatively by the Episcopate. And, of course, in pronouncing on the actual danger, in particular cases, of secular or mixed schools, the Roman Congregations are always guided by the representations of the bishops who are familiar with the actual circumstances of the cases.

2. May Catholic students frequent colleges which have been declared by the Church dangerous to faith and morals? I would observe that there are no special moral principles governing the cases of university students. University students are to be treated like full-grown men of the world who have completed their religious education. We must examine the circumstances of the case and apply the principles which govern the same difficulties universally. I

assume that the colleges are merely declared dangerous to faith and morals ; that no special ecclesiastical prohibition against entering these colleges is enacted ; and consequently that, if a sin is committed at all, it is a sin against the natural law which forbids us from going without necessity into the proximate occasions of grave sin. Now it is obvious that, generally speaking, it is unlawful to frequent schools which have been declared intrinsically dangerous to faith and morals ; as it is unlawful, generally speaking, to go into the proximate occasion of mortal sin. There may be cases in which there is a peculiar insensibility to college temptations and consequently no danger of sin, and in such cases no sin is committed by frequenting the colleges, if it be not a sin of scandal to others. Then when we deal with the ordinary types of mankind, we say that it is lawful to frequent these colleges if necessity requires it, provided that precautions are taken to make the danger of sin remote ; because then we are dealing with a necessary danger or occasion of sin, and we are prepared to give absolution to a person who remains in a necessary occasion of sin—and therefore it is lawful to go into or remain in such an occasion—provided that means are taken to make the occasion of sin remote. The necessity for entering such colleges may be National, as, for example, the necessity of having Catholics educated for the administrative and professional offices of the Nation ; or the desirability of securing a share of the public money allocated for education ; or the personal advantage to the individual, who may hope to enter a profession or to secure a high and honourable position in the service of the State and who may be condemned otherwise to pass his life in rather menial occupations.

These principles are recognised in various Instructions of the Sacred Congregations of the Holy Office and Propaganda.¹ Thus the Holy Office in the instruction already quoted, proceeds to say :—

Quae sane cum ita se habere apprime nossent Emi. Patres, non illud tamen eos praeteribat, peculiaria quaedam

¹ Cf. *Collectanea*, etc., l.c.

rerum adjuncta id efficere posse, ut easdem adire aliquando cogat necessitas ; ubi scilicet ea tyrannide opprimantur catholici, ut ad scholas proprias id est catholicas adeundas, nulla jam illis aut pateat via, aut necessaria domui suae studiorum subsidia deserant, publicumque ipsum regimen heterodoxis totum relinquant, aut scholas mixtas utut invitissimi subeant.¹

Of course if Catholic colleges were available there would be no necessity for frequenting colleges declared dangerous ; and students themselves should not be the judges of the necessity of frequenting these colleges or of their chances of spiritual safety, but should be guided by their ecclesiastical pastors.

If, in addition to the declaration that the colleges are dangerous to faith and morals, a particular bishop prohibits his subjects to go to such colleges the prohibition is to be understood to be of universal application ; that is, a person may not then plead that the intrinsic reason for the prohibition—the *finis legis*—does not exist in his case, that there is no danger in his case to faith or morals. But if, besides the mere non-existence of the intrinsic reason of the law, in a particular case, there were an extrinsic inconvenience, an extrinsic loss, if the reason of the law, as they say, were to cease *contrarie* ; if there were, first, no proximate danger of sin, and if, secondly, the episcopal prohibition would cause serious loss to an individual in the shape of money, or a profession, or the like, then according to general principals the episcopal prohibition would not bind. And so the addition of an episcopal prohibition does not appear to add anything substantial to the authoritative declaration that certain colleges are dangerous to faith and morals.

3. When we come to consider the duties of their ecclesiastical pastors towards Catholic students who frequent colleges declared intrinsically dangerous to faith and morals, we must bear in mind again that there are no principles exclusively peculiar to the case of these students : the case must be decided by the general principles of pastoral responsibility. If something positively immoral were

¹ Cf. *Collectanea*, etc., l.c.

required of the students in a college, such as conformity to the Protestant religion, attendance at Protestant worship, or attendance at and acceptance of Protestant doctrines, nothing could be done for the Catholic students but to induce them to leave the college. It is supposed then that nothing positively immoral is demanded, that the colleges are dangerous to faith and morals, that certain students are under a necessity of frequenting these colleges and violate no law by frequenting them, that these students are in a necessary proximate (objectively) occasion of sin ; and the question is, what are the duties of their ecclesiastical pastors towards these students ? The Holy Office replies that bishops are bound in virtue of their office to run to the assistance of these students, and that priests, and especially parish priests invited by the bishop, are bound to co-operate with all zeal in succouring those students who are in spiritual danger :—

Ex quo enim constat gravissima ac plane extrema juventuti catholicae in ejusmodi scholis versanti instare pericula, neque profecto cuipiam dubitare licet in extremo gregis periculo teneri vi muneris proprii Episcopos in subsidium accurrere, et sacerdotes ab eo evocatos ac praesertim parochos omni studio opem suam conferre, cui tandem veniat in mentem infelices illos adolescentulos in mortis faucibus haerentes neglige ac deseri posse ?

They are not to be influenced, the Holy Office says, by the apparent hoplessness of producing any effect. If it be objected that the people may take scandal from this pastoral zeal, that they may begin to consider it lawful to send their sons indiscriminately to these schools, the Holy Office replies that scandal may be given by the omission of a duty but not by its fulfilment, unless it be *scandalum pharisaicum*. And if it be urged that the desertion of the students who frequent these schools may deter others from attending them, the Holy Office replies that a good effect cannot be obtained by unlawful means, such as the spiritual desertion of these students, which would be a violation of a grave obligation intrinsic to the priesthood. And in reply to the question, whether a

priest may accept the office of chaplain to such schools, it answers :—

Affirmative, et ad mentem : mens est ut non modo fidei christianae tradendae, verum etiam aliarum disciplinarum scholis quotquot fieri potest praefici sacerdotes, aut honestos perspectaeque religionis laicos curandum sit ; quo vero omnis cesset scandali formido, monendum esse populum id fieri ut mala quae ex hujusmodi scholis dimanant, quantum fieri potest avertantur ; idque proinde nemini excusationi esse debere, quominus liberos suos mittant ad scholas mere catholicas in quibus eorum fides ac mores nullo modo periclitentur.¹

III.

There is little to be said about the ' formal and necessary condemnation ' of colleges, or their ' toleration,' or the policy of *nullum iudicium ferendum*. The Church necessarily condemns colleges—they are already condemned by the natural law—where conformity to false religion and worship is insisted on, or where attendance at and acceptance of false doctrines is required. She formally and explicitly pronounces judgment of ' toleration ' in favour of colleges in which, though the Church ideal be not realised, satisfactory safeguards exist for the faith and morals of Catholic students. And she may declare, as in the case of our National Schools, that *nullum iudicium est ferendum*, when there are not sufficient data for declaring the colleges dangerous to faith and morals or for pronouncing formal and explicit judgment of ' toleration.' In this case Catholics might frequent the colleges, and the colleges would be afterwards ' tolerated,' at least tacitly, or declared dangerous, according to their fruits.

IV.

I will now proceed to describe the practical application of these principles in certain well known cases of ecclesiastical policy in respect to universities and university colleges.

When in 1853 the Church of England test was removed

¹ Cf. *Collectanea*, etc., l.c. ; the Instruction is quoted in part as an appendix to *Acts of Maynooth Synod*, pp. 337-342.

from matriculation into the University of Oxford and from the bachelor's degree, Catholics began to go to the universities, and the question was raised whether Catholics were to be allowed by ecclesiastical authority to go to Oxford and Cambridge. 'With his large hopefulness and his trust in men carefully trained in Catholic colleges,' writes Mr. Purcell,¹ 'Cardinal Wiseman, in the first instance and for a considerable period, gave his tacit sanction to their obtaining the advantages of university education at Oxford and Cambridge.' Dr. Manning was opposed to the attendance of Catholics at Oxford or Cambridge, whether in colleges of the universities or in Catholic colleges or halls of residence. By direction of Propaganda a meeting of the English Bishops was held on 13th December, 1864, to consider the question. The views of the Oxford converts, Newman excepted, had been asked before the meeting. The Bishops unanimously decided against establishing colleges at the universities and in favour of discouraging Catholics from sending their sons to Oxford or Cambridge; and the decision of the Bishops was confirmed by Rome.

Newman was of opinion that there was considerable danger to the souls of Catholic youth who go to the Protestant colleges in Oxford, but comparatively little danger in their going to a Catholic college there.² In 1864 he bought a piece of ground in Oxford, which had come into the market, not for any specific purpose, as he explained, but to secure possession of it, and perhaps re-sell it to the bishops or laity, for any ecclesiastical purpose that might in the future be deemed advisable. Later on Dr. Ullathorne approved Newman's proposal of establishing an Oratory and building a church in Oxford for the purpose of ministering to the spiritual wants of the Catholic undergraduates, and signified his intention of transferring the mission to the Oratory. This was opposed by those who took the view of Dr. Manning, on the ground that it would encourage Catholics to send their sons to Oxford. And when Dr. Ullathorne petitioned Rome for founding

¹ *Life of Cardinal Manning*, Vol. ii., p. 288.

² *Ibid.* p. 294.

an Oratory and building a church in Oxford, the petition was granted but with 'a special instruction directed to the bishop to discountenance Newman's taking up his residence at Oxford in the contemplated Oratory.'¹ It is needless to add that since then English ecclesiastical policy has changed and that Catholics are allowed now to go and reside in the Protestant colleges of Oxford and Cambridge.

Now it is easy to understand why Oxford and Cambridge were considered dangerous for Catholics, why it would have been unlawful during the former policy, for Catholics generally to frequent them and why Catholic parents were discouraged from sending their sons to them ; but it is not so easy to reconcile the discipline approved for England, in regard to the students who could lawfully go to the universities, with the discipline defined by the Sacred Congregation of the Holy Office for the ecclesiastical authorities of Berne. In the latter case bishops and priests were warned not to neglect or desert those who through necessity attended at non-Catholic schools, but, as an intrinsic duty of the pastoral office, to provide most diligently for their special spiritual necessities, irrespective of whether parents may be encouraged thereby to send their children to these schools or not ; but in England it was forbidden to establish Catholic colleges or halls of residence at the universities for the Catholic students, and Dr. Newman was practically forbidden to reside at Oxford even in a house of the Oratory which it was contemplated to build, lest it might encourage Catholics to send their sons to Oxford. The truth is that in the Berne case the question was treated by the Holy Office on purely intrinsic theological grounds, but in the English case it was treated on external grounds. Injurious rumours were in circulation about the orthodoxy of a class of English Catholics, and Newman was regarded by some as the leader of the minimisers of Roman claims. It was alleged that the university atmosphere would be specially favourable to the growth and extension of this particular type of Catholic. And the

¹ *Life of Cardinal Manning*, Vol. ii., p. 297

discipline in relation to the English universities is to be attributed to this cause and not to any difference of theory or discipline between the Holy Office and Propaganda.

One cannot fail to notice the admirable flexibility of English Catholic ecclesiastical policy in regard to the universities. The old discipline was relaxed without implying any censure on it or pronouncing that it was wrong. It is not claimed that the old dread of the universities is yet proved to have been unreasonable, or that the new policy is proved to be permanently safe. It is admitted by the friends of the new policy that time alone can decide which is the better, the policy of Cardinal Manning or that of his illustrious successors.

V.

There is some difference also between the Instruction of the Sacred Congregation of the Holy Office about the schools of Berne and the policy of the Irish Bishops, approved by Propaganda, in relation to the Queen's Colleges and Trinity College. Considering that episcopal right of supervision of the teaching in the colleges was denied, that so many of the professors and students were Protestants, that Protestantism was in the ascendant legally in Church and State in Ireland, that it held in its grasp all the offices of the State, national, county, and municipal, that Catholics were only emerging from bondage and that they were insufficiently instructed in religion for university life, there was a grave danger to Catholic students frequenting these colleges, not perhaps of denying their faith, but of hiding their religion, of putting it into the back-ground and saying nothing about it, and finally of growing indifferent about its practices. Hence these colleges were declared intrinsically dangerous to faith and morals. Catholic students however were not prohibited by ecclesiastical law from going to them ; and the only prohibition was the prohibition of the natural law which forbids persons to go without necessity into the proximate danger of mortal sin. Unlike the case of Berne priests were forbidden to take any administrative or professorial office in the Queen's

Colleges ; but I do not find this prohibition enacted in reference to Trinity College. They were also forbidden, *sub gravi*, to 'advise' parents to send their sons to the Queen's Colleges or Trinity College, or to advise students to go to them. And finally they were forbidden to 'favour' these colleges in any way whatsoever.¹

The ecclesiastical authorities of Berne were advised in the Instruction of the Holy Office to promote the appointment of priests and good Catholic laymen as teachers in non-Catholic schools where it was necessary for Catholics to attend them ; but this was forbidden in Ireland. This however is not important, and can be explained by the wish of the Bishops to create a Catholic University, and by the fact that the presence of priests in the colleges might encourage parents to send their sons to them without necessity. Newman himself thought that Catholics might be prohibited to go to the English universities in order to support the Catholic University. 'When I was in Dublin,' he writes to Dr. Ullathorne, 'I did my best (as you reminded me) in getting a prohibition against Irish Catholics going to the English universities, for I thought that the new Catholic University in Dublin would have no fair chance of success without such a prohibition.'² But there is one point in which we ecclesiastics cannot justify our action, or rather our inaction, in reference to the condemned colleges, namely, our comparative neglect or desertion of the Catholic students who were obliged from necessity to go to them and who legitimately went to them for their education. Assuming the strictest interpretation of our synodal enactments it must be admitted that, in the case of many students, there was a grave cause, a moral necessity, for attending these colleges, particularly the Queen's Colleges in Cork and Galway. There was a national necessity of having Catholics educated in the Arts for professorial purposes in these and other colleges. There was the necessity of securing a share for Catholics of the public money voted

¹ Cf. *Acta et Decreta Synodi Plenariæ Episcoporum Hiberniæ habitæ apud Maynooth*, cap. xxxvii.

² *Life of Cardinal Manning*, by Purcell, Vol. ii., p. 294.

for education. There was the necessity for the individual of securing a profession at a moderate expenditure. The students who through necessity went to the condemned colleges violated no law by going to them, and yet they were all but deserted by their pastors. In particular there was an unfounded fear of doing anything special for the students, lest special solicitude for these endangered members of the flock should be taken as 'favouring' the colleges with their condemned system of education. And yet greater attention to the spiritual wants of the students might have had far-reaching results. It might have reconciled, in practice, the views of the Bishops who were in favour of condemning the colleges and of the Bishops who had been in favour of the policy of *nullum iudicium ferendum*. Assuming that the colleges were justly condemned, and that no priest could accept an administrative or professorial position in them, if the priests of the parish attended to the special needs of the students it would soon be known from experience whether, admitting the system of the colleges to remain bad theoretically and in the abstract, they continued to be, really and in practice, dangerous to faith and morals; that is, granting zealous care and supervision by the priests of the parish, whether the colleges continued to be for the Catholics generally a proximate occasion or danger of mortal sin. And if it became evident that the colleges became less dangerous in reality than they appeared in theory, ecclesiastical policy might have somewhat relaxed and students might have been allowed to go in greater numbers at least to the colleges in Cork and Galway.

We complain that Protestants get all the positions in Galway Queen's College. But while only very few Catholic students go there, how can we expect that Catholics will be appointed to teach Protestant and Presbyterian students from the North of Ireland? And if Cork and Galway Colleges were reconstituted to-morrow on Catholic lines, and if we got a college for Catholics in Dublin, have we Catholics ready to fill the professorships in these colleges and in the seminaries? Shall we be ready when—if ever—the education difficulty is finally

solved? Through the example of their distinguished president and Catholic professors, and through the zeal of their spiritual director, the Catholic students of the Queen's College, Cork, are recognised to be as safe to-day in the matter of faith and morals as the extern students of any college in Ireland; and yet priests are forbidden *sub gravi* to 'advise' any student to go there, and the college is supposed to remain a proximate occasion of mortal sin. No doubt there is no guarantee of the continuance of this happy state of things, and consequently no change should be made in the official relation of the Church to the College, but while the Church's official relation remains the same would it not be better to relax somewhat in practice and rather to send as many students as possible to such a college particularly to study Arts, with a view to qualify them for professorships and other public offices in the country? I mention the Cork and Galway Colleges, because there is less, if any, excuse for going to Trinity College, as there are first class colleges in Dublin.

Another example worth studying was the policy of the Church towards Mr. Gladstone's Bill of 1873. The main provisions of the bill, as it was introduced, were: it proposed to detach the University of Dublin completely from Trinity College. There was to be a Chancellor and Vice-Chancellor of the University and a Council of twenty-eight members; the first Council to be nominated by Parliament. It was proposed that Parliament itself should affiliate five colleges to the University—Trinity College, the Colleges in Cork and Belfast, the old Catholic University and Magee College; that the Council should have the power of affiliating other colleges; and that affiliated colleges should have the right of representation on the Council. The University, as distinct from the colleges, was to have an income of about £50,000 per annum to pay professors, conduct examinations and reward its successful students. It was to be a teaching and examining University, and to have a staff of professors whose lectures might be attended by the students of the University colleges or by non-collegiate students in Dublin. It would not supply

lectures in philosophy or modern history, but these subjects could be taught in the colleges. And the Council had power to punish professors who gave offence to the religious feelings of their students. Trinity College retained in part its former endowment, and the Cork and Belfast Colleges retained their endowment; but the Catholic University received no endowment under the Bill. It was proposed to transfer the Faculty of Theology from Trinity College to the Church Representative Body, and that the new University should not teach philosophy or modern history. Students from these colleges could present themselves for the degrees of the University; but residence in a college was not necessary, and a person could prepare himself for the University degree by private study.

The Bill was differently received in different quarters:—

Archbishop Manning wrote to Cardinal Cullen the day after the bill was produced 'strongly urging them to accept it' . . . After a fortnight the Archbishop told Mr. Gladstone that he still saw reason to believe that the Irish hierarchy would not refuse the bill. On March 3rd he says he has done his utmost to conciliate confidence in it. By the 7th he knew that his efforts had failed, but he urges Mr. Gladstone not to take the episcopal opposition too much to heart.¹

On the other hand Cardinal Newman writes:—

Yet in a question so nearly interesting myself as that February bill, which he brought into the House, in great sincerity and kindness, for the benefit of the Catholic University of Ireland, I may be allowed to say this much—that I, who now have no official relation to the Irish Bishops, and am not in any sense in the counsels of Rome, felt at once, when I first saw the outline of that bill, the greatest astonishment on reading one of its provisions, and a dread which painfully affected me, lest Mr. Gladstone perhaps was acting on an understanding with the Catholic Prelacy. I did not see how in honour they could accept it.²

The Cardinal contends that the Bishops could not accept the bill consistently with the educational policy pursued since 1847 and approved by Rome. The Bishops condemned

¹ *Life of Gladstone*, by John Morley, Vol. ii., p. 440.

² A Letter addressed to his Grace the Duke of Norfolk on occasion of Mr. Gladstone's recent expostulation, p. 8.

the bill and it was rejected on second reading by three votes.

If the Bishops pronounced judgment on the bill at all they should have condemned it ; for the bill contained an approval and confirmation of the existing system of Trinity College and the Queen's Colleges. It may not have been necessary however to condemn the bill so severely ; as the unacceptable principles had been already sufficiently condemned in the condemnation of Trinity College and the Queen's Colleges. It might have been sufficient to express dissatisfaction with the bill ; and Cardinal Newman says : ' But, anyhow, it was an extreme relief to me when the papers announced that the Bishops had expressed their formal dissatisfaction with it.'¹ But the episcopal condemnation was not necessarily fatal to the bill. The Bishops urged many objections to the bill, and declared it unacceptable unless amended. Now the time for amendment is the committee stage after the second reading ; and I think the fatal mistake on the occasion was the opposition of the Irish members to the bill at the division on the second reading. The bill introduced no new unsound principle, no new evil ; and it affiliated our Catholic University College with the State University. Taken by itself the bill opened the way to degress for Catholics without going to the Queen's Colleges or Trinity College, but gave them no endowment. But the new University would have a staff of professors in Dublin ; the Catholic students could, of course, attend their lectures ; and so the Catholic college would be spared the expense of a staff of professors. Moreover, it is thought by many that the endowment of the Catholic University College would follow ; that a college inscribed as an affiliated college of the University on a schedule to the bill by Parliament itself could not be left without an endowment, while Trinity College and the Cork and Belfast Colleges had endowments. If so it was, I fear, our last chance of having a purely denominational university College endowed by the State.

It is obvious from the newspapers of the time that there

¹ *Ibid.* p. 9.

was some misconception in the lay mind about 'secularism' in University education. The absence of religion in the Queen's Colleges and the removal of the theological faculty from Trinity College were denounced as 'secularism;' and it was answered back that a system could not be secular which permitted Deans of Residence. But neither the objection nor the reply affects the character of a specifically denominational university or university college. The teaching of Christian doctrine is not necessary for a denominational university, for on entrance to a university religious education is understood to have been completed; and the spiritual needs of university men can, if necessary, be ministered to by the parish clergy. A *denominational university* for Catholics is a university where the authority of the Bishop in matters of faith and morals is recognised to exist as through his diocese generally, and where the administrators and professors and students are Catholics and animated with the Catholic spirit. It may be thought that the word 'university' supposes that all knowledge should be taught in a university and therefore that it should have a Faculty of Theology. But writers on the history of universities point out that, though etymologically this might seem to be true, the word in reality signifies the same as 'college' or 'corporation' of masters, or students, or both together; that we can have a perfect university specifically or essentially without having all the Faculties; but of course that all the Faculties are necessary for the full integrity of a university.

Another fruitful source of confusion was the expression 'Mixed Education' and its condemnation by the Church. What is 'mixed education'? If a few Protestant teachers and students are admitted to a Catholic college, it is not the system of mixed education. If the school or college is exclusively or nearly so Catholic, but is open in law to all denominations, then it is practically denominational, but legally and theoretically a mixed school or college. Such a system is unsound and comes under condemnation theoretically; but the circumstances of place or time may justify its acceptance and 'toleration' practically. And

so there can be, in practice, various degrees of mixed education ; the form of mixed education which imposes some condition unlawful for Catholics and which can never be availed of without sin ; the form which can be formally 'tolerated' and which of course is somewhat elastic in its conception ; the form which can be tried without a formal ecclesiastical judgment, and which like the preceding can be very elastic ; and the form which is declared dangerous to faith and morals ; and in this last case attendance at the mixed schools is considered a proximate occasion of mortal sin to the children or students who frequent them.

VI.

It is in connection with the colleges rather than with the universities that the religious difficulty arises in this country. It is in the colleges that the moral difficulty is felt from the presence, sometimes in overwhelming numbers, of Protestant professors and students. How the colleges are to be connected with a university or with universities, whether the colleges, when satisfactory to Catholics, are to be connected with Dublin University, or with the Royal University, or with some new university, is not a moral or religious, but an educational or political question.

Naturally we should prefer for Catholics formal denominational Catholic colleges ; but such colleges, we know, will not be established by the State.

Next to a formally denominational college we should prefer colleges which, though legally open to students and professors of all denominations, would be likely to remain exclusively or nearly so Catholic. These are types of 'mixed' colleges ; the right of the Church to exercise in them supervision over all that concerns faith and morals would not be formally recognised in law ; but as the governing body would be Catholic nothing offensive to morals or to the Catholic faith would be permitted.

But we cannot hope to have more than one college of this description, a college in Dublin. The colleges in Cork and Galway must always remain common to Catholics and

Protestants, like the national schools in areas where there cannot be efficient separate schools for Protestants and Catholics. And thus we have to utilise another type of 'mixed' college. If when these colleges are fully availed of by Catholics we shall have a constitution for the colleges which will give us a right to secure representation on their governing, administrative and professorial bodies proportionate to the number of their Catholic students, we shall be able to avail ourselves freely of them.

We must therefore accommodate ourselves to the system of legally 'mixed' university education. It is for the Hierarchy to decide in each case whether it can be accepted or whether it is dangerous to faith and morals. It is a serious responsibility. On the one hand the faith and morals of the people are at stake ; and on the other, it is a loss to individuals, to the Catholic community, to the Nation, to have Catholics debarred from university education. We distinguish—and the distinction is Cardinal Newman's—between what the Bishops can do as Catholic Bishops and as Catholic Bishops of a Catholic nation. It is difficult, sometimes, in this respect to distinguish between what is a matter of moral obligation and what is an obligation of honour. Undoubtedly Catholics ought to strive for educational equality with their Protestant fellow-countrymen, and to signify their dissatisfaction if they are not treated to equality. But condemnation of an educational system on the ground of unequal treatment does not prevent us in conscience from accepting it. The sole reason apparently why acceptance of an educational system or attendance at a college is unlawful is because some immoral condition is demanded, or the college is intrinsically dangerous, that is, a proximate danger of mortal sin. And if it be asked whether our existing colleges with certain modifications of their constitution would remain intrinsically dangerous to faith and morals, the meaning of the question is, would these colleges remain grave and proximate occasions of mortal sin to Catholics.

DANIEL COGHLAN.

GLIMPSES OF THE PENAL TIMES

II.

THOUGH malice and injustice are notoriously common to the laws enacted against our forefathers, it is true to say that these characteristics belong in the highest degree to the series commencing in 1697. A fiendish attempt, as crafty as it was cruel, was then made to suppress Catholicity in Ireland by the final expulsion of bishops and regulars. At the period when the Williamite ascendancy began, the Hierarchy would appear to have been once more fairly well constituted. Notwithstanding the ravages made by Cromwell, and the almost continuous disturbances during the reign of Charles II, bishops resided in their sees, and at least in half the dioceses priests were sufficiently numerous to minister to the wants of the faithful. The enemies of religion could not bear to see this state of comparative prosperity.

In his *History of the Irish Remonstrance*, pp. 574ff., Father Peter Walsh, O.S.F., thus describes what he witnessed at different times in the reign of Charles II :—

In 1665 there were only three bishops in Ireland : the Archbishop of Tuam, the Bishop of Ardagh, Patrick Plunkett, and Owen O'Swiney, the bed-ridden Bishop of Kilmore. The Primate, Edmund Reilly, was in exile, and a Dr. Patrick Daly exercised jurisdiction over the Province of Armagh, in which seven dioceses appear to have been vacant. All the dioceses save that of Ferns in the province of Dublin were vacant, and its Bishop, Nicholas French, had then been in exile for fifteen years. In the province of Cashel the archbishopric was vacant, as were eight of the suffragan sees. The bishop of the ninth, Andrew Lynch, was in exile in France. There were at least four hundred Franciscans, nearly two hundred Dominicans, about one hundred Augustinians, about twenty-five Jesuits, almost twenty Capuchins, about ten Cistercians, one calced Carmelite, three or four Austin Canons-Regular, two or three Benedictines, and from a thousand to eleven hundred secular priests.

He adds that in his opinion there were nearly twice as many priests in 1672, and also several Archbishops and

Bishops.¹ This census, for such we may call it, of Irish ecclesiastics, made by one who was intimately acquainted with so many of them during a long and stormy period, is the most detailed that has come under our notice. Taking it as a basis of calculation we shall presumably be correct in saying that there were more than three thousand priests in Ireland when William of Orange usurped the throne. Such an increase would doubtless be owing in some measure to the period of prosperity enjoyed during the short reign of James II.²

There is, however, reason to believe that for purposes

¹ He also says that there had been still more up to 1648, a period within his own recollection. Information about a part of the number at the beginning of the seventeenth century is contained in a contemporary MS., now to be seen in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin (E. 3. 15). Its title is, 'The names of sundrie preists and freiers within some dioces and counties of Ireland.' According to this MS. there were in these places, one Archbishop, 'David Kearnaie, of Cashell,' eight Vicars General, one 'Prothonatarie from the Pope, for ye bussines of the realme,' 150 secular priests, 59 Franciscans, 20 Jesuits, 5 Dominicans, 5 Cistercians, 1 Augustinian, and a 'priest of ye order of St. Eogen.' There is intrinsic evidence to show that this partial list was written between 1608 and 1615. But elsewhere we get information respecting the whole number.

In the Casanate Library, Rome, is still preserved a very interesting account by the Nunzio Bentivoglio of the condition of Catholics in England and Ireland, at the beginning of the seventeenth century. Speaking of the Irish clergy, he says: 'Si fa conto, che al presente si trovino in Irlanda ottocento Sacerdoti secolari; cento trenta Religiosi dell' Ordine di San Francesco, venti Gesuiti, ed alcuni pochi Religiosi dell' Ordine di San Bernardo e di San Domenico' (Relazione d'Inghilterra fatta dal Cardinale Bentivoglio in tempo della sua Nuntiatura a Bruxellis, 31 Gennaro, 1609).

It is certain that the number of priests in Ireland varied considerably at different epochs in the penal times. Several years afterwards, Carlo Francesco Invernuti, Archpriest of Saint Ambrose in Milan, who accompanied Scarampi on his mission to Ireland, presented to Innocent X a *relatio* of what he had seen. Invernuti arrived in Ireland in 1643, and wrote his account two years afterwards. He does not say how many secular priests were in the country at the time, but he enters into details respecting the numbers of religious. These are his words: 'Divi Francisci sacerdotes sunt circiter mille. Divi Dominici quadringenti plus minus. Carmelitae discalceati, ut ipsi vocant, quadraginta vel quinquaginta, calceati viginti vel triginta, Capucini quadraginta, Divi Augustini nonaginta vel centum, Divi Benedicti decem vel octo, Cistercienses seu Divi Bernardi sexaginta, Canonici Regulares nulli, nemo Premonstratensis, nullus Trinitariorum, Quinquaginta vel sexaginta ad summum Societatis Patres degunt in illo regno.' The MS. is now in the Vallicelliana Library (*Oratorian*), Rome. It will be noticed that Invernuti's account agrees with that of Father Peter Walsh: there were many more priests in 1645 than there were twenty years afterwards.

N.B.—Both these extracts are from transcripts made by the late Father Costello, O.P.

² For a succinct account, see C. G. Duffy's edition of Davis's *Patriot Parliament* of 1689.

of its own, the Williamite Government pretended that the Irish clergy was more numerous than was really the case. Ignorance can hardly have been the cause of the statements made to Hoffmann and to Auersperg, the representatives in London of his Imperial Majesty Leopold I. of Austria, at the time the ally of William III in his opposition to Louis XIV. Hoffmann was assured that in Ireland there were between four and five thousand secular, and about a thousand regular priests! And Count Auersperg was told that there were between four and five thousand monks and nuns!¹ It was, we know, part of William's policy to keep on good terms with his powerful ally, the head of the Holy Roman Empire. At the time, however, when these exaggerated accounts were given, priest-hunters and informers were at work all over the country, as is shown by their own letters at present preserved in the Record Office, hence the actual number of Irish ecclesiastics must have been approximately known. And at the same time, when barbarous laws were being passed and executed, English statesmen such as Shrewsbury, Vernon and Methuen were doing their utmost to persuade both the Imperial and the Spanish ambassadors that there was not a religious persecution in Ireland, and that the Catholics of this country had in reality no cause of complaint. While regular priests were being banished, it was clearly indispensable for the sake of appearances to assert that there were more priests in Ireland than were needed, just as it was to deny that they were cruelly treated. Another falsehood was that the secular clergy desired the banishment of the regular. This calumny was promptly contradicted. A memorial of the secular priests in Ireland, sent to the Imperial representative Hoffmann, contains the following protest: 'Et d'autant que Sa Majesté a esté informé que le Clergé Seculier a souhatté le banissement du Clergé Regulier, le dit Clergé Seculier declare qu'il n' a jamais désiré que le dit Clergé Regulier fût exclus du dit Royaume.'²

¹ See Bellesheim, *Geschichte der Kath. Kirche in Irland*, iii., pp. 18, 21.

² *Ibid.*, p. 21, note.

It was not the first time that this was said by a Government official. A similar assertion made at an earlier period may be quoted here. It

As then the denial of persecution and the affirmation of antagonism are seen to be untrue, we may safely put aside the statement about the number of the clergy. Even assuming, as was remarked above, that owing to the period of tranquillity under James I, there was an increase, we shall probably be right if we say that there were less than three thousand ecclesiastics in Ireland when the Williamite

is found in the volume of State Papers (Ireland) Addenda, 1625-1660. pp. 108-9. 'Memorandum (for the English Privy Council) regarding the Roman Catholics in Ireland.' [*Marginal note.* About end of 1627.] In this Memorandum, the writer, Viscount Falkland, the Lord Deputy, insists that the Roman Catholic religion should not be tolerated in Ireland. As a principal remedy he propounds 'the advice of a Romish priest in many particulars considerable, and especially in this: That all Regulars, that is Jesuits, Franciscans, Dominicans, etc., should be banished by Proclamation to be duly executed and not permitted longer to have any societies there, but the secular Priests to be connived at.' The Memorandum goes on to say: 'This would be a wise step, and as there is now a great faction between the Regulars and Seculars, an occasion for taking it has arisen which may not recur. The Regulars are the unquiet spirits; the Seculars being loyal to the State though they differ in religion.' It is of course impossible to know whether the advice which the writer alleges to have been given, was given in reality. If such were the case the suggestion must have come either from the apostate whom Falkland names in the beginning of the Memorandum, or from some wretched creature like him. The person mentioned by Lord Falkland was 'one Mulvany, then a student in the College, near Dublin, formerly a Popish priest.' He, however, repented of his evil ways, and quitted Trinity College, for as Lord Falkland adds he was shortly afterwards 'reduced to the Roman Catholic Church by Father Long, superior of the Franciscans in Dublin.'

As is well known, Viscount Falkland, who was Lord Deputy of Ireland for eleven years (sworn in, 8 September, 1622; recalled 3 July, 1633), had issued a Proclamation on 21st January, 1623-4, 'Banishing Priests and Jesuits.' It was directed against those 'who extolled the ecclesiastical power of any foreign Prelate within the kingdom, and banishing all supporters of such authority, whether secular or regular. All governors, sheriffs, etc., are ordered to apprehend all Popish Archbishops, etc., and to imprison them until further order be taken for their punishment.' Subsequently, on April 1st, 1629, the Lord Deputy published a Proclamation forbidding Popish priests of all degrees to exercise any power or authority in Ireland. It was directed against 'all pretended Archbishops, Bishops, Deans, Jesuits, and Friars, who dared of late to assemble in public and celebrate their superstitious services, and to erect colleges and masshouses,' etc., etc. These Viceregal Proclamations of which he was the cause—for about the numerous Regal Proclamations against Catholics regarding the publication of which he had no discretion we do not speak—show that Viscount Falkland made little or no difference between seculars and regulars. He persecuted first one class of priests, then the other. The same remark holds good about the action of William III (in 1698, the banishment of regular priests), and of Queen Anne (in 1704, the registration of secular priests, for the purpose of subsequently imposing on them the Act of Supremacy, and of ultimately doing away with them). This applies also to the policy of the French Government at the present day.

persecution actually began. For soon after the disastrous Battle of the Boyne numbers of Catholics of various ranks foreseeing the storm left their native country and betook themselves to various places of safety on the Continent. This is stated in a joint letter to Innocent XII written on February 18, 1692, at Saint Germain, by the Archbishops of Armagh and Tuam, and the Bishops of Elphin, Limerick, Cork, and Clonmacnoise.¹ The prelates express their conviction that the Parliament in College Green will not ratify the Treaty of Limerick, in other words, that it will not consent to the King's fulfilment of his solemn obligations or do justice to the greater part of the nation. These forebodings were soon verified. And not only did the Irish Parliament repudiate the Treaty, but it invited Protestant strangers to settle in Ireland on condition of taking the Test Oath, viz. :—

I, A. B., do solemnly and sincerely in the presence of God, profess, testify and declare, that I do believe that in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper there is not any Transubstantiation of the elements of bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ, . . . and that the invocation or adoration of the Virgin Mary or any other saint, and the sacrifice of the Mass as they are now used in the Church of Rome are superstitious and idolatrous, etc., etc.

It could therefore be no cause of surprise that this perfidious persecuting assembly soon afterwards passed the Act of Banishment (in 1698), and then finding that its provisions were ineffectual or were not being executed with satisfactory stringency, commanded in 1703 that Sheriffs, etc., should give an account why 'such Popish Archbishops, etc., as remain in their custody have not been transported ;' and commanded the Judges to give 'an account of what Regulars and Persons of the Popish Religion exercising ecclesiastical jurisdiction were at any time brought before them, together with their proceedings thereupon. These Resolutions of the House of Commons have been given at length in the I. E. RECORD.²

We shall now examine two returns of Judges which were made in obedience to this order of the House : the first

¹ *Spicilegium Ossoriense*, iii., 305.

² September, 1906, p. 268.

of them mentions priests that had been tried in various parts of the country. None of them appears to have been actually banished and to have returned. Indeed one of them, namely, the Dean of Ardagh, was indicted for having remained. It will be noticed that this Judge did not act with extreme severity, but then he was the Lord Chief Baron.

An Account of such Regulars and Popish persons as have been brought before me in the severall circuites under written, which I humbly certifie to the honourable House of Commons in obedience to their order of the 5th of October, 1703 :—

County.	Priest's Name.	Charge.
County of Down, . Summer Assizes, 1698	Patrick Brin, .	Presented to be Titular Archdeacon of the diocess of Dromore. Tried for the same and acquitted.
County of Longford, Lent of Assizes, 1699	Patrick Ffarrall, .	Indicted last Assizes for continuing in this Kingdome, being Titular Deane of Ardagh, and thereof acquitted. Discharged by Proclamation.
County of Galway, . Lent Assizes, 1699	Ambrose Madden .	Bound over from last Quarter Sessions to appear and answer being charged for exercising ecclesiasticall and floreigne jurisdiction. Security <i>ad prox.</i>
County of Louth, . Lent Assizes, 1701	Ambrose Matthews .	Commonly called Abbot of Mellifont. Presented for being a Regular Priest. Tryed and acquitted.
County of Wexford, Summer Assizes, 1702	Anthony Molloy . Redmond Murphy	Ffryers in goale.
County of Wexford the same Assizes	Gregory Downes .	For lycenceing one Michael Downes, being a Papist, to administer the Sacrament after the Rites of the Church of Roome. Security.
County of Kerry, Lent Assizes, 1702-3	Edmund Carthy, . Popish Priest	Comitted by Barry Denny, Esq., and Edw. Herbert, Esq. Noe Indictment or Presentation. Discharged by Proclamation.
—	Daniel Ffalvey .	Comitted by the Right Hon. Thomas Lord Barron of Kerry and Lixnaw for being a Regular Popish Priest. Continued.

I alsoe further humbly certifie the said honourable House that I doe not remember or believe that any application was made to me by the Grand Jurys of any of the said countys or otherwise relating to the said Popish Regulars or others exercising ecclesiastical jurisdiction.

Dated this 27th day of October, 1703.

ROBERT DOYNE.

(No. 81.) [*Endorsed*] An account of Regulars from the Lord Chiefe Barron. Received from Mr. Miller, 28th October, 1703. Different Circuits.

We may now take up another report on cases of the same kind sent in by Judge Upton. In the course of it he incidentally states that he had brought some under the notice of the Lord Lieutenant, and others under that of the Lords Justices. It may not be superfluous to remark that the latter were members of the Privy Council appointed to carry on the government of the country during the absence of the Lord Lieutenant. There have been none since 1820, but as a glance at Lodge's *Liber Munerum* shows from 1640, when Parsons and Borlase held the joint office, till late in the eighteenth century, Ireland was administered longer by Lords Justices than by Lord Lieutenants. Two of these never came over, others opened Parliament and then spent a great part of their term of office out of Ireland. The Lord Lieutenant, to whom Judge Upton alludes in this return, was James, Duke of Ormond, who was sworn in on June 4, 1703. Immediately before and up to that date the Lords Justices were Hugh, Earl of Mount Alexander, Thomas Erle, and Thomas Keightley, who were sworn in on the 11th of April, 1702.

(No. 77.) [*Endorsed*] Mr. Justice Upton's Returns concerning Preists, delivered into the office by Mr. Justice Upton, 25th October, 1703.

CONNAUGHT CIRCUIT.

In obedience to the two several orders of the Hoñble House of Commons, bearing date the fifth day of this present October, 1703.

I doe humbly lay before this Hoñble House an account of what Regulars and persons of the Popish Religion exercising ecclesiastical Jurisdiction have at any time been brought before me together with my proceedings thereupon.

As likewise an account of what applications have been made

to me by Grand Juries or otherwise relating to Popish Regulars and others exercising Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction with my proceedings thereupon.

CONNAUGHT CIRCUIT,
6th Martii, 1702.

PATRICK O'CONNOR stood indicted the Lent Assizes before for not departing out of this kingdom before the first day of May, 1698. He being a Dominican Fryer, Ordered that he be continued in Goale without Bail, untill he be transported pursuant to the said Act.

The Grand Jury for the said county at the said assizes did present that the judges of assize would lay this matter before the Government in order to have the said Patrick O'Connor transported which was ordered by the court. To which said Presentment and the Order thereupon in the custody of the Clerk of the Crown for the said County (as I suppose) for my more certainty therein I humbly crave leave to refer myself.

DANIEL McDONNELL was found guilty at the Lent Assize before of coming into this kingdom contrary to the late Act of Parliament prohibiting the same, he being a Dominican Fryer under judgment to remain in Goale a twelvemonth, and to be transported by order of y^e Government. The Grand Jury for the said county of the said Town of Galway did at the said assizes present that the Judges of Assizes would, when the time of his imprisonment was expired, lay the case before the Government and Council according to the late Act of Parliament which was ordered by the court; to which said Presentment and Order now remaining in the custody of the Clerk of the Crown for the said Town and County (as I suppose) for the more certainty therein, I humbly crave leave to refer myself.

GREGORY FRENCH, bound from the last Assizes to appear and answer this Assizes, etc. Indicted for that he being a Dominican Fryer in pursuance of a late Act of Parliament, was transported out of His Majesty's dominions into parts beyond the seas, and that he the 19 Julii, Anno 13 nuperi Regis, did voluntarily and traiterously return contrary to the said Act of Parliament. In the margin of which book I find an entry of my own handwriting in these words, viz., continued in the like rule as formerly to the next Assizes.

PATRICK HUBBANE *alias* McDONNELL, bound over by the Mayor of Galway, being committed last Lent Assizes untill he should find suretys *de bona gestura*, etc., being acquitted of the foregoing offence, by the said book I find he was continued in Prison on the like rule.

Upon my return out of the Connaught circuit to Dublin I attended the Lords Justices then in town at the Castle, and there acquainted them that the several Grand Juries of Sligo and the County of the Town of Galway had presented that

the Judges of Assize should apply to their Excellencies, that care might be taken for the transportation of the said Daniel McDonnell, and Patrick Connor : Their Excellencies were pleased to answer that they had endeavoured to get transportation for convicted Popish Regulars, but that the masters of ships to whom application had been made showed an aversion to take them on board, but assured me that all due care should be taken for their transportation or used words to the like effect. I being satisfied with this answer and assurance of the Lords Justices I did conceive that any further application in this matter was unnecessary.

MUNSTER CIRCUIT.

At the Assizes held for the county of Corke, at Corke the 15th of July last past in the Book of Assizes for the said county is entered RICHARD HARNETT bound over in Court the Lent Assizes for exercising foreign jurisdiction in excommunicating Richard Gough, Priest of the parish of Youghal, from the see of Rome, and all other persons of the same religion which should have any commerce with Hereticks to which Indictment he pleaded, was tried and acquitted. Ordered to find surety for his good behaviour.

DANIEL FELIX, transmitted from Ennis to Corke by Thomas Ponsonby, Esq., High Sheriff of the County of Kerry, entered in the margin of the said book—to be transported as a Priest.

DANIEL GOFF committed in Court for coming out of France.

I do not remember any particular application to have been made to me by any Grand Jury in the circuit by Presentment or otherwise concerning any application to be made by me for the transportation of any convicted Popish Regular, neither do I remember that any Regulars, or other persons of the Popish religion, exercising ecclesiastical jurisdiction, have at any time been brought before me other than are herein before mentioned.

Upon my return out of this circuit I attended his Grace the present Lord Lieutenant at y^e Castle in Dublin, and there I did acquaint his Grace that there were several convicted Popish Regulars in the Goales in Munster, and that care ought to be taken for their transportation according to the Act of Parliament. His Grace was pleased to answer that he would consider of some way for the better execution of that law.

October y^e 19th, 1703.

ANTONIE UPTON.

1. One naturally feels a desire to learn something more about these confessors of the faith. As regards the Dominican ones a little has been gleaned from O'Heyne's

Epilogus, De Burgo's *Hibernia Dominicana*, and a MS. preserved in the West Convent, Galway, which apparently neither of these writers were acquainted with. It consists of 122 pages small folio, and bears the title *Liber Provinciae Hybernicae S. Ord. Praed. : Anno Dom., Mill., sexcentesimo octagesimo tertio*. The latest entries bear the date of 1710. This MS. contains the names of those belonging to each house of the Order in Ireland at the several visitations made by the Provincials during this period. The community could not, of course, always live in one house, but the hiding place of each of its members was mutually known, and from time to time they met. The MS. just referred to is our sole source of information regarding the first priest mentioned in Judge Upton's list, namely, Father Patrick O'Connor. It states that he belonged to the community of Urlar (County Mayo) in 1686, after which date no visitation of this house is recorded, and that in 1703 he belonged to the community of Sligo. In the second entry 'in carceratus' is added to his name. We may observe that his is the only name thus qualified, owing presumably to the circumstance that from 1702 on, the record is very scant, only three names of individuals being mentioned between 1702 and 1710.

2. The next priest, Father McDonnell, is mentioned in O'Heyne's *Epilogus*. From it we learn that he made his ecclesiastical studies in Andalusia (probably in Cordova or in Seville). The *Liber Provinciae* shows that Father McDonnell was in Urlar in 1695-1696, and O'Heyne says that he lived there till 1698, when he with so many other religious was banished from Ireland. He went to France, but came back after a year. While, however, his ship was at anchor, he and another Dominican, Father Walter Fleming, were discovered to be regular priests, and therefore were thrown into prison at Cork. Here they were kept in fetters for fourteen months. At the expiration of this term they were again transported to France. Father Fleming, who fell sick at sea, died at Nantes in 1701. Father McDonnell, nothing daunted, made another effort to reach home, and got as far as Galway, where, however, he

was immediately captured and imprisoned. O'Heyne writing in 1706 says of him, 'a sexennio fere servatur in carcere, sine ulla proxima spe liberationis.' De Burgo, who calls him, 'virtute clarus,' says that he died about 1707.¹

3. Of Father Gregory French, O'Heyne says that he studied philosophy and theology in Madrid, and was in course of time made Prior of the West Convent, Galway. The *Liber Provinciae* mentions his name for the first time in the year 1684. It shows that he remained in Galway from 1684 to 1689, and its last entry respecting him states that he was Prior of the same community in 1702. Another MS. also preserved in the West Convent shows that he was its Prior in 1698, just before the general exile. O'Heyne tells us that he then spent two years at Nantes, returned to Ireland, was imprisoned, but afterwards was bailed out and allowed to live with his brother. The words in the *Epilogus* are: 'Exul autem factus vixit biennio Nanetis.

¹ We may here quote part of a contemporary document that seems to refer exclusively to these two priests. It is by Father Ambrose O'Connor, Provincial, O.P. (1700-9), then appointed Bishop of Ardagh. In 1704 he presented to Clement XI a detailed account of the condition of Catholics in Ireland, the title is 'De praesenti Hiberniae sub A catholicorum jugo statu Anno 1704, in quo tria praesertim exponuntur; Primo, Fidem et Pacta Limericensia violari; Secundo, Orthodoxam extirpari fidem; Tertio, S. Sedis venerationem in nihilum redigi.' The MS. and also a printed copy of it are kept in the Vatican Archives (Inn. X., vol. 164).

The following passage is the one referring to the priests:—'Veritatis praecones, in exilium missi, aut domi occulte latitantes, aut carceribus inclusi, prout de facto sunt cum aliis diversis in distinctis Regni partibus quinque Oratoris subditi per annos jam quatuor humano subsidio destituti.' Our readers will observe that writing in 1704, he says, that these five subjects of his had been four years in prison. From the legal documents given above we cannot know when Fathers Patrick O'Connor and Daniel McDonnell were incarcerated, for the judges state nothing more than that these two Dominicans stood indicted at the Lent Assizes of 1702. But as regards Father McDonnell the words of O'Heyne quoted above make it certain that he was arrested and imprisoned in 1700. We have no similar information about Father Patrick O'Connor, but in default of it we may provisionally assume that he was imprisoned in 1700 with Father McDonnell. As regards the duration of his confinement till 1704, there is no improbability in the hypothesis, for the *Liber Provinciae* describes him as *incarceratus* in 1703, and such he was likely to continue. About one of the remaining Dominicans there can be little doubt. This is Father Dominic Egan, who was, according to O'Heyne and De Burgo, thrown into Newgate Prison, Dublin, in 1700. He died there in 1713, according to De Burgo. We must not omit to mention that his condemnation for being a regular priest is dated May 2, 1702 (Queen's Bench Indictments, Easter Term, 1702). Though we cannot do anything to remove the

Inde in patriam regressus, statim coniectus in carcerem ubi mansit annum cum dimidio, sed petente suo fratre, sub secura vadimonia permissum est illi cohabitare cum eodem fratre.' It may be observed that in his return Judge Upton states that Gregory French 'did voluntarily and traiterously return contrary to the said Act of Parliament.' The edict here referred to is the Act of Banishment, and the relevant passage in it is in the following:—'And if any person so transported shall return again (*sic*) into this kingdom, they, and every of them, shall be guilty of high treason; and every person so offending shall for his offence be adjudged a traitor, and shall suffer loss and forfeit as in case of high treason.'

4. Though it does not appear from Judge Upton's report that Father Hubbane, the next priest, was a regular, Judge Macartney's report, which will be given presently, leaves no doubt about it, nor about his being guilty of

apparent discrepancy, beyond suggesting that Father Egan may have been imprisoned before his trial at Queen's Bench, we see no reason for doubting O'Heyne's accuracy. Writing at Louvain in 1706, he says: 'P. Fr. Dominicus Egan a sexennio detinetur in carcere Dublini in Hibernia.' Another of the Dominicans that were four years in prison by 1704, if he was still alive, might be one of whom an account will subsequently be given, viz., Father John Keating. He was incarcerated in 1699. But to judge from a document now in the Record Office, he died in Newgate some time before that document was written, i.e. October 12th, 1703. If the Father Patrick Hubbane mentioned lower down in the text (No. 4), was a Dominican, he might be one of those to whom the Provincial, Father Ambrose O'Connor, refers. He would hardly include Father Gregory French, unless by 1704 the bail had expired. Unfortunately, he does not mention names, and this omission leaves us in uncertainty. The foregoing remarks, partly conjectural, have been made on the supposition that his five confessors of the faith include those whom we find mentioned in legal documents of the period, but if it is impossible to clear up the matter, this may be due to the fact that only the records of courts in Dublin, Galway, and Sligo have been accessible. It appears that no others are extant.

That two other Dominicans were in prison about this time appears from a MS. still preserved in the Archives of the Order, Rome (xiii. 157). The writer, Father Edmund de Burgo, says: 'Pater Fr. Joannes Glinde Kilmallog [*Kilmallock*] septem annis fuit in carcere Limericensi, unde tandem furtim abiit, & in Missione vivit adhuc.' 'Pater Fr. Jacob Collins Galviae pariter diu incarceratus, postea exulatus, subito in Patriam rediit, ubi adhuc agit Missionarium in aliis regni partibus.' It may be added that he speaks also of two of those whose names occur above. 'Pater Fr. Gregorius Frenz Galviae (ubi obiit) biennio fuit incarceratus.' 'Pater Fr. Dominicus MacEgan, Traliensis, novem annis (ad mortem) inter infames malefactores eorumque stercora Dublinii jacuit.' In conclusion we may state that Father Egan is one of the Irish Martyrs whose cause is now being begun in Rome. A short account of him appeared some years ago in the pages of the I. E. RECORD.

the crime of traitorously returning to Ireland contrary to the Act of Parliament. One would like to know something more about him and also about his work as a missionary. The present writer cannot, however, find out of what Order Father Hubbane was a member. The name does not occur in the copious records of the Irish Franciscans, but perhaps it will be discovered in those of the Augustinians or of the Carmelites. The fact that neither O'Heyne nor De Burgo mention the name Hubbane makes it *prima facie* probable that its bearer was not a Dominican. But then we must remember that these writers do not give complete lists. For instance, they have not the name of Father John Keating, O.P., who was in 1699 arrested and thrown into Newgate Prison, Dublin, because he was a regular priest. He acknowledged in open court that he was a Dominican, as appears from the examination,¹ and his name is registered in the *Liber Provinciae, ad annum*, 1683. But now to return to our question about Father Hubbane. It is worthy of note that the same *Liber Provinciae* states that in 1683 (or in 1684 ?) a Patrich Hubbane received the habit in the Priory of Borrischoole, County Mayo. His name reappears with the adjunct, 'professus' in 1685, 1686, 1687, and also that of 'sacerdos' in 1688, after which year it disappears. There is, however, no positive proof for identifying this regular priest with the one afterwards condemned at the Galway Assizes; but we think there is some ground for a conjecture that it is of the same individual mention is made in the Dominican Provincial's list and in the Judge's return, even though the *alias* McDonnell nowhere occurs in the former.

5. With regard to the next priest, Father Harnett, it may be mentioned that his name occurs together with that of his Bishop, Dr. Sleyne, in a Presentment of the Grand Jury of Cork, 27th July, 1702. The relevant portion is as follows :—

We find and present that the said Doctor John Slyne, not only still continues in this Kingdome, but hath at several times of late exercised ecclesiastical jurisdiction by collating Richard

¹ Queen's Bench, 1699, Michaelmas Term, Indictment No. 4.

Hornett, a Papist priest, to be Rector Priest or Incumbent to the town of Youghall, and by excommunicating Dominick Gough, who was then priest to the aforesaid town, for not submitting to the collation of the said John Hornet.

This collateral information about Father Harnett is scanty, but seemingly it is all that exists in the Record Office. Nor do there appear to be extant any other documents relative to Rev. Daniel Felix and Daniel Goffe. We may therefore pass on to Judge Macartney's report which tells us more about Father Gregory French, and also tells us about some priests whose names we have not met.

Mr. Justice Macartney's Return about y^e Priests and Regular Clergy.

In obedience to two orders conceived by the hon^{ble} House of Commons, on Tuesday, the 5th October, 1703. The one requiring the Judges to give an account what Regulars and persons of the Popish religion exercising Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction have att any time been brought before them together with their proceedings thereupon.

The other requiring the Judges to give an acc^t what applications have been made to them by Grand Juries or otherwise relating to Popish Regulars and others exercising Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction together with their proceedings thereupon.

I humbly certifie that GREGORY FRENCH was indicted att the Summer Assizes held for the County of the Town of Galway, the thirteenth year of the late King, for that he being a Dominican Fryer, in pursuance of the late Act of Parliament made in this Kingdome against the regular clergy, was transported out of his late Majesty's dominions into parts beyond the seas, and that he, the 19th July, the thirteenth year of the late King, did voluntarily and traiterously returne to this Kingdome contrary to the said Act.

The Tryall was then put off by the King's Councill on an affidavit that Mr. Simcocks, a material witsesse for the King, was in England. He was ordered to lye in Gaole untill the next Assizes *sans Bayle*, etc.

Att the next Lent Assizes following the said GREGORY FRENCH's Tryall for the said Treason was again putt off for want of a sufficient power by the Act to try him, and then he was bailed out upon verry good security: he hath been continued under baile from time to time ever since, and is now out upon good baile.

The said GREGORY FRENCH att the said Lent Assizes was also indicted for that he being a Dominican Fryer, and in France, contemptuously came into this Kingdome contrary to the said

Act of Parliament prohibiting the same, he was then tried before me and acquitted.

DANIEL McDONNELL was att the said Lent Assizes also indicted for that he being a Dominican Fryer, he also contemptuously returned into this Kingdome contrary to the said Act of Parliament prohibiting the same, he was found guilty and ordered to lye in Gaole twelve months, and afterwards untill he should be transported by order of the Government.

PATRICK HUBBANE *alias* MACDONNELL was likewise at the said Assizes indicted for the like offence, he was acquitted but continued under a rule of the good behaviour untill the last Summer Assizes, and was then discharged by Proclamation.

PATRICK CONNOR, a Dominican Fryer, att the said Lent Assizes held att Sligoe for the Countey of Sligoe, was indicted for that he was and is a Dominican Fryer, and did not depart out of this Kingdome before the first of May, 1698, according to the said Act of Parliament, he submitted to the Indictment, and was ordered to remain in Gaole without Baile, and untill transported by order of the Government.

Att the Lent Assizes held att Trim, 1703, for the County of Meath, THOMAS BLUNT, a Franciscan Fryer, was in prison under a rule to remain in Gaole without Baile untill transported by order of the Government, for being a Fryer and remaining in this Kingdome contrary to the said Act, he was continued under the same rule.

MARKS PLUNKETT, a priest, was indicted att the same Assizes for extolling the Pope's jurisdiction, the Prosecutor for the Queene not being ready to prosecute, he was bailed out till the next Assizes.

Att the Assizes for y^e Countey of Cavan, I found PHILLIP BRADY, Franciscan Fryer, under a rule for transportation, and continued him under that rule.

There were no applications made to me by any Grand Juries relating to Papists, but some gentlemen of the Countey of Sligo desired me to move the Government to have y^e said Patrick Connor transported, and some of the said Daniel McDonnell's friends att Galway desired me to speake to the Government that he might be transported, because he was very sickly, and I did att my returne from the Circuit acquaint the Government therewith accordingly.

All which is humbly certified to this hon^{ble} House the 18th day of October, 1703.

By JA. MACARTNEY.

Memor.—I always on gave an account to y^e governm. was now—against any of y^e Regular and priests, y^e place where they now and upon them.

N.B.—The corner of the page is torn off.

JA. M

(No. 76.) [*Endorsed*]. Delivered into the office by Mr. Justice M'Cartney this 20th of October, 1703. [Different circuits.]

So little is known about Father Blunt, that it seems better not to separate him from other Franciscans, his companions in prison, of whom an account will be given in the next article. With regard to Father Plunkett, though nothing has been found in Cogan's *History of Meath*, it is likely that information exists.

A good deal is known about the third priest, Father Philip Brady. The name occurs both in the register of the Irish Province of the Franciscan Order and in other contemporary documents. According to information kindly supplied by the present learned historian of the province, there was only one Father Philip Brady at the time, and the first mention of his name in the register shows that in 1689 he was Guardian in Kildare.

The next place we find his name is in a list of a very different kind. Among the treasures of Marsh's Library, Dublin, there is the *Perticular Account of the Romish Clergy Secular and Regular in every parrish of the Diocese of Dublin, March 2nd, 1697* (press mark, v. 3, 1, 18). It was obviously drawn up in connexion with the 'Act of Banishment' passed in the same year : *i.e.*, in order that the Government should have full information respecting the names and the dwelling-places of the Dublin ecclesiastical dignataries and regular priests who were to be driven out of the country. The names and residences were also put down of the other priests who were to be suffered to remain, lest in course of time an attempt should be made to add to their numbers. A copy of the list was deposited in the library of the Protestant Archbishop of Dublin, Narcissus Marsh. On May 18, 1699, he was made a Lord Justice, together with the Duke of Bolton and the Earls of Galway and of Jersey. With regard to the first class the Act referred to commanded that the Popish Archbishops, Bishops, Vicars-General, Deans, Jesuits, monks, friars, and all other regular Popish clergy should depart from Ireland before the first of May, 1698, and if discovered not to have done so, the same Act pro-

vided that they should be imprisoned until such time as they were transported. This Act was not to remain a dead letter. The list we have referred to was a preparation for the execution of that barbarous edict. In it, under the sub-heading, 'St. Nicholas without the walls, Regulars of y^e Order of St. Francis,' occurs the name 'Philip Brady.'

The next official document in which he is mentioned shows that in the meantime he had been imprisoned in Trim and was then confined in Newgate Prison, Dublin. We learn also from it that among the thirty-eight prisoners there were four other priests. The first was a Dominican, the second presumably a Franciscan, the third certainly a Franciscan, and the fourth probably. In this return or list of prisoners opposite each one's name the cause of his conviction is set down ; all five here mentioned were condemned for the crime of being regulars.

A Callendar of the prisoners in her Maties Goale of Newgate this present Term being the 23rd of this Inst. January, 1705.

Dominick Eagan	}	Friers tried and convicted at
George Martin		Queen's Bench.
Thomas Blunt	}	Fryers transmitted from Trim.
James Donough		
Philip Brady		

The same names occur in the Newgate Calendars of November 6, and of January 23, 1706. In these two we find in addition the name of a Dominican, Father Randal Felix MacDowell, who was convicted at Queen's Bench, on April 19, 1706. (N.B.—The year began then on March 25). These three Calendars are to be found together with the Indictments, Queen's Bench (respectively, 2 F. 16. 17 ; 2 F. 16. 18 ; 2 F. 16. 15). They show in what company the priests were condemned to drag out their existence. Look, for instance, at the last Calendar. Among the prisoners two had been committed for murder, a third for stabbing, a fourth for perjury, a fifth for felony, others as accomplices in the same deed, and so on to the end of the sad catalogue. The only bright spot in it is the one where we see the names of the priests.

We know from Father Brady's own words that in 1701

he was imprisoned in the country, and that he was confined in Newgate till 1708. Nevertheless, as appears from the register of his own province, he was appointed Guardian of Bonamargey in 1702, of Carrickfergus in 1704, and of Bonamargey again in 1708. The statements are not incompatible. At the time a community did not live under one roof, nor did its members enjoy hourly converse with their superior. Father Brady was presumably made titular guardian, both in order to honour him for his virtues, to enable him to vote at the election of a Provincial, etc. The case is not the only one that has come under our notice. His companion, Father Dominic Egan, O.P., who, according to the Indictment preserved in the Record Office, was arrested on May 2, 1702, and according to the Newgate Calendar was still in prison on January 23, 1706, was, according to the *Liber Provinciae* referred to above, made Prior of the Dominicans in St. Mary's, Tralee, on September 18, 1703.

When we read that the interior of Newgate presented an appalling scene of misery and of corruption, we may form some notion of what these confessors of the faith had to undergo. The following description is by the pen of one that cannot be suspected of any bias or prejudice against it :

The prisons were dens of infamy and extortion. Newgate meant a dungeon, starvation, and irons . . . Each room was a mere closet, and in many of these closets there were five beds. In each bed three, four, or five persons were set to sleep if the place was crowded, and two shillings were extorted from each . . . Newgate, when the House of Commons Committee visited it (in 1729), was found choking with prisoners. Wretched objects were lying naked on the ground, some dying some dead of cold and hunger. Some had been four days without food of any kind.¹

The last document connected with the history of Father Brady is one which he wrote in Newgate, praying for relief. It is at present preserved in the Record Office, Dublin.² It was addressed to the Protestant Archbishop Marsh, who had been translated from Dublin to Armagh in February,

¹ Froude's *English in Ireland*, i., p. 592.

² *Petitions*, Press Mark, Carton, 216, No. 950.

1702,¹ and who had again been sworn in as a Lord Justice on November 27, 1707.

To His Grace Narcissus, Primate of Ardmagh, the humble petition of Philip Brady Clarke, humbly sheweth

That y^r p^{tr}: on pretence of his being a regular has bin in close confinement these seven years, four of which in gaol in the countrey, and the three last of the s^d seven has languisht in newgate. That through the unwholesome air in the prisons and a bad dyet, occasioned by extream poverty, y^r p^{tr} is falln into a deep dropsy. That the doctors are of opinion that the removing y^r p^{tr} into a better air may be the means under God to save y^r p^{tr}'s life, y^r p^{tr} being spent with age and the s^d distemper. The premises tenderly considered y^r p^{tr} humbly implores y^r graces interest and favour that y^r p^{tr} may have the liberty of the countrey air in order to his recovery, y^r p^{tr} giving security for his forth coming when called for.

And y^r P^{tr} shall ever as in duty bound pray, etc.

[Endorsed]

[in another hand].

The humble petition of Philip Brady received 26th July, 1708. A Fryer. Their Excellencies will consider of this Petition.

The result of consideration on the part of their Excellencies the Lords Chief Justices, Narcissus Marsh and Richard Freeman, does not appear to have been the release of Father Brady. For in the Record Office, so far as could be ascertained, there is no entry to show that he was set at liberty. It would rather seem that there is, owing to the assumed non-existence of any document to the contrary in this case, and to the well-known practice of the Government in dealing with regular priests, reason to believe that Father Brady's petition was unheeded, and that in the fetid dungeons of Newgate he died for the Faith.

REGINALD WALSH, O.P.

¹ See Cotton's *Fasti Eccl. Hibern.*, Vol. iii., p. 23.

ART IN IRELAND

IN his volume, recently published, on 'Art and Ireland,' Mr. Robert Elliott gives to the world, in language which no one can misunderstand, his personal appreciation of the work done by the Irish Catholic clergy in the building, furnishing, and decoration of their churches. If I were to put in a nutshell the conclusions which he has reached, I should merely say that it is all wrong, all the reverse of what it should be, all absolutely and simply deplorable. Since the work appeared several persons have asked me who is Mr. Robert Elliott, and what are his qualifications to pronounce so sweeping and unqualified a judgment. I was unable to give any information on the subject for the very good reason that I had none to give.

But Mr. Elliott is supported by our friend Mr. Edward Martyn, who writes a preface to his book, and generally claps him on the back. Of Mr. Martyn I know enough to be satisfied that in matters of ecclesiastical art there is no man in Ireland better entitled to be heard, nor one to whose opinion in such matters greater respect is due. And whilst I am not quite prepared to accept the *ipse dixit* of Mr. Martyn, Mr. Elliott, or anybody else, on questions of such practical importance, I cannot help feeling that in the main their strictures deserve attention; and that in the education of the clergy sufficient attention so far has not been paid to things in the domain of Christian art, of Catholic art, and of Church art. Not that the education of the clergy or the development amongst them of a higher and better taste will provide a complete remedy for those of the defects pointed out by Messrs. Elliott and Martyn, which may be admitted as established. It can only help in the right direction; but it can help immensely. Of that there is no doubt whatever. But when all is done that can be done to improve the taste of clerical church-builders and

church decorators, the art critic must in the main address his reproaches elsewhere if he is not quite satisfied.

It is admitted the world over that a man may be an excellent pastor of souls and a most zealous promoter of ecclesiastical worship without being a skilled artist. When such a man has a church to build, what is he to do? He cannot, and ought not, to design the church himself. He cannot and ought not to entrust his church to a man who, even though he fancies himself as a designer and regards himself as an artist, has no diploma, no guarantee, no great experience, and no great achievement to his credit. Such a man may be only experimenting, only feeling his way, only testing the effect of certain forms. Who cares to be made the possible victim of experiments, the possible laughing-stock of a country-side, of a whole people and of whole generations of people? The only safe and common-sense line to follow in such a case is to employ as good an architect as you can get and give him as free a hand as you can give him.

When you are ill you send for the skilled practitioner, the man of science, the man of experience, the man with a good diploma and a high reputation. You do not call in a quack. You do not send for a man who pooh-poohs the whole medical profession and proclaims himself the real Esculapius. When you have a case at law you go to the men of law, if possible to those who have got to the top of their profession, who are the acknowledged leaders at the Bar. You do not go, as a rule, to men who run down the profession as a whole and make little of its adepts. A wise man acts in a similar manner when he has a church to build. Have we not seen in our own time the folly of acting otherwise? Have we altogether forgotten the genius who flashed on the horizon a few years ago, coolly proposing to combine in the same building the seven orders of architecture? The ordinary jobbing architect may be, and probably is, all that Mr. Elliott says he is; but on the whole it seems to me safer to employ him than to entrust your building to any and every Michael Angelo who fancies he has a mission to reform the art of his day. If

I had an important church to build I should certainly call in the aid of the best architect I could get, call him *jobbing architect* or not just as you please, even though I were to admit all that Mr. Elliott has to say against the 'jobbing architect' and a great deal more. I do not for a moment admit the wholesale and unqualified charges brought against the jobbing architect. I do not admit that the churches erected in such numbers in recent times are wholesale failures in design, in outline, in construction. They may not exhibit any features of originality; they may resemble one another too closely; a particular phase of Gothic may prevail too generally amongst them: but on the whole they exhibit the peculiar beauties of the style to which they belong; they are admirably suited for the religious purpose they serve. They awaken in us the feelings of awe, reverence, solemnity, grandeur, which are the elemental feelings of all religion. If they are the merest reproductions of ancient forms and exhibit nothing of the life, development, and expansion of a progressive art, they at least exhibit no features that repel in detail or that could fairly be described as horrible or shocking.

When a genius does appear amongst the fraternity of architects, as in the case of Mr. Scott, I am ready to recognize him, and I hope that the church of Spiddal will be as successful when completed as it promises. I also agree that where you can get an artist to do your decoration you should avoid the tradesman. I would go a long way to see again the corbels that have been carved in Loughrea cathedral, when nothing would induce me to look a second time at corbels that I have seen carved elsewhere. Indeed I am in substantial sympathy with Mr. Martyn and Mr. Elliott as to our church decoration, furniture, and stained glass. There is no blinking the fact that enormous sums of money have been spent on work and on materials that will shock more and more the practised eye and cultivated taste as time goes on.

But what is to be the standard of taste in such matters? Whom are we to take as our guide? Are we blindly to accept whatever the jobbing architect or the commercial

decorator recommends? *Absit!* These are things about which we should always consult. We should discuss, argue, test, try, examine. We should get the best artistic advice. Those who think they have a perfect taste, and that no one need go beyond their judgment in such matters, are, as a rule, the persons who should distrust themselves most. It is owing to the conceit and self-sufficiency of such persons that vast sums of money have been wasted on furniture, stained glass and decoration, which are a severe trial to the patience of educated people. But the church decorator and the pastor will hold that their taste is as good as that of the fault-finders, and that they have had as good opportunities of forming their taste, and better, than most of their critics. How is taste formed? By the study and contemplation of masterpieces, and by the practice of the art. The former is the chief method. It holds good in literature as well as in painting and sculpture.

Taste [said Goethe to Eckermann] is only to be educated by contemplation not of the tolerably good, but of the truly excellent. I therefore show you only the best works, and when you are grounded in these you will have a standard for the rest, which you will know how to value without overrating them. And I show you the best in each class that you may perceive that no class is to be despised, but that each gives delight when a man of genius has reached his highest point.

Matthew Arnold held the same view and recommended all and sundry to carry about in their heads scraps of Homer and Virgil, of Dante and Shakespeare, of Milton and Keats, and whenever we are required, as we so often are, to admire the worthless and extol the commonplace, to murmur these passages under our breath as a kind of taste tonic.¹

Similarly the contemplation of the really excellent in art accustoms the mind to forms of beauty and make it possible at once to detect the inferior article, even though one is entirely ignorant of the craftsmanship and technical methods of the artist.

To help us in the formation of a sound taste Mr. Elliott's book is far too wordy, too diffuse, too much

¹ See Birrell's *Miscellaneous Essays*, p. 214.

occupied with Donatello, Della Robbia and Perugino. What we want in the present stage of our development is not fugues on Italian art, but a plain and simple statement of our defects and an equally plain and simple statement of the remedies proposed. We go nearer to getting that in Mr. Martyn's preface than in Mr. Elliott's book. In spite of this diffuseness, however, the book is valuable, stimulating and suggestive. Some admirable things are to be found in the chapter on vestments and church embroidery towards the end. The chapter on stained glass will also be found useful. I confess that I do not share all the enthusiasm of Mr. Elliott for the special school of stained glass that he favours. The character of the glass is excellent; of that there is no doubt whatever. Some very beautiful windows have been turned out by the firm; but in others I do not like the colouring, nor the blending of colours, nor the design, nor the general effect of the subjects represented. There is to my eye some indefinable want there, the absence, perhaps, of Catholic inspiration, the heaviness of something out of harmony with a faith that goes instinctly heavenward. As on the whole I wish the venture well, I hope this defect may disappear; but if we are to accept the wholesale condemnation of the glass that has come from other sources great care should be taken that worse defects should not be accepted in the place.

I conclude, therefore, by saying that whilst there are many things in this book to which I, for one, would not subscribe, it is on the whole a useful book and should be carefully read by any priest who has to do with church-building, church-decorating or church-furnishing. It is unfortunate that so much money has been spent on decoration, and on stained glass, and on church-furnishing that fail to satisfy even a moderately refined taste; but the question now is what we are to do in the future. One lesson at least we are beginning to learn, viz., that brilliant colours, flash and glitter will never take the place of true art, except with those who have not advanced beyond the primitive stage of art appreciation. True art, on the

other hand, grows on one, and those accustomed to gaze on it could not long bear the gaudy stencilling and garish colours on many of our church walls. In Florence the vandals of the Renaissance plastered and whitewashed over the walls decorated by Giotto and the pre-Raphaelites. Modern art-lovers are carefully removing the mortar and whitewash, and are revealing once more the beauties of real art which lay hidden for centuries underneath. Should anybody whitewash our walls we need have no fear that future generations will trouble to lay bare and restore what was hidden.

J. F. HOGAN, D.D.

Notes and Queries

THEOLOGY

THE MASS 'PRO POPULO'

REV. DEAR SIR,—On certain days of the year it is the duty of Parish Priests to offer the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass *pro populo*. Would you be kind enough to elucidate, at your convenience, the meaning of the words *pro populo* as used here ?

(a) Do they include the people of the parish both living and dead ? In *The Catechism Explained*, by Father Spirago, edited by Father Clarke, on page 558 of 5th edition, it is stated that 'those who have the care of souls are, in virtue of their office, under the obligation of offering the Holy Sacrifice every Sunday and holiday for their parishioners, both living and dead.'

(b) As applying to the living, do the words *pro populo* refer to the people's *spiritual* welfare only ? or do they include the temporal welfare also ? In the *Acta et Decreta Conciliorum Provinciae Tuamensis* (Altera Editio, p. 6) the obligation is referred to in these words : 'Parochi vero, in hisce diebus sive per se sive per alium intentionem Missae, spirituali gregis beneficio applicare tenetur.'

(c) Do the words *pro populo* include the living and deceased priests of the parish, and in the parish ?

(d) What is to be said regarding heretics and non-Catholics, living and dead, of the parish ?

(e) In the Memento for the Dead, in the *Missa pro populo*, whom is it proper to include ?

(f) When a Parish Priest offers two Masses in the parochial church on a Sunday or holiday, what is the rule to guide him as to which of the two Masses he is to say *pro populo* (presuming that he does not say both for this intention) ?

(g) Where there are two or more parishes united is the *Missa pro populo* to be always said in the same church ?—Faithfully yours,

COADJUTOR.

It is well to state from the outset that parish priests who offer the Holy Sacrifice for their people according to

the intention of the Church fulfil the obligation of applying the fruits of the Mass, even though they do not know the precise object which the Church has in view. In fact, inasmuch as some of the details of the obligation are not altogether certain this mode of applying the Mass seems to be the best.

(a) Notwithstanding the statement quoted from Spirago, I am of opinion that the Church commands parish priests to offer the Mass for living and not for deceased members of the parish. Speaking of the divine precept, of which the ecclesiastical law is a mere determination, the Council of Trent says:¹ '*Quum praecepto divino mandatum sit omnibus, quibus cura animarum commissa est, oves suas agnoscere, pro his sacrificium offerre, etc.*' Pius IX says:² '*Declaramus, statuimus atque decernimus, parochos aliosque omnes animarum curam actu gerentes, Sacrosanctum Missae Sacrificium pro populo sibi commissio celebrare et applicare debere.*' And Leo XIII speaks thus of the obligations of bishops:³ '*Decernimus et declaramus, omnes et singulos episcopos . . . ad Missam pro populo sibi commissio celebrandam et applicandam teneri.*' Moreover, the duty of applying the Mass *pro populo* corresponds to the obligation by which the faithful are bound to hear Mass on Sundays and holidays. It is reasonable to conclude that the Mass *pro populo* is to be applied for those and those alone over whom the pastor has spiritual charge, and who are bound to hear Mass on Sundays and holidays of obligation; viz., for the living members of the parish.

(b) The obligation of offering Mass for the people is only a determination of the divine precept which we find in St. Paul, Heb. v. 1: '*Omnis namque pontifex ex hominibus assumptus pro hominibus constituitur in iis, quae sunt ad Deum, ut offerat dona et sacrificia pro peccatis.*' The words quoted from the *Acta et Decreta Conciliorum Provinciae Tuamensis* are in perfect conformity with this

¹ Sess. 23, de ref., cap. 1.

² *Amantissimi*, 3 Maii, 1858.

³ *In Suprema rei*, Junii 10, 1882.

teaching of St. Paul. Moreover, the Church commits to the care of pastors only the spiritual well-being of the people; hence in ordering Mass to be said *pro populo* she intends to promote their spiritual rather than their temporal welfare.

(c) Whether or not the living priests of the parish gain the fruits of the Mass *pro populo*, depends on the solution of the question: Who belong to the parish? Certainly, the faithful who have a domicile or *quasi* domicile in the parish are included, and all who are peregrini in the strict sense are excluded. But what about *vagi*? It seems to me that *vagi* are parishioners so far as this privilege is concerned. In regard to the administration of the Sacraments, they are subjects of the parish priest in whose parish they happen to be. It seems fair to conclude that the same holds true of the privileges arising from the Mass *pro populo*. Wernz, II., p. 1028, says of parishioners generally:—

Parochianus ordinarie nunc dicitur fidelis, qui intra parochiae fines habet verum vel quasi domicilium et opponitur vago vel peregrino vel forensi; attamen vagus, cum nullum omnino domicilium habeat, censetur esse parochianus illius parochi tanquam proprii, in cujus parochia simplicem habet commorationem.

And Aichner, p. 438, note 12, says:—

Vagi illius parochiae commoda percipiunt, in qua modo sunt.

It follows that priests who have domiciles or *quasi* domiciles in the parish, and that priests who are *vagi* in the parish, gain the fruits of the Mass *pro populo*. This is true not only of assistant priests but also, apparently, of the parish priest who constitutes, with his people, the moral body which we call a parish.

(d) Non-Catholics do not gain the benefits of the Mass *pro populo*. Being outside the body of the Church they do not partake of the privileges which the Church offers to her children; it would, in fact, be a grave sin to say a public Mass for non-Catholics.

(e) Seeing that those who are commemorated at the

Memento do not gain, by that commemoration, the ministerial fruits of the Mass, an obligation to offer these fruits for a particular intention, like that *pro populo*, does not compel the priest to commemorate any particular persons at the *Memento*. As the rubrics state: 'Facit (sacerdos) commemorationem fidelium defunctorum, de quibus sibi videtur.'

(f) Provided that the parish priest does not violate the law forbidding the fulfilment of two obligations of justice on the same day he is free to select whichever of his public Masses he pleases for the Mass *pro populo*. Even if the parish priest has obtained permission to take a stipendium for the Mass which he does not offer *pro populo*, it seems that he can lawfully make the same selection. The S.C.C. has stated, no doubt, that the obligation of not taking a stipendium *pro secunda missa* remains, if permission to duplicate is granted to a parish priest. But this statement does not prove that his first Mass *must* be the Mass *pro populo*, since it can be reasonably interpreted of a priest who has already fulfilled his obligation of saying the Mass *pro populo*, and who has no permission to fulfil a second obligation of justice on the same day.

(g) Evidently our correspondent speaks of the case in which there is a plenary and extinctive union between two or more parishes, so that there are in reality only one parish and one Mass *pro populo*. According to the strict letter of the law this Mass must be said in the parochial church of the united parishes. This local obligation is, however, light, so that a slight cause will permit the parish priest to celebrate the Mass *pro populo* elsewhere; and the desire to say Mass on a Sunday or holiday in his outside parish is certainly such a cause. Moreover, the churches of these outside parishes represent, for the people of the place, their parochial church, since they receive the Sacraments there—are baptized, go to their Easter Communion, and are married there. This being so, it seems reasonable to maintain that a parish priest will perfectly fulfil the local obligation by celebrating there the Mass *pro populo*,

although he is not bound, by reason of this duty, to do so. Wernz, III., p. 528, confirms this view :—

At parochi alique curati ipsis aequiparati propter obligationem etiam localem in ecclesia parochiali, ad quam populus ad audiendam Missam accedere solet, sacrificium Eucharisticum pro populo celebrare et applicare debent, nisi legitimi absint vel in ecclesia filiali Missam celebrent.

J. M. HARTY.

LITURGY

USE OF COPE, AND THE SAYING OF CERTAIN PRAYERS AT BENEDICTION OF THE BLESSED SACRAMENT

REV. DEAR SIR,—By answering the accompanying queries in the next issue of the I. E. RECORD you will much oblige.

I remember reading, some months since, in a number of the I. E. RECORD on which I cannot just now lay my hand, and whose date I cannot call to mind, that the priest who exposes the Blessed Sacrament for Benediction should not be vested in cope.

1. Does this refer solely to the assistant priest ? or is it even permitted to the officiant who gives Benediction without either an assistant priest or deacon, to expose and incense the Blessed Sacrament in cotta and stole, for instance, on the occasions of sodality meetings of the Sacred Heart ; on First Sundays and Fridays of the month when the Act of Reparation is recited while the Blessed Sacrament is exposed, or during the month of October when the devotions are performed in the evenings. If this is permitted, will you please say at what precise moment of the function is the cope to be put on ?

2. In case this is not permitted, and that the officiant exposes and incenses the Blessed Sacrament in cope, may he or must he divest himself of it to offer the Rosary and other prayers usually recited, and at what time does he resume it ?

3. As the October devotions constitute a considerably long function may not the *O Salutaris* be dispensed with and the musical portion begin with the *Tantum Ergo*, and in this connexion is it not more in harmony with the practice observed in exposition, that the first stanza of the *Tantum Ergo* should

be sung immediately on the Blessed Sacrament being exposed, and the *Genitori* at the conclusion of the prayers ?

P.P.

As our correspondent does not give the reference to the passage in the I. E. RECORD where it is stated, or alleged to be stated, that the priest who exposes the Blessed Sacrament for Benediction should not wear the cope we are not in a position to test the accuracy of his recollection. The statement he attributes to the I. E. RECORD seems to us to be too sweeping and universal. To meet all the points raised in the query before us it will be convenient to detail the various occasions on which a blessing may be given with the Most Holy Sacrament, and describe the manner in which the Officiant should be vested on each of these.

Apart from the blessings which are given in connexion with the Communion of the Sick and Processions of the Blessed Sacrament, it is safe to lay down that Benediction may take place only when the Host or Consecrated Species is exposed for the veneration of the faithful. There are two kinds of exposition, the *private* and the *public*. In the former case the tabernacle is merely opened so that the pyx or ciborium may be seen inside ; and then on the conclusion of whatever hymns or prayers are sung or recited, the priest gives the blessing. For this purpose he wears the surplice and stole, and for the actual blessing assumes the humeral veil with the extremities of which he envelopes the ciborium, whilst imparting with it the benediction. With us this form of exposition is very rare, and though permitted for any reasonable cause, yet the blessing cannot be given without the sanction of the Bishop. Leo XIII permitted it *secundum prudens iudicium Episcopi*, on the occasion of the October Devotions where the church was so poor as not to be able to procure the requisites for the ordinary Solemn Benediction. In some places the custom prevails of blessing the people with the pyx at the end of Mass and certain other functions, and there was a Decree of the Congregation of Rites, issued in 1876, recognizing the lawfulness of the practice, '*Quoties Ordinarius nihil inconueniens deprehendat.*'

For Benediction, then, which is given on the occasion of a *private* exposition the Officiant should wear surplice and stole, unless the blessing is permitted to be given after Mass, when all the vestments except the maniple may be retained, but the humeral veil is always to be worn for the purpose of covering the pyx or ciborium while it is held in the hands in the act of blessing.

The *public* exposition requires the Blessed Sacrament to be placed in the monstrance, which is then set upon the throne or altar. This is the ordinary form of Benediction, commonly so called, with which we are familiar. Three different rites may be employed according as the Officiant is assisted by sacred ministers, or by another priest or deacon, or performs the function aided merely by clerks or altar boys. In the first instance the Officiant must wear amice, alb, cincture, stole, and cope.

In the other two cases he may wear a surplice instead of the amice, alb and cincture, but the custom of using an amice with the surplice has been reprobated. The obligation of wearing a cope and humeral veil for the actual blessing with the Blessed Sacrament is very clear: '*In Benedictione S.S. Sacramenti in Ostensorio impertienda omnino requiritur ut Celebrans Pluviale et Velum humerale induat.*'¹ About the necessity of the cope for the mere exposition of the Blessed Sacrament rubricists are not quite unanimous. Some, like De Herdt,² Coppin,³ Stimart, and Walpelhorst,⁴ while saying that it is becoming and proper seem to deny that there is any strict obligation, while Van Der Stappen⁵ makes no distinction between the exposition and the subsequent Benediction. As an isolated function Benediction of the Most Holy Sacrament is extra-liturgical and of comparatively recent introduction,⁶ the regulation of which, subject to the express decisions of the Congregation of Rites, is left to a large extent in the hands of the Ordinary.

¹ Decr. S.R.C., n. 369 ad xii.

² *Praxis Lit.*, v. 4, n. 26.

³ *Comp. Lit.*, n. 654.

⁴ *Comp. Lit.*, n. 219.

⁵ *Sacra Lit.*, v. iv., §181.

⁶ Thiers, *Traité de l'exposition du SS.*, iii., c. 5

If, therefore, the custom alluded to, of not wearing the cope whilst exposing the Blessed Sacrament, or during the hymns or vernacular prayers, has had the recognized sanction of the Bishop, it may be continued. Should this be so, then the cope ought to be assumed immediately before the humeral veil. It is, of course, quite lawful to recite these prayers vested in cope, as in the case of the *Quarant' Ore*.

The *Tantum Ergo* is always to be sung at Benediction. It should not be begun until the exposition is completed and its two strophes are not to be separated in the manner suggested. Its conclusion and that of the Versicle and Response should be followed immediately by its proper prayer, the *Deus qui nobis*, other prayers, if necessary, being added and the last of these having its own proper ending. The *O Salutaris* may be omitted, the only hymn prescribed being the *Tantum Ergo*. Other hymns, however, may be sung during Benediction, such as the recognized liturgical Latin hymns and Sequences, etc., composed in honour of the Blessed Sacrament, also similar compositions regarding the Blessed Virgin, or Saint whose feast is being commemorated.

Vernacular versions or translations of these may be employed *cum approbatione Ordinarii* with the exception of the translation of the *Te Deum*, which is forbidden.

INDULGENCES OF THE FIRST SUNDAY OF EACH MONTH

REV. DEAR SIR,—May anyone of the faithful—even though not a member of a Sodality of the Sacred Heart, and though not accustomed to go to the holy table once a month—gain a Plenary Indulgence by going to Communion on a First Sunday of the month? The *Ordo* says, ‘in prima Dominica cujusque mensis.’

It is stated in a footnote on page 26 of the July number of the I. E. RECORD that a Plenary Indulgence may be gained on the First Friday, but only by members of a Sodality of the Sacred Heart. I do not see this limitation mentioned in the *Ordo*.—Faithfully yours,

C. D.

The two statements are quite reconcilable. When the

writer in the I. E. RECORD says that a Plenary Indulgence may be gained on the First Friday of each month by members only of a Sodality of the Sacred Heart, he does not contradict the compiler of the *Ordo*, who states that a Plenary Indulgence may be gained, not on the First Friday but on the First *Sunday* of every month, by all the faithful independently of any connexion with any association whatsoever. Both sets of Indulgences have been granted under quite different circumstances, and the conditions, consequently, for gaining them will naturally not be the same.

It may be well to recall that the Indulgences that may be gained by the faithful generally, on the First Sundays of the month, the solemn festivals of the year, and the principal Feasts of the Blessed Virgin, were originally obtained for the Archdiocese of Dublin, and subsequently, by a rescript of 1832, extended to the whole of Ireland. These Indulgences may be gained on compliance with the ordinary conditions of Confession, Communion, visit to a church, etc.

P. MORRISROE.

DOCUMENTS

THE CATHEDRATICUM AND 'MISSA PRO POPULO'

AQUILANA.—CATHEDRATICI ET MISSAE PRO POPULO

Aquiliana urbs saec. XIII. ad urbis fastigium evecta fuit, post Amiterni Furconique excidium, opera finitimorum oppidorum, quorum quodque suum vicum cum ecclesia, platea viisque in nova urbe aedificavit, et parochi, qui prius in antiqua sede extra Urbem morabantur, in Urbe residere coeperunt. Progressu vero temporis, aucto clericorum numero civitatis ecclesiae, prius simpliciter parochiales, ad collegiatae dignitatem evectae fuerunt atque provisum animarum curae in antiqua sede per Vicarium prius amovibilem, postea vero perpetuum.

Haec inter oppida Paganica adnumeratur; atque huc referendum duplicem extitisse Paganicam, quarum altera *ad intra*, altera *ad extra* hodie quoque appellatur.

Anno 1600 Episcopus tunc temporis Vicariam Curatam manuelem in ecclesia Paganicae ad extra in perpetuam erexit ei assignans congruam ducat. 50, a Capitulo Ecclesiae Collegiatae Paganicae ad intra praestandam, utpote accidit usque ad annum 1799 quo Capitulum vectigalibus gravatum illam amplius praestare non potuit, quare, interesse habentium consensu, statuit Episcopus Praebendam vacantem in praedicta Collegiata Ecclesia Vicariae Curatae Paganicae ad extra in congruam portionem unire atque assignare, decernens nullum alium hanc canonicaem praebendam possidere eiusque fructus ac redditus percipere posse, nisi Vicarium Curatum terrae Paganicae omnesque eius in animarum cura successores.

✚ Suppressis Collegiatis ab italico gubernio, etiam Vicariis Curatis extra civitatem assignata sunt congrua paroecialis expensaeque pro cultu.

Odiernus Ordinarius nunc, cum comperisset quosdam ex praedictis Vicariis Curatis nec Cathedratikum solvere, nec missam applicare pro populo, ratus omnes ad utrumque teneri illos adinonuit ut utrique satisfacerent oneri, sed unus, D. Henricus Iuvneitti Vicarius Curatus S. Mariae de Paganica ei refragatus est asserens se ad neutrum teneri, unde huius controversiae origo.

Ad rectam quaestionis intelligentiam recolendum est,

cathedraticum seu pensionem Episcopo annuatim praestandam in signum subiectionis erga ecclesiam cathedralem solvere teneri omnes ecclesiae capellaeque Episcopo subiectae, etsi monasteriis exemptis sint unitae, necnon omnes beneficiatos iuxta redditum beneficiorum, et ab unoquoque beneficiato singulatim solvendam esse.

Quoad applicationem missae pro populo, non praetereundum est omnes, quibus animarum cura commissa est, teneri, iure divino, ad missam pro ovibus sibi commissis applicandam, et quidem parochi tenentur etsi redditus ita sint tenues ut inde nec congruam habeant, nam tenentur non ratione sustentationis sed ratione officii.

Huic obligationi obnoxii sunt nedum parochi sed omnes curam animarum actu exercentes, sive appellentur Vicarii, sive Oeconomi.

Ab hac S. C. alias declaratum fuit Capitulares et beneficiatos etsi habeant praebendas distinctas a massa communi, non teneri solvere cathedraticum pro qualibet eorum praebenda ultra cathedraticum in communi. In casu Vicarius Curatus Paganicae ad extra est Capitularis Collegiatae S. Mariae de Paganica ad intra, cum possideat praebendam in dicta ecclesia Collegiata, ergo non tenetur solvere Cathedraticum cum hoc ab Archipresbytero pro ominibus solvatur.

Secundo ne ad missam quidem pro populo applicandam teneri videtur, cum huic obligationi obnoxii sint qui actu curam animarum exercent, sive nomen parochi obtineant, sive Vicarii vel Oeconomi, sed independentes a quocumque alio sint, ita ut veram et propriam paroeciam habeant, nam si quis in cura animarum ab alio dependeat, qui iurisdictionem obtinet super gregem suum, ille non est parochus independens, nec tenetur missam pro populo applicare. In casu Vicarius Curatus terrae Paganicae curam animarum exercere non videtur nomine et iure proprio, sed ecclesiae Collegiatae S. Mariae de Paganica *ad intra*, quod constat ex pluribus decretis episcopalibus, ergo cum parochialis ecclesia non praesumatur, et cum Vicarius Curatus Paganicae dependeat in sua cura ab Archipresbytero Collegiatae S. Mariae de Paganica, concludi posse videtur ipsum *ad missam* pro populo applicandam non teneri.

Tamen sequentia ex adverso adverti possunt. Vicarius Curatus Paganicae ad Cathedraticum solvendum tenetur, nam tunc solum solvitur in communi quando nullus suam possidet specialem praebendam, sed sustentatur ex massa communi,

prouti ex pluribus decisionibus confirmatur. Hoc nunquam verificatur in praesentiarum, nam, suppressis a gubernio ecclesiis Collegiatis, quisque directe ab eodem gubernio suam congruam recipit et consequenter quisque singulatim cathedriticum solvere tenetur. In casu vero Vicarius Curatus nedum praebendam canonicalem possidet sed alios quoque redditus percipit ratione muneris, nempe incerta ex stola v.g., quare nisi teneatur qua Capitularis, adstringeretur qua Vicarius Curatus et quidem perpetuus, nam Vicaria perpetua est verum beneficium.

‡ Hac eadem ratione tenetur missam pro populo applicare, qua obligatione eo magis adstringitur, quo vere et proprie parochus independens ab Archipresbytero S. Mariae de Paganica ad intra sit, prouti testatur Episcopus, qui asserit ei administrationem paroeciae competere cum potestate ordinaria in sacramento poenitentiae et matrimonii, eum possidere fontem baptismalem, archivum parochiale omniaque quae sunt veri parochi et inde omnino independentem retinendum esse ab Archipresbytero Ecclesiae Collegiatae de Paganica *ad intra*. Quod maxime probatur ex duobus decretis ab Archiepiscopo missis, circa divisionem territorialem parochiarum extra moenia, ex quibus non constat dependentiam paroeciae de Paganica *ad extra* ab altera de Paganica *ad intra*.

Quibus rationibus, validis argumentis illustratis, sedulo matureque perpensis, Emi. Patres quaestionem dimiserunt decernentes :

' Ad utrumque teneri.'

THE 'HONORARIA' OF CERTAIN MASSES

ANNECIEN.—SUPER ELEEMOSYNIS MISSARUM

Ex rescripto H. S. C. anno 1903 Episcopus Annecien ad 5^{um} prorogata obtinuit facultatem ut ' cum suis dioecesis parochis super obligatione applicandi missam pro populo solis diebus festis suppressis pro suo arbitrio et conscientia gratis dispensare possit et valeat ; ad effectum (accedente eorundem parochorum consensu) deponendi et erogandi in expositas causas (pro sustentatione scilicet minorum seminariorum dioecesis) eleemosynas ex missis enunciatis diebus festis suppressis celebrandis obven-turas.' Nunc idem Episcopus supplici oblato libello duplex petit resolvi dubium ad H. S. C. videlicet :—

1^{um}. Quando parochi diebus festis suppressis celebrant missam cantatam, sive manualet sive fundatam, quae in dominica

praecedenti praenuntiatae fuerit cum inditione diei et horae, licetne ipsis ad Episcopum transmittere tantummodo stipendium missae lectae iuxta taxam dioecesanam, an debent tradere integrum stipendium per constitutiones dioecesanarum pro huiusmodi missis praestitutum?

2^{um}. Si missam exequialem cum cantu praedictis diebus celebrant, satisfaciunt ne suae obligationi, mittendo stipendium missae lectae communis iuxta taxam dioecesanam, an debent mittere stipendium missae cantatae iuxta praedictam taxam, salvis iuribus stolae?

Indubii iuris est parochum pro populo sibi commisso singulis diebus festis, etiam abrogatis, sacrificium offerre teneri, quicumque sint paroeciae redditus et nonnisi ex benignitate S. Sedis factum est, ut 'si iustae ac rationabiles causae in peculiari- bus casibus ad sensum harum litterarum (Const. *Amantissimi* Pii IX, 3 maii 1848) impedimento erant ne aliqui animarum curatores huic praecepto (litandi scilicet sacrum pro populo dictis diebus festis suppressis) satisfacere possent; re ad S. C. diligenter exposita, accedente antistitem illorum commendatione, ac specialiter ad Sanctitatem Suam relatione facta; iidem peculiarem veniam ad certum tempus duraturam assecuti sint, ac etiam nunc assequi soleant.'

Et ne ex hac concessione suspicio oriretur indultum concessum fuisse in parochi commodum et lucrum, eidem concessioni imposita fuit lex tradendi Ordinariis seu impendendi illorum arbitrio in usum pium eleemosynam ex dictae missae obligatione perceptam.

Ex his ergo sequitur integrum in casu omnino stipendium parochos Episcopo tradere teneri, etiamsi missam cum cantu celebrent, quaecumque illa sit manualis seu fundata, salvis tamen iuribus stolea pro missa exequiali.

In casu vero cum indultum datum fuerit expresse et inconditionate favore seminarii, quaecumque fieret subtractio, vergeret in praeiudicium seu damnum ipsius Seminarii. Nec praetereundum, nisi tenerentur parochi integrum refundere perceptum stipendium in pium opus determinatum, abusibus aperiri viam non absque fidelium scandalo.

Verum quia in themate peculiare tituli invocari possunt favore parochorum ad retinendam sibi eleemosynae partem, videndum est quo pretio hi haberi debeant. Inter hos titulos accensetur intentio dantis eleemosynam, et ratio maioris

incommodi seu laboris ex parte recipientis, quod valet tum si agatur de missis alicui beneficio adnexis, tum de missis perpetuis alicui sacerdoti demandatis, tum de legatis alicui factis cum onere missarum, tum denique de missis adventitiis.

Atqui in sasu sive attendatur intentio eleemosynam conferentium, sive ratio maioris incommodi et laboris parochorum qui missam celebrant, non videtur concludi posse moraliter certo constare pinguius stipendium datum fuisse propter dictos titulos.

Ex altera vero parte favore parochorum animadvertendum est clausulas in rescripto adhibitae benigna ipsorum favore indigere interpretatione. Sane non prohibet indultum, ne iusto extante titulo, possint partem dictorum emolumentorum parochi sibi reservare, nam clausulae non sunt absolutae et exclusivae. Et hunc titulum adesse in casu videtur erui ex peculiari ratione quae missae celebrandae committuntur ab oblatores, ut nempe statuatur specialis dies, et determinetur hora, et ab offerentibus exigatur missa cum cantu; hinc dictis extantibus titulis videretur concludi posse concedi moderata stipendii retentio.

Praeterea agitur in casu de parochis quibus a suis parochianis committuntur dictae missarum celebrationes, qui forsitan maius offerunt stipendium propriis pastoribus intuitu earundem personarum, quasi grati animi ergo propterea quod labores suos et propemodum vitam spirituali eorum utilitati devoverint.

Quare hisce omnibus perpensis, sueta prudentia atque benignitate Emi Patres propositis dubiis respondendum censuerunt :

'Ad utrumque affirmative ad 1^{am} partem, negative ad 2^{am} quoties morali certitudine constet augmentum communis eleemosynae datum fuisse ob maiorem laborem vel incommodum ad quae aliunde parochus obligatus non sit.'

MATRIMONIAL DISPENSATION

LUGDUNEN.—DISPENSATIONIS MATRIMONII

In Ecclesia loci Ceyzerien. dioeceseos *de Belley* in Gallia mense Decembri 1893 Ernesta Frings 35 annos agens et Franciscus Roquille annorum fere 24 matrimonium inierunt, aegre tamen hoc ferente patre sponsi, praesertim ob maiorem aetatem sponsae eiusque incertam valetudinem.

Iuxta actoris assertum uxor usque a prima nocte coniugii et

semper deinceps constantissime debitum recusavit, nolens incommoda maternitatis substinere. Frustra actor eam oravit omniaque excussit media ut eam induceret ad debitum solvendum; quare tres post annos et sex menses vir, eius obstinata resistentia pertaesus, cum ipsa ratione valetudinis recuperandae abesset ad suos rediit ac definitive sponsam reliquit nec amplius cum illa cohabitare voluit.

Mulier pluries verbis et litteris a viro impetrare conata est restitutionem vitae communis, sed hic, nullam mulieri fidem praebens, suo in proposito permansit, ea praecipue ductus ratione, ut ipse refert, quod certior factus fuerat Ernestam ex quodam illicito commercio ante matrimonium habito filiam genuisse anno 1887, prouti ex actis revera apparet.

Quare ipse petiit obtinuitque a laica potestate sententiam divortii anno 1904, et insuper mense augusto eiusdem anni Summo Pontifici preces porrexit, expetens ut suum matrimonium utpote tantum ratum, apostolica auctoritate solveretur

Iussu S. Concilii Congregationis mense Octobris eiusdem anni, rite tribunali constituto, in curia processus instructus est, iurata testimonia tum partium tum quatuor testium ex parte viri excepta sunt, quibus accessit iurata mulieris matris depositio.

Cum haec H. S. C. insufficientia visa fuerint, iterum ex mandato eiusdem S. C. eadem Curia mulierem sub iuramento excussit, necnon quatuor pariter iuratos testes ab ea inductos excepit.

Clarissimus vir, qui, de sententia rogatus, in themate scripsit, censet locum esse petitae dispensationi tum de inconsummationis facto tum de causarum legitimitate sufficienter constet.

Advertit in casu nihil probari posse ex iurata coniugum confessione cum contraria ipsi confirment, nec ad probationem physicam recurri posse, nam mulier ante matrimonium ex illicito amore cum alio viro iam conceperat atque ni lucem dederat infantem. Deinde ad examen testium progreditur, sed quum reperiat eos non concordantes inter se citat regulam canonicam iuxta quam, si testes contrarii sint, nec concordatio sit possibilis, videndum est utrum numero et qualitatibus moralibus aequales sint. Quod si aequae pollentes qualitatibus inaequales sint, praeferuntur illi, qui numero sunt plures. Verum in casu testes viri sunt numero plures et maiori credibilitate pollentes, praecipue ii, qui in suis dioecesibus praeclaro officio in foro ecclesiastico funguntur.

Quare omnibus perpensis, seu attento : (a) virum semper sibi constantem apparere, dum mulier in contradictiones incidit ; (b) plures ex circumstantiis a viro espositis, a testibus confirmari, qui eas ab eodem audierunt, tempore non suspecto ; (c) viro favere testes vere fides dignos, inter quos quatuor non sunt solum testes de credulitate, sed quodammodo de scientia, quum rationem afferant, ob quam et ipsi credunt matrimonium non esse consummatum ; (d) testes e contra uxoris nihil scire affirmare quoad consummationem vel minus ; (e) duas extare uxoris epistolas, in quibus ipsa asserere videtur non consummationem ; (f) praeclara extare favore viri testimonia de eius probitate, virtute, pietate, etc., concludit, cum in favorem eiusdem praesumptio sinceritati oriatur, et hinc ei inconsummationem affirmanti credendum sit, non deesse iustas dispensationis causas ut favoribili responso eius preces dimittantur.

Argumentis consultoris adhaereret Vinculi defensor, sed, cum sibi videatur ob discrepantiam inter testes, aliasque circumstantias non satis probatam esse inconsummationem, orationem suam concludit in hanc brevissimam argumentationem : vel S. Concessus vult ut *secundum rigorem* procedatur, et tunc instandum est ut Curia Lugdunensis removere pertentet quoslibet obices ad uberiores lucem habendam, et hinc conficiat novum actorum supplementum. . . . Vel e contra opportunum retur, etiam attenta speciali conditione viri, qui vere videtur vir commiseratione ac fide dignus, *benigne procedere*, et tunc partibus meis iam absolutis, nihil manet, ni ut suetum decretum edatur : *Constare*, etc.

Tamen rebus sic stantibus Emi. Patres ad dubium :

'An sit praestandum SSmo. consilium pro dispensatione a matrimonio rato et non consummato in casu.'

Respondendum putarunt :

'Ex deductis non satis constare de inconsummatione matrimonii.'

MATRIMONIAL DISPENSATION IN BRASIL

S. SALVATORIS IN BRASILIA.—DISPENSATIONIS MATRIMONII

In paroecia B.M. Virginis de Oliveira Arch-dioecesis Bahiensis in Brasilia, Maria Conceição, quae vix undecim annos agebat, nec adhuc menstruationem passa fuerat, anno 1888 matrimonium celebravit cum Victoriano de Britto. Hae nuptiae quamvis ex

parte sponsae libenter initae fuerint, infauste cessarunt, nam uxoris mater, cum suspicasset Victorianum propriam filiam violasse, ut ad eam in uxorem ducendam adigeret, biseum in carcerem coniicere curavit.

Tali modo celebrato coniugio, iidem sponsi tribus comitantibus viris, matris Victoriani domum petierunt, sed die ipsa vir, qui invito animo contraxerat, relicta sponsa, immediate abiit alioque se contulit, ita ut ne prima quidem nocte cum ea manseriti, nec cibum cum ipsa sumere voluerit.

Paucos post dies, Victorianus, nullo habito commercio cum Maria, quam ne amplius quidem inviserat, in regionem longinquam se contulit, et quinque post annos regressus, ut suam ipsius matrem inviseret, iterum abiit non amplius reversurus, quin usque ad praesens sciri possit, num ipse adhuc vivat aut ab hac vita migraverit.

Nunc autem mulier, quae minime parvam ab aliquibus suscepit prolem, et in praesenti cum quodam consanguineo in secundo gradu incestuose vivit, humiliter petit dispensationem a matrimonio rato et non consummato.

Oratricis precibus benigne indulgendum esse retur optimus vir, qui tamquam Consultor in themate scripsit, nam contendit in primis dubitari posse de valore coniugii ex parte oratricis, quia ipsa, tempore celebrationis, nondum expleverat, imo forsitan nondum attigerat duodecimum aetatis annum, quin in casu adduci possit malitiam supplevisse aetatem, nam ex confessione ipsius matris tunc temporis actrix nondum menstruationem passa fuerat. Insuper prosequitur dubitari posse de valore coniugii etiam ex parte viri, quippe qui matrimonium non celebravit, nisi coactus a sponsae matre, quae quidem, cum falso existimaret eum filiam violasse, in carcerem detrudi curaverat.

Tamen quidquid sit de nullitate ex parte mulieris ex defectu aetatis, et ex parte viri ex defectu consensus pro certo urget Consultor saltem habendum esse locum dispensationi quum : (a) evidentissime ex unanimi mulieris et testium depositionibus constet nunquam sponsus in ea conditione versatos fuisse qua rei maritali operam dare valerent ; (b) certo certius quoque constet de dispensationis causis.

Quare concludit, cum ex omnibus allatis depositionibus constet de validitate matrimonii, serio dubitari posse, ob impedimenta probabilia sive aetatis sive vis et metus ; cum matrimonium haud consummatum fuisset, ac tandem sufficientes adsint causae ad

dispensationem petendam in casu saltem ad cautelam, consulendum esse SSmo. pro dispensatione a matrimonio rato et non consummato in casu.

Vinculi defensor argumentis, ac conclusionibus Consultoris omnino adhaerens, putans tamen in casu potius quam de dispensatione super matrimonio rato et non consummato, agi de nullitate matrimonii ob defectum aetatis, concludit dispensationem concedendam esse ad cautelam.

Et Emi. Patres ad dubium :

' An sit consilium praestandum SSmo. pro dispensatione super matrimonio rato et non consummato in casu.'

Responderunt : *' Affirmative ad cautelam.'*

NOTICES OF BOOKS

INSTITUTIONES JURIS PUBLICI ECCLESIASTICI. Cavagnis Felix (S.R.E. Card.). Romae: Desclee, Lefebvre et Socii. 1906.

IN an age when some States, forgetful of their duties towards religion, have strained their relations with the Church, have unjustly broken them in some instances, when ignorance, unbelief and Caesarism try to ignore and dispise the rights and prerogatives of the Church, a work such as this under notice is always welcome and read with interest and profit.

We are glad, therefore, to announce the fourth edition of this book, which, besides being very much more in season now than ever, is, in the estimation of those who are conversant with public ecclesiastical legislation, and in our humble opinion, the best yet written on the subject. No wonder, then, if at its first appearance specialists were loud in their praises of it, and learned reviewers greeted it as a masterpiece of its kind.

It is not long since in the ecclesiastical legislation a line was drawn, and a clear distinction made between private and public law, leaving to the former what concerns the Church as a competent and wise ruler, and considering her in the latter as a perfect society. Many a canonist then set to work to write on public canon law, and produced works, no doubt, valuable ones, but far from being exhaustive and complete; as they were either meagre in their doctrines or needlessly diffuse, encroaching, in many instances, on the province of historical and theological questions. The keen eye of Cavagnis saw the want of a complete manual in this branch of ecclesiastical studies, and he determined to fill it. The result achieved by his effort was an unprecedented success. His work excelled those already written on the subject, and it remains up to the present a standard book, as it has never been excelled by the numerous similar books with which we have been supplied in recent years. We find in it sound and exhaustive doctrine, perspicuous method, simple and luminous style, argumentation succinct yet sober, and a logical division which secures uncommon lucidity of order. The author gives us the benefit of his

extensive specialized research, of his great practice in the Roman Congregations in which he played a most important part for a good many years, and of his experience in the lecture hall, for he was for a long time the first professor of Public Ecclesiastical Law in the special chair established under the auspices of the late Pope Leo XIII in the University of St. Apollinare in Rome.

In this last capacity he was as eminent as an educationalist as he was as a canonist, and we who had the privilege of being in his class know by experience how interesting and instructive it was to listen at his lectures, delivered in such a clear, attractive, yet unpretentious manner as to make quite intelligible and positively delightful matters which would otherwise prove arid and tiresome.

The author divides the whole work, which consists of three volumes, into two parts; one is general and the other special. In the first he lays down the fundamental principles of public ecclesiastical law, while in the second he develops and fittingly applies them to a number of particular questions.

Again, the general part is subdivided into two books; in the first he considers the nature and power of the Church, in the other he deals with her constitution. The early portion of the work is occupied with the exposition of the general notions regarding a perfect society together with its authority towards those within and without, and its relations with other independent societies. Those principles are afterwards, with consummate skill and wealth of doctrine, applied to the Church, conclusively proving her nature as a perfect society, and appealing to arguments derived alike from the natural and divine law, while the sophisms put forward by heretics to impugn the Catholic doctrine are triumphantly exploded.

The power of jurisdiction of the Church is now explained in all its parts, and shown in its true light especially with regard to the coercive measures which she is at times constrained to adopt; and here are rejected as unfounded and utterly false all the accusations and insults levelled against the Church in some delicate questions such as that of the Roman Inquisition, of the power of inflicting censures, capital punishment: questions which are old enough and oftentimes refuted, and therefore to be left aside were it not for the prejudiced and rabid enemies of the Church who exhume them any time they want to cover her with vituperation and contempt. Cardinal Cavagnis is

as happy as his Christian name when he discourses on the relations between Church and State, and shows the fallacy of the deceitful theories which have crept into the Church of late, and are at present in vogue, summarized in the formula 'Free Church in Free State.' Those are the theories of that kind of liberalism which was condemned by the Syllabus, and professed by those politicians who, pretending to secure liberty to the Church, aim at making it subservient to the State.

In dealing, finally, with the constitution of the Church at the end of the general part, the author expounds the Catholic teaching on this point, and with usual clearness and competency rejects as erroneous the democratic, aristocratic and purely monarchical systems advocated both by Protestants and Royalists.

In the second part of the work all the particular questions with regard to the independence of the Church and her supremacy over the State, questions about the direct competency of the Church in matters of faith and morals, and those concerning her indirect power in temporal affairs find their place and their full and learned treatment. Here the questions of *regium placet*, royal nomination, appeal *ab abusu*, ecclesiastical immunity, temporal power of the Pope, and above all the important question of religious education in public schools, come in turn for their share of attention, and they are all handled in a manner worthy of a canonist of world-wide reputation.

These are the outlines of the work under consideration, which, I believe, to be, more than rare, unique of its kind. It cannot be denied that its contents are of absorbing interest and paramount importance from the Catholic standpoint, especially in the historical moment we are passing through.

Some people will be inclined to think that in the first part of this book, while historical and dogmatic questions are sparingly touched upon, the notions of natural law are there lavished beyond discretion, but that the scope of the author in writing his institutions was to avoid the mistake made by previous writers who mixed up too much theology and history with canon law, and also to insist on those principles of natural law [on which the ecclesiastical legislation is based; which if ignored or disregarded may lead to many erroneous conclusions.

A novel feature of this edition is the appendix to the first part given at the beginning of the second volume. All know what terrible trials the Catholic religion in France is passing through at present. The enemies of the Church now ruling that unfortunate nation, with the view of wiping out of that country the Catholic faith, first began by adopting various pretexts to denounce the Concordat enacted more than a century ago between the Church and the State; next, to prevent fictitiously apprehended dangers to the nation took drastic and vexatious measures against the Catholic religion, and all that culminated in the rupture of diplomatic relations with the Vatican, and in the passing of the law of separation which has for its ultimate goal to thwart in every way religious practices, and keep the Church in shackles and thrall to the State. All those remarkable events cannot but attract the attention of a writer of canon law, and Cardinal Cavagnis, in this new edition of this *Institutes* after treating of the Concordat, gives in the appendix the text of the French Concordat, of the organic articles, of the Law of Separation, of the Allocutions of the Holy Father to the Cardinals, of the Encyclical Letters issued for the occasion, adding occasionally a few words of criticism which are extremely valuable.' He has published those documents in pamphlet form also, and last year wrote a book which has a very close connexion with this subject, entitled *La Massoneria, quel che è, quel che ha fatto, quel che vuole*, Pustet, 1905.

In conclusion, it is now hardly necessary for us to give any additional words of recommendation on this work. The fact that it has passed into four editions in a comparatively short time, that it has been honoured with a translation into various modern languages, that it has been adopted as a manual in the Roman universities, and almost all the colleges where a complete course of canon law is established, is an irrefragable proof of the value of this classical production which ought to find its way into every priest's library.

S. L.

THE GREAT FUNDAMENTAL TRUTHS OF RELIGION. By
Rev. R. C. Bodkin, C.M. Dublin, Belfast and Cork :
Browne and Nolan, Ltd. 2s. 6d. net.

In a lucid and well-written preface Father Bodkin gives us his reasons for adding one more to the list of volumes ex-

pository of Catholic doctrine. The times are changing. Men are beset with difficulties in our day which did not trouble those of an older generation. The Church must adapt herself to the needs of the age, and address herself to the difficulties of the present. Never did men need to be well grounded in the fundamental truths of the faith, and never was it more necessary to instil these truths into the minds of youth, especially in educational establishments, than at the present time. In order to help to fulfil this task in a college which has always been remarkable for the sound religious education it gave to its students Father Bodkin has written this book; and in order that it may help others wherever the spirit blows that may induce people as zealous as Father Bodkin himself to use it he gives it to the public. It is, as might be expected, a work of genuine and conscientious labour, admirably suited to its purpose, a book to be studied, reflected on, and whenever the need is felt expanded by the reader. Admirable references and short hints are given about questions that disturb men's minds at the present day. It is particularly advisable that some such book should be put into the hands of a young layman who is about to face out into the world, and who will find here in convenient form what has been taught or what ought to have been taught in his classes of religious instruction in College.

J. F. H.

REFECTIO SPIRITUALIS ALUMNO CLERICO MEDITANTI
PROPOSITA. By Right Rev. Mgr. Parkinson, D.D.,
Rector of Oscott. Bruges: Charles Beyaert. 1906.
2 vols.

WE have much pleasure in bringing under the notice of those charged with the education of ecclesiastical students these admirable meditations, composed and arranged by the distinguished Rector of Oscott. In ecclesiastical colleges no little difficulty is felt in getting meditation books suitable for students. There are plenty of such books for priests; but works specially adapted to the needs of students were few and old. Mgr. Parkinson has rendered a distinct service to rectors of seminaries the world over in giving them the admirable results of his own labours during ten fruitful years. The work is in Latin, and on that account is accessible to the clergy everywhere.

Of course Mgr. Parkinson has drawn abundantly from the

Bible and from the spiritual writers of other ages and countries, but the arrangement and adoption are all his own, and seem to us admirable. Mgr. Parkinson has performed a work of great zeal and merit which is sure to be appreciated in ecclesiastical seminaries.

J. F. H.

THE ORDINARY OF THE MASS: Historically, Liturgically, and Exegetically explained. By the Rev. Arthur Devine, Passionist. London: R. and T. Washbourne, Paternoster Row; New York, etc.: Benziger Bros.

Is it too much to expect that we priests, whose office it is to celebrate every day the august Sacrifice of the Altar, should be thoroughly conversant with all the historical and liturgical features of the Ordinary of the Mass? Should it not be our most laudable ambition to know the origin and purport of the ceremonies, the meaning and explanation of the prayers, and the symbolical significance of the rites, employed by the Church in the greatest and holiest of her mysteries? Yet it is to be feared that acquaintance with these useful and necessary details is not at all so widespread as the fitness of things demands. Possibly, this existing void being revealed to the subtle insight of the author whose book is under review, inspired him to essay the task of providing us with a ready means of information on these matters. We can no longer palliate our ignorance on many interesting points about the Mass with the pretext that there is no suitable book at hand to enlighten us, for Father Devine has given us within the compass of some three hundred octavo pages a carefully prepared volume, the study of which will intensify our devotion to the Mass, enhance our appreciation of its beautiful liturgy, and help us to understand better this great act of Christian worship.

The ground plan of the work before us is quite simple. Having set down the ordinary of the Mass in Latin and English in parallel columns, the author proceeds to explain the text first, *historically*—tracing back each detail to its best ascertained origin; next, *liturgically*—describing every act and ceremony in rubrical language; and, finally, *exegetically*, unfolding the web of secret and symbolical meaning that wraps up each prayer and action. In filling in this outline he has drawn for his materials upon the most approved and up-to-date sources, and, by accepting the conclusions arrived at by noted

ecclesiastical archæologists and eschewing the discussion of intricate questions of minor critical importance, has produced a volume that is as readable as it is reliable. There are of course many works in English on various aspects of the Mass, but we have not yet seen in that language any book that is so versatile in its treatment of this many-sided subject. The author's style is lucidity itself, and we observe with pleasure that his prolific pen is losing nothing of its ancient skill and cunning. We cordially recommend the book to clergy and laity alike, for both are likely to derive much profitable information from its careful perusal.

P. M.

LA RENAISSANCE CATHOLIQUE EN ANGLETERRE AU XIX^{ème} SIÈCLE. Par Paul Thoreau-Dangin, de l'Académie Française. Vol. III. Paris: Plon Nourrit et Cie. 1906.

THIS is the third volume of M. Thoreau-Dangin's study of the religious life of England during the nineteenth century; and a more interesting or more comprehensive survey of the subject has not been written. There is really nothing of importance in the Catholic, the Anglican or the Dissident Churches in England that has escaped this distinguished writer. His work is as solid as it is fascinating, as brilliant as it is painstaking. *The Life of Tait*, *The Life of Wilberforce*, *The Life and Letters of Dean Church*, the memoirs of Stanley, Pusey, William George Ward, Maconochie, Jowett, the biographies of Wiseman and Manning, the *Life of Benson*, and the various works that have appeared on Newman, all contribute their share to the interest of this third volume, and supply facts and arguments which acquire new force when grouped together, and new life when narrated by a master of French prose. The treatment of such questions as the dispute about the Athanasian Creed reveal the well-trained Catholic, the layman who makes sure of his ground before touching questions on which he might easily come to grief, and the accomplished artist who knows how to combine knowledge and style so as to reach the public which takes an interest in the subject. To anyone who wishes to follow the sequence of events in the religious life of England during the fourteenth century this work is almost indispensable. There is nothing like it in English.

J. F. H.

THE RING OF DAY. By Mary Butler. London : Hutchinson and Co. 1906.

MISS BUTLER has written a very clever book, and although it is not absolutely faultless it is undoubtedly one of the best studies of Irish life, presented in an attractive and fascinating style, that it has been our fortune to come across for a long time. It is thoroughly Catholic in so far as religion enters into its composition at all ; and not only is it in sympathy with the national and Gaelic movements, but it is expressly intended to glorify them both.

It is a great pleasure to us to see the novel brought into the service of movements that make for good, and to see that such a valuable instrument is not left entirely in the hands of people who have no genuine sympathy either with our faith or our nationality. Irish writers who have the talent and the opportunity, like Miss Butler, can learn what may be done in the interests of a popular cause by the popular novel from the works of M. Anatole France. This gifted but perverted writer has done more to promote the godless tendencies of the Third Republic and to cast discredit and ridicule on its opponents than any minister of State. Art, learning, wit, knowledge of the world, a penetrating eye and a subtle mind have enabled him to spread broadcast and to instil into thousands of minds, through the medium of his novels, views of life and ways of thought out of all harmony with the Christian traditions of France. In Ireland the novel has been used to some slight extent, but with little success, to discredit Catholicism. It has been cleverly constructed to catch the popular ear, and with an air of sympathy with certain phases of Irish nationality, has sought an entrance where, on its own merits, it had no chance of admission. The novel with a purpose, of course, has its drawbacks and disadvantages ; yet there are few novels of any kind in which a purpose is not to be detected ; and, provided the purpose is not an obsession and is subsidiary to the artistic intuition of life and delineation of character, it is quite admissible. Miss Butler can scarcely be said to have disguised her object or made it to appear a secondary consideration. There are, nevertheless, many passages of real insight into the depth of human motives, aims, and efforts in her book. Some of the characters also are drawn to the life. She is evidently quite at home in the Western society of Galway and Dublin. The Lynches and Eyres, and

Burkes and Nugents and De Stackpooles have no secrets for her. We only fear that she will put into the heads of Gaelic Leaguers thoughts of ladies who may draw them away from Kathleen Ni Houlihan and Dark Rosaleen. Of course Beatrice Burke does not do that ; but it is not every day that one meets with a Beatrice Burke.

The character of George Eyre, whom everyone can identify, is well drawn ; but we confess we are sick of this old trifier. We had him in the ' Seething Pot '—a very suitable place for him—and now Miss Butler serves him up fresh from the stew, with anything but a pleasant flavour.

When accounting for all her characters at the end of the book some pertinent questions obtruded themselves on us. Amongst others : What became of the five Miss Lynches whom we left in the first chapter ? Did they, too, marry Gaelic Leaguers ?

In some parts of the book the action flags owing to the digressions on art and nationality ; and Miss Butler would do well to get her proofs more carefully ' read ' in future. It is a pity to see a very clever book marred here and there by slips of the pen and careless editing. Miss Emily Lawless gives a very good example in that respect to lady writers, and one that deserves to be imitated. But on the whole we have nothing but praise for the book. We hope it may be widely read, and we gladly commend it as suitable for libraries, both public and private.

J. F. H.

THE SECRET OF CARRICKFERNEAGH CASTLE. An Irish Romance. By S. A. Turk. London : Washbourne, 1906.

If we were to say of this story all that we might say it is probable that the name of the authoress would be transferred to ourselves. It is from beginning to end a chamber of horrors, outrages, murders, crimes. Its one redeeming feature is that it is not long nor dull ; for as soon as we pass from one blood-curdling tragedy we are headlong into another. It may be a compensation to some readers that they will find themselves all the time in the company of lords and ladies ; some of them good, some bad, and some indifferent ; but of course it takes an English lord to come over and set all things right in this distracted country. The elements of a good story are in the book. The writer is not unfriendly to Ireland : but her imagination has run riot within too narrow limits.

J. F. H.

CASCIOLINI'S MASS IN A MINOR for Four Voices. Edited from a Roman Manuscript with *Benedictus* added.

By R. R. Terry.

SIMPLE MASS for Four Voices. By Antonio Lotti.

MASS for Four Voices. By Pedro Heredia.

VIADANA'S MASS *L'Hora Passa* for Four mixed Voices.

HASLER'S MASS *Dixit Maria*.⁷

MASS 'QUINTI TONI.' By Orlando di Lasso.

THE above are Nos. 1-6 of *Downside Masses*, which are a collection of Masses by masters of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. They are edited by Mr. R. R. Terry, and published by Cary and Co. at 1s. 6d. each. Separate voice parts appear not to have been printed.

The above Masses have in their favour that they are fairly simple. That is all, indeed, that can be said in favour of Casciolini's *Mass*, and Heredia's is not much better. As to Hasler's *Mass*, Mr. Terry quotes Proske's very favourable opinion. We are more inclined, however, to agree with Haberl, who thinks that the artistic value of the Mass is not very great. It is a favourite Mass on the Continent, however, and it will do good service by introducing choirs to the contrapuntal style of the classics of vocal polyphony. Orlando di Lasso, the musical giant, is not at his best in Mass compositions. But the Mass in this collection is one of the most serviceable of his attempts in this line.

As to the editing, the Masses are printed on four staves with modern clefs, with a *Reductio Partiturae* on two staves. Several printing mistakes betray hurried proof-reading. We noted the following by playing through the compositions. Casciolini, p. 5, fourth bar, bass *f e e* instead of *f g g*; p. 13, second line, sixth bar, tenor *a* instead of *b*. In this Mass there are some strange doublings of thirds in parallel motion, as on p. 9, second line *a g#* and *c g#* twice between alto and tenor, and p. 17, second line, second bar between tenor and bass. These appear to be original. But we have no doubt there is a printing mistake in the third last bar of the *Credo*. The soprano should have *b* instead of *g#*. The consecutive fifths at *Domine Fili*, p. 6, second line, and at Amen, p. 9, third line, second bar, seem to be original too. And keeping that in mind we should, perhaps, read *c b* instead of *c g* in the soprano part, p. 7, third line, fourth bar.

The editor's note to Lotti's *Mass* contains some printing

mistakes in the dates. 1733 should probably read 1693, and 1796, of course, 1696.

In Heredia's *Mass*, p. 9, l. 1, b. 1, alto, read *d* for *e*; p. 15, l. 2, b. 3, the first *e* of the tenor should evidently be *a*. In Viadana's, p. 25, l. 2, last bar, the *e* of the alto ought to be *d*. P. 19, on the final syllable of *tertia*, the soprano should have *a*, and the tenor *f*. In Hasler's, p. 9, last note of alto should be *g*, not *a*; p. 14, l. 1, b. 5, read *a* for *g* in alto part; similarly p. 18, l. 3, b. 2, *e* for *f*; p. 20, l. 2, b. 1 and 2, soprano, *g* for *a*.

Lasso's *Mass* is evidently a reprint of Haberl's edition (in Pustet's *Musica Divina*). For it repeats all the printing mistakes found there. Page 11, l. 2, b. 1, alto read *dd* for *cc*, *ib*. b. 2, *c* for *b*; *ib*. b. 6, tenor, *de* for *ag*; and l. 3, b. 4, tenor, *g* for *e*; p. 15, l. 2, b. 1, soprano, *c* for *d*. There are some further mistakes in the compressed score, which can be corrected easily.

One part of the editor's business in bringing out the scores of the old masters, is to put in the sharps and flats which, in their time, the singers sang according to rules more or less fixed, without their being marked. Mr. Terry is rather sparing in this. In Viadana, for instance, we should read *ff*, page 5 at *hominibus*. Similarly in the corresponding places, p. 8 at *mundi*; p. 9 at *mundi* and *Patris*; p. 11 at *Christe*, etc. Also in Lasso, p. 17 at *virgine* *bb* instead of *bb*. We also question the wisdom of demanding *bb*, p. 28, l. 3, b. 2.

As all the compositions are fairly simple, the fitting of the words to the notes does not create much difficulty. We should prefer a different arrangement in Lasso in a few cases. Thus p. 4, bars 3-5, we should have given to soprano and tenor *eleison* instead of *Kyrie*; *ib.*, l. 2, last bar, and l. 3, first and second bar, to the tenor *Kyrie eleison* instead of *eleison, Kyrie*; to the soprano melody at the turning of p. 27 and 28, *Benedictus qui venit* instead of *in nomine Domini*. The reason for this is to be found, we think, in the thematic structure. Clear mistakes are the arrangements of the *Gratias agimus tibi* in the alto, p. 6, and of the *cujus regni non erit finis* in the bass, p. 20. The alto, p. 6, should be like the soprano, and the bass, p. 20, like the alto.

The expression marks are, on the whole, added with great taste. We do not, however, consider it desirable to sing a *Sanctus* forte right through, as suggested in Viadana and Hasler. And even in Lasso we should prefer to begin *p* or *mf* to allow of an effective *crescendo*. The printing and the paper are all that could be desired.

H. B.

The Irish Ecclesiastical Record

A Monthly Journal, under Episcopal Sanction.

Thirty-ninth Year] NOVEMBER, 1906. [Fourth Series.
 No. 467.] Vol. XX.

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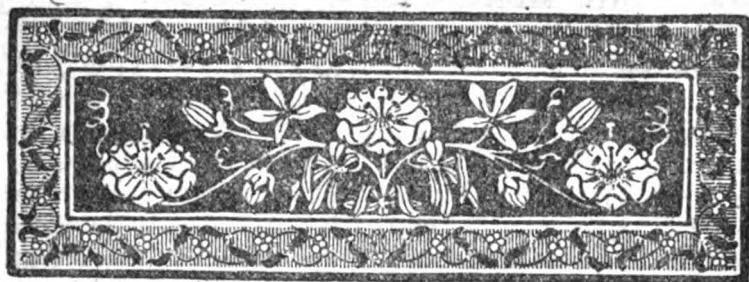
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PROGRESSIVE CATHOLICISM: 'IL SANTO'

I.

THE last half century has been remarkable for immense growth of scientific speculation. Crowds of eager students and of devoted specialists have become absorbed in a passionate effort to win from nature the secret of the origin and of the destiny of all things. These devotees have achieved, and are achieving, much to make it more possible for us than for our forefathers to read the riddles of the universe. But, perhaps, their greatest achievement is not so much their rich store of harvested truth, as the expansive breadth of view on things past, present, and to come, which their tentative theories have brought within reach of our generation. Students of history had recognized long before the days of Newton, the existence and significance of the laws of gravitation in the world of ideas; and so, apart from the fact that over-enthusiastic champions of the new truths had aroused the hostility of many by pushing the truths of science 'over the frontier line into regions where they can do nothing but break down,' it was inevitable that this gigantic extension of the boundaries of science in so many and such unexpected directions should be felt by every existing form of belief. Above and beyond all, the Catholic Church was bound to be influenced. Her mission is the preaching of Christ and of Him crucified for the salvation of souls, and the conservation of certain truths that have been

handed down, or may in the future be defined as dogmas of Catholic Faith. These dogmas are only the framework, though the essential framework, of that body of truth which makes up a Catholic's system of belief. Implying, as they do, a definite intellectual and moral outlook on life, the dogmas are naturally accompanied by certain views on the origin and destiny of the universe—views that embody the speculations of the most eminent Christian and non-Christian thinkers of all past time. The result was that the Catholic Church was the natural guardian of conservative views in many matters that for the past fifty years have occupied scientific specialists. That many of these latter were not only not of her, but determinedly hostile to her, is writ large on every page of theirs. This regrettable fact, which after all is but an accident in history, has given rise to the principal problem of modern apologetics—the attitude of the Church towards science. There never has been any reason to doubt the principles that direct her attitude. At no time throughout all the centuries of her existence has any authoritative exponent set down on this head principles differing from those so clearly expressed in the following lines of the Encyclical, *Aeterni Patris* :—

Nos igitur, dum edicimus *libenti gratoque animo excipiendum esse quidquid sapienter dictum, quidquid utiliter fuerit a quopiam inventum at ut excogitatum. . . .* Si quid enim est a doctoribus scholasticis vel *nimia subtilitate quesitum, vel parum considerate traditum; si quid cum exploratis posterioris aevi doctrinis minus cohaerens, vel denique quoquo modo non probabile, id nullo pacto in anima est nostrae aetati ad imitandum proponi.*

This fearless teaching of Leo XIII is but a modern echo of the views of the Doctors of the Church. Far back in that most abused of centuries, the thirteenth, Aquinas wrote, in the opening pages of his *Summa*, 'Locus ab auctoritate quae fundatur super ratione humana est *infirmissimus*.'¹ Examine these principles as you will, you cannot doubt their meaning. They are clearly and unmistakably one with the following, taken from the Father of Agnosticism :—

Men of science do not pledge themselves to creeds ; they are

¹ *Summ. Theol.*, l. q. 1., a. 8, ad. 2.

bound by articles of no sort ; there is not a single belief that is not a bounden duty with them to hold with a light hand and part with it cheerfully, the moment it is really proved to be contrary to any fact, great or small.¹

Principle is one thing, practice another ; and while the Church's children have universally accepted Augustine's maxim—*In necessariis necessitas, in liberis libertas*—and used their liberty pretty freely, it ought to be acknowledged that too frequently they paid scant heed to the golden seal, *in omnibus caritas*. Study and reflexion on these disputes between Catholic thinkers in the past is essential if one wishes to judge fairly the present controversies. It is hardly too much to say that every century has given us examples of free fights and profusive blood-letting between men whose names are linked in peace and reverence in all our memories to-day. Two instances are strikingly pertinent ; and here I must be pardoned a short excursion into the domain of history, because although these facts of thirteenth-century history are known, they do not seem to receive the attention they merit from many who are ready to take an active part in present polemics. I refer to the introduction of Aristotelian and of Thomistic doctrines into the medieval Church.

No pagan thinker is held as high in honour within the Church to-day as Aristotle, and yet we find that he was very roughly treated by authority when some Paris professors first sought to introduce him into Catholic circles. In 1210, the Council of Paris prohibited the teaching of Aristotelian theories. 'Nec libri Aristotelis de naturali philosophia nec commenta legantur Parisius publice vel secreto. . . .' It is popularly believed that this prohibition was aimed only at incorrect translations of Aristotle, but such a theory can hardly be admissible in face of the historical fact that, in 1215, that is five years later, Robert de Courcon, the papal legate, while permitting the *Ethica*, forbade *expressly* not only the *Physica* and *Metaphysica*, but also *Summae de eisdem*. In the absence of evidence to

¹ Huxley's *Essays*, p. 259 ; Dent, 1906. The context refers to the tenability of scientific hypotheses.

the contrary, it is not unfair to hold that these *Summae* were Catholic adaptations of Aristotle. But whatever about the value of such an argument against the current belief, the fact that at Toulouse, in 1229, and indeed everywhere outside Paris, Aristotle in every form could be taught; and the further fact that in 1255 Aristotle *without any correction*¹ was inscribed on the official programme of Paris itself are enough to discredit it as an adequate explanation of the prohibition. The Philosophus, therefore, whose name is so willingly invoked by St. Thomas, had his difficulties and his opponents.

What is more amazing is the dread baptism of fire that St. Thomas underwent at the hands of the defenders of traditional views in his day. The young Dominican professor felt it his duty, in virtue of his obligations towards the students entrusted to his care, to examine calmly and dispassionately the traditional views. A saint in heart he was an intellectual firebrand, refusing to shut his eyes to current errors. The good grain he gathered in, but he did not hesitate to set aside solutions that seemed to him false, even though these solutions had come to him weighted with the authority of Augustine, and of Anselm, and of all the past. He threw down the gauntlet, and went through his 'glorious toil of battle' that his students and all who came after him might reap the spoils of victory. Innovator, progressive, he paid the penalty.² He was attacked by the defenders of tradition, and was condemned by authority. *Correptorium fratris Thomae*, and *De Gradu Formarum*

¹ In 1231, Gregory IX ordered the books of Aristotle to be corrected but his order was never carried out.

² Cf. De Wulf's *Histoire de la Philosophie Médiévale*. 'Par ces théories nouvelles Thomas brise avec la tradition de l'ancienne scolastique; il accentue les rapports de la philosophie et de la théologie; à la pluralité des formes il oppose l'unité du principe substantiel; à la théorie des rationes seminales, l'évolution passive de la matière; à la composition hylémorphique des substances spirituelles, la doctrine des formes subsistantes; à la théorie augustinienne de l'identité de la substance de l'âme et ses facultés, celle de leur distinction réelle; au volontarisme des augustinienues, une conception intellectualiste de la vie physique,' p. 369; édition, 1905. Only close students of the development of Scholasticism can appreciate the revolutionary nature of St. Thomas's new theories, but everyone can understand from what followed how important these changes were in the eyes of his contemporaries.

were but the prelude of a series of bitter persecutions and petty insinuations. At one time all the professors of Paris, with their archbishop at their head, assembled in state at what they hope will go down to future ages as a laudable intervention of authority against the unsafe innovations of this Dominican. It is doubtful if they felt so confident of their self-righteousness at the end of this debate, for St. Thomas kept his temper while their loud-mouthed champion lost his. However, there were other means of silencing St. Thomas, even though his arguments were irrefutable. In 1270 an unsuccessful attempt was made to include two of his theories in a condemnation of Averroes. Seven years later, John XXI gave a mandate to Stephen Tempier, Archbishop of Paris, to enquire into the doctrines taught at the University, with the result that, on the 10th March, several of St. Thomas's theories were condemned. This condemnation held only for Paris; but a few days afterwards, the 18th March, Robert Kilwardby, the Dominican Archbishop of Canterbury, got several Thomistic opinions condemned by the professors of the University of Oxford. The sanction of the Oxford condemnation is worth quotation: 'Quicumque hec dicta non sustinet nec docet habet a fratre R. archiepiscopo XL dies de indulgentia, qui autem dictas positiones defendit . . . '! If a professor refrained from teaching the new theories of St. Thomas, the Archbishop awarded him forty days' indulgence, but——! ¹

Tempier was not yet satisfied, and appealed to Rome for further powers. John XXI had just died, however, and as the papal throne was not yet filled, the cardinals advised him to postpone his request to a more opportune moment. At this stage, St. Thomas's defence was taken up by the Dominicans at the general chapter at Milan, 1278. This served merely to enrage his adversaries, and on the 29th October, 1284, John Peckham, the successor of Robert Kilwardby in the see of Canterbury, renewed

¹ To appreciate the value of these condemnations, it is necessary to remember that Paris and Oxford were the only universities in Catholic Europe at this time. The University of Cambridge was not fully organized till the fourteenth century. Cf. Denifle, *Die Univer. d. Mittel*, p. 371.

the condemnation of his predecessor. Again, on the 30th April, 1286, he forbade the teaching of St. Thomas's theories. This archbishop's language is so shockingly intemperate towards one that was afterwards to be the intellectual guide of the Church, that the opportuneness of its pointed moral alone justifies its reproduction. A veritable treasury of strong expletives, it is above all a standing proof that abusive denunciation of innovation in favour of tradition may be grossly untrue, and may live in history to the eternal shame of its overzealous author. Here are a few of the choice epithets levelled at St. Thomas and his theories: '*profanas vocum vanitates; philosophi elatiores quam capaciores, audaciores quam potentiores, garruliores quam litteraciores.*' John of Peckham appeals to his contemporaries to quit St. Thomas, and return 'to the sound and solid doctrine of the sons of St. Francis, Alexander of Hales, and St. Bonaventure;' '*volentes huic cancerosae prurigni* quam posterimus adhibere pastoralis officii medicinam;' finally, like many another shallow champion of the past, Peckham hides his anger under a pretended love of truth: '*Novitates (reprobamus) que contra philosophicam veritatem sunt in sanctorum injuriam citra viginti annos in altitudinem theologicas introductae . . .*' This was the 1st June, 1285, and St. Thomas had begun his second term of professorship in 1265!¹

These historical facts are ample proof of the all important fact that Catholics, while agreeing on principles, may, and have differed much in the acceptance or non-acceptance of ideas not essentially part of their creed. *Tempora mutantur!* To-day, St. Thomas and Aristotle are the patrons of those who are sworn foes of all change. There seems, therefore, to be grounds for putting the following fundamental question: Does not the history of the Church point to the conclusion, that progress in all knowledge, even in theology and philosophy, comes from those rare, restless spirits who, blessed with seeing eyes and determined will, find the old paths unsafe and strike

¹ Cf. De Wulf, *Histoire*, pp. 266-7; also pp. 371-382. Nothing has been related for which there is not reliable contemporary evidence.

out new ones for themselves? These thinkers, refusing alike to ignore difficulties and to smother their own powers of brain and of will 'beneath the featherbed of respected and respectable tradition,' seek out original answers for the old riddles.

Not that our Catholic children of genius are ever blind to the treasures of the past. They accept whatever truth they find in that vast inheritance, they admit these truths to be many and important, but they refuse to think that God pre-ordained any one century in the Church's history as that in which reason was to achieve its ultimate success in theology, or philosophy, or any other science. Their first principle is the illimitable application of the practical maxim: Two heads are better than one. They protest that it never enters their thoughts for a moment to pretend that millions of years of human speculation can add or take away one jot or tittle from the true sense of truths that are peculiarly God's, because delivered to men under the seal of infallibility. But, for the last seven centuries philosophers have been rendering their concepts and their terms more precise, historians have been separating the grain from the chaff in our traditions, scientists have been winning fresh secrets from nature, saints and teachers of every creed have been setting forth more mature views of humanity, of justice, of solidarity, of liberty, of responsibility, of duty, and hence the pertinent query: Is it not within the power of a generation that is heir to all this to add something to Augustine and Aquinas, to correct them where they failed, not through want of talent, but because they had not facts whereon to build solidly, to open up interpretations of the data of faith which they never thought possible, to settle difficulties of which they never dreamed? No one denies that a child of the twentieth century can, in a few years, learn the secrets of the problems over which Euclid spent his life, aye even of problems in geometry that escaped Euclid's genius.¹ What *a priori* grounds, then,

¹ The two systems of Geometry invented in the middle of the nineteenth century by Lobatchefsky and by Riemann are independent of Euclid's fifth and sixth postulates. It is worth mention that neither

can there be for denying that our apologists of to-day may see error and defects in doctrines that, although outside the dogmas of faith, form part and parcel of the vast syntheses of Augustine and of Aquinas? Newton improved on Copernicus, St. Thomas on St. Augustine, why should the attitude that was not only a possibility but a duty for St. Thomas in the thirteenth century be impossible and disloyal for a defender of the Church in the twentieth century? Is not all knowledge that depends on the unaided light of human reason capable of improvement, of progress?

The children of the Church who speak in this wise are known as Progressive Catholics. Their opponents, conservatives or non-concessionists as they are called, are one with them in principle, but the breach widens daily between the two camps in the application of their principles. This uniformity of principle makes it difficult to define Progressive Catholicism. Moreover, Progressive Catholicism is a growing plant, and accurate measurement of it at any stage of its growth is futile. Roughly speaking, however, Progressive Catholicism may be stated to be the Catholicism of those who, while absolutely loyal to the obligations of their Faith, are advocates in principle and practice of the 'modern spirit.' The 'modern spirit' is, in Scholastic phrase, the *differentia ultima* of our definition, and needs accurate delineation.

The modern spirit is not the spirit which always denies, 'delighting only in destruction;' still less is it that which builds castles in the air rather than not construct; it is that spirit which works and will work 'without haste and without rest,' gathering harvest after harvest of truth into its barns, and devouring error with unquenchable fire.¹

St. Thomas had reason to feel, even in the thirteenth

the Lobatchefsky nor the Riemann straight lines—which, whatever neo-scholastics may think, are accepted by all modern geometers as straight lines in as perfect a sense as Euclid's straight lines—are the shortest distances between two points, and that Kant was prophet enough to foresee, in 1770, the possibility of these startling views of modern geometers! Again, while the angles of Euclid's triangle are equal to two right angles, the angles of Riemann's triangle are always greater, and the angles of Lobatchefsky's triangle are always less, than two right angles.

¹ Huxley's *Hume*, p. viii.

century, that the harvesting of truth and the rooting up of error is a dangerous enterprise. It is doubly so to-day, when the new sciences are being so cleverly manipulated for the purposes of a vast crusade against all positive Christianity, that certain Catholics, and among them many of mark and influence, are honestly convinced that any concession to the claims of science is so much high treason. Notwithstanding the fears of their co-religionists, progressives are convinced of the paramount necessity of employing for the Church's use these sciences. Every truth comes from God, and consequently denial of any truth is, in a sense, unbelief; it is surely, therefore, becoming that all truths of science as well as all truths of Revelation find a welcome and a home in the one Church that can boast of having been founded by the Incarnate Word. Accordingly, these Catholics, entirely single-minded and high-souled, have set themselves the noble though risky task of capturing the enemy's arsenal for the defence and protection of the Church. Her sons in thought, and word, and deed, they stand midway between her official defenders and her inveterate enemies. Whether their views will ultimately prevail or not cannot be prophesied, but it is hardly going beyond our present data to say that they are daily gaining new recruits, and that the time seems to be drawing near when they or theirs shall have some share in the official direction of the Church.

At the present moment, the learning and the hopes of those Catholics have attracted the attention of the civilized world. Everyone has heard of them and, hearing of them, has felt called on to judge them. A few have expressed judgments based on study and knowledge; the many are content to scatter broadcast the verdict of those who ought to know, paying little heed to the possibility that *those who ought to know may not know*. Outside the Catholic Church, generous testimony has been borne to their competency and their candour, though a few have childishly misinterpreted their manly attitude as incipient revolt. Within the Church, holy souls are timid and await in charitable silence the decision of competent judges. Prejudiced

controversialists and special pleaders have denounced them in all moods and tenses, and generally, have succeeded in mystifying the public as to the real issues at stake. Competent thinkers are divided in their appreciation, but unite in accepting such views as ushering in a new epoch in Catholic apologetics. Journalists, accustomed as many of them are to handle high themes in their own breezy way, have rushed into the controversy with characteristic haste and superficiality, heedless of the dread nature of the issues involved. One set of journals has applauded the progressives as the light-bringers of a new era, another set has denounced them as Freemasons in disguise, whose only purpose is to undermine the faith of the Church—the irrefutable proof of this sweeping violation of Christian charity being the praise bestowed on the progressives by a few non-Catholic journals.

At such a crisis, when ignorance and prejudice are playing fast and loose with serious issues, and when fairness and thoughtfulness are so little in evidence, it is providential that two Catholic *littérateurs* of world-wide fame and keen intellectual sympathies should have presented to the reading public masterly analyses of the problems of Progressive Catholicism—*Il Santo*, and *Out of Due Time*. I am aware that Progressive Catholicism embraces just one problem that goes deeper than those discussed either by Fogazzaro or by Mrs. Wilfrid Ward, but I am of opinion that the real problems for those who are not specialists, lies not in the difficulties themselves, but in the attitude of authority towards the men who, in any generation, seek new solutions. The things of Faith are absolutely certain, a thousand difficulties need not make a single doubt. The Index, however, and its doings is the cause of much difficulty to a type of Catholic mentality that is to-day widely spread, and I believe the intelligent perusal of these books, and more especially of *Out of Due Time*, will put an end to many misgivings on this head.

II.

The Saint has been described as a 'mingling of St. Francis and Dr. Döllinger, a man of to-day in intelligence, a medieval in faith.' The heroic asceticism and ardent charity of the Poor Man of Assisi are assuredly present but the modern culture of Piero Maironi displays certain elements that distinguish it from that of the great German. Piero Maironi's life and great sin, previous to his three years' sojourn as undergardener in the Benedictine Monastery of Subiaco, need not detain us. Benedetto—for that was the name given him by his spiritual father and guide, Dom Clemente—blots out by rigorous penance and all-embracing charity the crimes of Piero Maironi, but like many another ardent soul, he finds it more easy to repent than to stay the tempest of his own heart, and day after day his past follows him even in his communings with the Most High. However, I do not intend to follow the history of Benedetto's spiritual struggles. His life and character, in so far as both are an expression and embodiment of the ideals of Progressive Catholicism, are more interesting.

These ideals are first brought under our notice at the meeting in G. Selva's house. Selva, the author of advanced studies in Higher Criticism, and on the rational bases of Morality, invites a number of friends to discuss, at his house, the project of certain reforms in the Catholic Church.

When they are assembled, he puts his views before them :—

There are many Catholics in Italy and outside Italy who, with us, desire certain reforms in the Church. We wish them to be brought about without rebellion, to be the work of the legitimate authorities. We desire reforms in religious instruction, in the ceremonies, in the discipline of the clergy, reforms even in the highest sphere of ecclesiastical government. To obtain these ends it is necessary to create a current of opinion strong enough to induce the legitimate authorities to act in conformity with our views, be it twenty, thirty, or even fifty years hence.

This meeting is not a success. A non-concessionist French abbé, whose presence was a mere accident, while

admitting the need of certain reforms, scoffs at Selva's project. 'In truth it seems to me the present company is preparing to leave Peter's bark, in the hope, perhaps, of being able to walk upon the waves. I humbly declare my faith is not sufficient, and I should sink at once . . .' Another speaker thinks a Franciscan movement more necessary than an intellectual movement. 'To illumine hearts was . . . the first duty of those who aspired to illumine minds.' And so, Selva sees his guests depart having settled on nothing. Later, this meeting bears unexpectedly bitter fruit. The French abbé has babbled foolishly or maliciously, more probably both, and all who had assisted at the meeting are quietly but effectively sent away beyond the range of Selva's influence.

Dom Clemente and Benedetto are the first to experience the penalty of friendship with Selva. On his return to Subiaco that night, Dom Clemente is forbidden all future visits to Selva's house, and on the following morning Benedetto receives his *Nunc Dimittis* from the new abbot. It is a bitter trial, yet Dom Clemente discerns therein the hand of a guiding Providence. Had he not learned from Selva that within the ancient monastery everything was dying, save Christ in the tabernacle.

Within its walls, noble fires of faith and piety, enclosed—like the flames of the candles burning on the altars—in traditional forms, were consuming their human envelope, their invisible vapours rising towards heaven, but sending no wave of heat or of life to vibrate beyond the ancient walls. Currents of living air no longer swept through the monastery, and the monks no longer, as in the first centuries, went out in search of them, labouring in the woods and in the fields, co-operating with the vital energies of nature while they praised God in song. . . . For a long time his wish had been that Benedetto might become a great Gospel labourer, not an ordinary labourer, a preacher, a confessor, but one who should stand apart from the ordinary toiler; not a soldier of the regular army, hampered by uniform and discipline, but a free champion of the Holy Spirit.

That wish was approaching realization. What a noble

accolade the Benedictine monk confers on his departing disciple !

Benedetto bowed his head, and Dom Clemente laid his hands upon it with gentle dignity.

'Do you desire to surrender your whole being to Supreme Truth, to His Church, visible and invisible ?' said the low manly voice.

... Benedetto answered at once, and in a firm voice : ' Yes.'

'Do you promise, as from man to man, to remain unwed and poor, until I shall absolve you from your promise ?'

The firm voice : ' Yes.'

'Do you promise to be obedient always to the authority of the Holy Church, administered according to her laws ?'

The firm voice : ' Yes.'

When these pledges were finished, master and disciple went down to the chapel, prayed for a moment together, and then Benedetto left his master's side for ever.

He is next heard of at Jenne. There his holy life and fervent preaching win for him the reputation of saint and miracle-worker. Certain enemies of his take advantage of the death of a man brought to him against his will to be cured, and drive him from Jenne. These persecutions bring on an attack of fever, and he is nursed back to life in Selva's house. When convalescent, he sets out for Rome. His presence there gives occasion to conferences 'in the catacombs.' Catholic youths, for whom the problems of the age present insuperable difficulties, approach the holy man of Jenne, the pupil of Selva, for light and guidance. His reply is :—

The Church is the whole of mankind, not one separate group of exalted and domniant ideas ; the Church is the hierarchy, with its traditional views, and the laity, with its continual experience of reality, its continual reaction upon tradition ; the Church is official theology, and she is the inexhaustible treasure-house of Divine truth, which reacts upon official theology ; the Church does not die ; the Church does not grow old ; the Church has the living Christ in her heart rather than on her lips ; the Church is a laboratory of truth, which is continually at work, and God commands you to remain in the Church, to become in the Church fountains of living water.

But what manner of faith is yours, if you talk of deserting the Church because you are displeased with certain antiquated doctrines of her rulers, with certain decrees of the Roman

Congregations, with certain tendencies in the government by a Pontiff ? What manner of sons are you who talk of denying your mother because her dress is not to your taste ? Can a dress change the maternal bosom ? When, resting there, you tearfully confess your infirmities to Christ, and Christ heals you, do you speculate concerning the authenticity of a passage in St. John, the true author of the fourth Gospel, or the two Isaías ? When, gathered there, you unite yourselves to Christ in the sacrament, are you disturbed by the decrees of the Index, or of the Holy Office ? When, lying there, you pass into the shadows of death, is the peace it sheds about you any less sweet because a Pope is opposed to Christian Democracy ? . . .

His conclusion is a warning. There are faults in both camps. One Catholic party rejects every innovation, not knowing what they do ; the other is intoxicated with modern ideas. Man's purpose on earth is to glorify God. ' One such just man, who professes and practises Catholicism, contributes more largely to the glory of the Father, of Christ, of the Church, than many congresses, many clubs, many Catholic victories in politics.' As they are about to leave he unfolds in glowing terms the dream of his life.

I see in the future, Catholic laymen striving zealously for Christ and for truth. . . . They will one day take arms as knights of the Holy Spirit, banding together for the united defence of God and of Christian morality, in the scientific, artistic, civil, and social fields ; for the united defence of legitimate liberty in the religious field. . . . Pray that God's will may be made manifest concerning this work in the souls of those who contemplate it. Pray that these souls may willingly strip themselves of all pride in having conceived this work, and of all hope of witnessing its completion, should God manifest disapproval of it.

This strange personality did not remain long unnoticed, and after some time, Benedetto gets the opportunity of his life, a private audience with the Holy Father. Alone with the Pope, he gives utterances which he has always believed to be promptings of the Holy Spirit. Four evil spirits afflict the Church. The first evil spirit, that of falsehood, has entered in in the shape of an angel of light. Many Catholics are worshippers of the letter, fear that truth will destroy truth and brand as heretics and traitors

those who try to meet modern error with modern methods. He begs the Pope to honour these champions of all truth.

If it be necessary, counsel expounders and theologians to advance prudently, for science, in order to progress, must be prudent ; but do not allow the Index or the Holy Office to condemn, because they are bold to excess, men who are an honour to the Church, whose minds are full of truth, whose hearts are full of Christ, who fight in defence of the Catholic faith.

The second evil spirit is that of clerical domination, which is ever imposing useless obligations and demanding undue submission in matters both religious and profane. Benedetto begs the Holy Father not to allow himself to be influenced by this spirit, to have public counsellors, to let the people take a part in the election of bishops ; to counsel the bishops to mingle with the masses, and to cease shutting themselves up in their palaces 'like Eastern Princes.' The third evil spirit is that of avarice, which according to Benedetto makes Christ's anointed often too complaisant with the rich. He looks forward to the day when it shall be the duty of priests to live in poverty as it is their duty to live in chastity. The fourth evil spirit is that of immovability. Those Catholics who are dominated by this spirit are 'worshippers of the past ; they wish everything to remain immovable in the Church, even to the style of the pontifical language, even to the great fans of peacock's feathers which offend the priestly heart of your Holiness, even to those senseless traditions which forbid a cardinal to go out on foot, and make it scandalous for him to visit the poor in their houses.' Then, falling on his knees, and stretching out his hands :—

As a woman once entreated the Pope to come to Rome, so I now entreat your Holiness to come forth from the Vatican. Come forth, Holy Father ; but the first time, at all events, come forth on an errand connected with your office. Lazarus suffers and dies day by day ; go and visit Lazarus ! . . . These words of mine, could the world hear them, would bring scorn and contempt upon me, from those who profess the greatest devotion to the Vatican ; but though they hurl vituperation and thunderbolts against me, not until the hour of my death will I cease crying aloud, 'What will Christ say ? What will Christ say ? To Him I appeal !'

The Pope acknowledges the force of part of Benedetto's appeal, but reminds the Saint that, as Pontiff of the Universal Church, he must adapt his counsels and commands to the millions. He cannot carry on his school for the benefit of the brilliant pupils alone, for he dare not run the risk of losing even one of those million souls. As Benedetto is about to depart, the Pope asks about Selva's private life. Benedetto assures the Holy Father that Selva is a most just man. His books,

perhaps, contain some bold opinions, but there is no comparison between the deep burning piety of Selva's works and the cold, meagre formalism of certain other books. . . . The Church tolerates thousands of stupid ascetic books which unworthily diminish the idea of God in the human mind : let her not condemn those which magnify it.

This visit is the beginning of the end. The non-concessionists on learning that the Pope has been favourably impressed, and has withdrawn the Selva affair from the Congregation, determine on invoking the aid of their most inveterate enemies to crush Benedetto. An unholy league is entered on between those of Christ and those of the State. As he is engaged in winning back to the faith of his youth an unfrocked friar, the Saint is summoned to appear before the Ministers of State. They advise him to leave Rome. He scornfully refuses and in words of fiery eloquence, denounces the attitude of Italian statesmen towards God and His Church. As he leaves their presence fever seizes him, and before the expiration of the three days given him by the ministers to quit Rome he is dying at Villa Mayda. His last words to his friends are worthy of a modern Ignatius or Dominic.

Pray without ceasing, and teach others to pray without ceasing . . . carry in your breasts the Father . . . whom you have felt is a Spirit of love, breathing within you. Be pure in your lives. . . . Be pure in your thoughts. . . . Be holy. Seek neither riches nor honours. Put your superfluous possessions into a common fund for your works of truth and charity . . . be meek with those who offend you. Let each one perform his religious duties as the Church prescribes, according to strict justice, and with perfect obedience. Do not give your union a name, or speak collectively. . . . Many are doing the same work in the

Church. . . . I mean the work of purifying the faith, and imbuing life with the purified faith. Each should feel God's presence within himself, but each should feel it also in the other. . . . Yes, this is the true foundation of human fraternity, and therefore, those who love their fellow-men and believe they are cold towards God, are nearer the Kingdom than many who imagine they love God but who do not love their fellow-men. Purify the faith for grown men, who cannot thrive on the food of infants. . . . But be equally cautious that the infants do not approach their lips to the food for grown men. Be not offended by an impure faith, an imperfect faith, when the life is pure, and the conscience upright ; for in comparison with the infinite depths of God, there is little difference between your faith and the faith of a simple, humble woman, and if the woman's conscience be upright, and her life pure, you will not pass before her in the Kingdom of heaven. Never publish writings concerning difficult, religious questions for sale, but rather distribute them with prudence, and never put your name to them. . . .

Then he insists on the fact that religion is, above all things, action and life, that

the mystic prayer is the purest faith, the most perfect hope, the most perfect charity. . . . Do I tell you to take, publicly, the place of the Pastors ? No ; let each work in his own family each one among his own friends, and those who can with the pen. Thus you will till the soil from which the Pastors arise.

My sons, I do not promise you that you will renew the world. You will labour in the night-time, without visible gain, like Peter and his companion on the Sea of Galilee. But, at last, Christ will come, and then your gain shall be great.

These were Benedetto's dying counsels to his disciples, who were laymen. As he finished, one of the few priests who were among his disciples approached, murmuring, ' Master, and to us ? ' The dying man composed himself, and replied :—

Be poor ; live in poverty. Be perfect. Take no pleasure in titles nor in proud vestments, neither in personal authority nor in collective authority. Love those who hate you ; avoid factions ; make peace in God's name ; accept no civil office ; do not tyrannize over souls, nor seek to control them too much ; do not train priests artificially ; pray that you may be many but do not fear to be few ; do not think you need much human knowledge, you need only much respect for reason, and much faith in the universal and inseparable truth.

III.

Il Santo has been more praised and more abused than any Catholic book that has seen the light for years. I think it may be conceded that passages here and there are open to misinterpretation, and that occasionally its theological *obiter dicta* are startling.¹

The truth seems to be, *Il Santo* contains pearls of great price hidden away in waters so angry that inexperienced treasure-seekers are more apt to get into difficulties than to succeed in securing any booty. That the Holy Office had wise reasons for putting it on the Index, no Catholic will deny. What these reasons were, no one acquainted with the views of Franzelin, Hurter, etc., as to the myriad motives of the Holy Office in withdrawing certain books from circulation, will waste time in trying to guess. Fogazzaro's readers would do well to follow in this matter his example of loyal submission and respectful silence.²

¹ Though these stray passages hardly affect the book, I think it better to set them down here.

'The answer was that probably human souls (after death) found themselves in a state and in surroundings regulated, as in this life, by natural laws, where, as also in this life, the future can be divined only by indications without certainty' (p. 19).

Selva's evolutionary theory on the development of the celibate ideal (pp. 37, 38) is not too unconvincing, though novel.

'You said that a man may deny the existence of God without really being an atheist or deserving eternal death, if that God, whose existence he denies, be placed before him in a shape repugnant to his intellect, and if he love Truth, Virtue, and his fellow-men, and by his life give proof of this love' (p. 196). This statement, I take it, is but a bold application of the axiom, 'Facienti quod in se est, Deus non denegat gratiam.'

'They do not understand that their duty toward God and their duty toward their superiors may be fulfilled, by never striving against what is good, by never refraining from striving against what is evil, by never judging their superiors, by obeying them with perfect obedience in everything that is neither opposed to what is good nor in favour of what is evil, by laying even life itself at their feet, but not their conscience; their conscience, never!' (p. 203). Personally I understand this in a perfectly orthodox sense, but I am inclined to think that one not acquainted with the theology of 'their conscience, never!' may easily draw false conclusions therefrom. I do not think the context makes the necessary limitations obvious.

'I believe that until the dissolution of our planet, our future life will be one of labour upon it, and that all those minds which aspire to truth, to unity, will meet there, and labour together' (p. 225).

² *Il Santo* was put on the Index about the middle of April, 1906. Fogazzaro at once accepted the condemnation and refused to discuss it with the interviewers or with his friends. A vigorous polemic ensued between his admirers and his opponents, as to the meaning of his silence. At last,

Il Santo clearly purports to be an account of 'the struggle at the springs of thought' in the Catholic Church. The ideas and purposes of progressive Catholics are set down in deservedly bright colours. Nor are all good qualities denied to non-concessionists. But while their intrigues are repeatedly insisted on, and rightly reprobated, there is hardly ever any serious attempt to persuade the reader that there are many noble, upright minds among them. It is a possible consequence that incautious readers will draw from the book conclusions as false as those of the writer of the preface to the English translation. This writer does not mince his words. Benedetto's opponents are described as 'the sagacious politicians of the Vatican, inheritors of the accumulated craft of a thousand years,' etc.¹ It is unnecessary to insist how offensive such language is, and what decidedly bad taste it was to not respect Fogazzaro's own feelings when writing a preface to his book. I cannot believe that this preface was printed with his consent, and I expect that one who went to the trouble of translating his book took sufficient interest in the author to get informed on his attitude. Whatever about the taste of such a preface, anyone acquainted with the pros and cons of this struggle cannot fail to be convinced that a book giving grounds for such appreciations is a plea *pro domo*. 'Rien n'est si hardi que d'être conservateur' has not lost its force because it was prominently and lamentably misplaced in a certain book on Scripture. And one who boldly professes his progressive views wrote

on the 27th April, he wrote to S. Crispolti, in *Avvenire d'Italia*: 'From the beginning, I resolved to show to this decree of the Index the dutiful obedience of a Catholic; I was determined, therefore, neither to discuss it nor to contradict it by authorizing fresh translations or editions in addition to those that were a matter of contract before the decree, and that, therefore, I cannot possibly rescind. . . .' The Fogazzaro question has entered on many phases since the publication of this letter; the Freemasons in Italy have attempted to deprive him of his senatorship on the grounds that his submission—which a certain group of Catholics affected not to believe in—was an abdication of the rights of reason, etc., but Fogazzaro has never wavered, and in reply to the congratulations of the Bishop of Lucera, declared: 'I wrote *Il Santo* in a Catholic spirit, and in the same Catholic spirit I accept obediently the decree of the Index.'

¹ *The Saint*. Introduction, p. xii. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1906.

of the non-concessionists just a week before *Il Santo* was condemned :—

Convaincus du danger que nous faisons courir à l'Église, ils se font un devoir de prévenir les esprits contre les tendances nouvelles des catholiques progressistes. Nous n'aurons garde de nous plaindre de leur zèle. Il faut toujours soutenir les idées que l'on croit bonnes et combattre celles qui nous semblent mauvaises. A condition de fermer son ame aux sentiments de hostilité et d'aigreur, il ne peut être que salutaire d'entrer en lice pour défendre son patrimoine.¹

If Lowell's lines—

Disappointment's dry and bitter root,
 Envy's harsh berries, and the choking pool
 Of the world's scorn, are the right mother-milk
 To the tough hearts that pioneer their kind—

have any truth, there should be 'tough hearts' in the noblest sense, among the non-concessionists, as well as among the progressives. Scorn and envy and disappointment are falling thickly on the heads of both parties. It is *prima facie* evident that not a few non-concessionists are fighting for more than the flesh-pots. Now, beyond a passing phrase that easily slips the memory, *Il Santo* is practically silent on the view that non-concessionists take of all this hankering after modern thought and modern ideals. I reserve to a future paper my criticism of non-concessionism, but accepting fairness to all sides as a first principle in controversy, and further, believing no such fairness possible unless one is prepared, as far as in him lies, to look at the question from the opponent's standpoint, I am forced to conclude that in putting before the reading public a book which, whatever its purpose, decidedly invites readers to a judgment on official non-concessionism, it was unfair not to impress on that public—especially as Fogazzaro knew better than most how little the public was *au courant*, and how much, therefore, it was dependent on him for an adequate statement of the case—what grave issues were at stake from a non-concessionist standpoint. Rightly or

¹ *Les Deux Courants*. Dr. M. Rifaux. Demain, p. 2 ; April 6, 1906.

wrongly, non-concessionists regard Christian Democracy, Higher Criticism of the Bible, and Pragmatism in Apologetics, as so many dangers to the 'faith of the millions.' Those who follow the controversies will admit that, to say the very least, intellectual prowess is fairly divided, and not a few are of opinion that the preponderance of intellect and talent is gradually grouping itself around the standard of Progressive Catholicism. Further, it is evident, explain the fact as you please, that the rising generation is more partial to progressive than to conservative views. It is intelligible, therefore, that those who hold the reins of power should use that power mercilessly and, at times, narrowly, to crush out what they regard as a passing though formidable danger. That use of power may be an abuse—for the moment I am not interested in this aspect of the matter—but in submitting to an unprepared public an account of such facts where, even if nothing has been overdrawn, assuredly very little—of a certain aspect of the question—seems to have been omitted, it was illiberal—I use the term with regret—not to have presented the whole case. There are narrow, short-sighted minds among that large group of Catholic thinkers who are styled non-concessionists. No one dare deny what at first sight seems a greater anomaly, that there are minds equally narrow, equally short-sighted, among the progressives, small minds that wanting depth to sound principles, take fright at every shadow, and are ever ready to thrust aside the legacy of the past as if it was only in our time men faced honestly and seriously the vast problem of human destiny.

That one noble non-concessionist thinker, whose worship of the treasures of nineteen centuries did not wholly blind him to the possible value of the conquests of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries—there are such—was not given a prominent place in the gallery of keen intellects that fill the pages of *Il Santo*, is to my mind a fatal blot on the book. The absence of such a character deprives the picture presented of true perspective.

This is the chief defect, but many will agree that it was scarcely prudent in our present crisis, and in a book

obviously dealing with living issues and living personages, to have put into the mouth of the Pope the following declaration of policy :—

My son, many of these things the Lord had spoken of in my heart long ago. . . . I must adapt my counsels, my commands, to the different states of mind of so many millions of men. I am like a poor school-master who, out of seventy scholars, has twenty who are below the average, forty of ordinary ability, and only ten who are really brilliant. He cannot carry on the school for the benefit of the ten brilliant pupils alone and I cannot govern the Church for you alone and for those who are like you. Consider this, for instance. Christ paid tribute to the State, and I—not as Pontiff, but as citizen—would gladly pay my tribute of homage, there in that palace whose lights you saw shining, did I not fear by so doing to offend the sixty scholars, to lose even one of those souls which are as precious to me as the others. And it would be the same if I caused certain books to be removed from the Index ; if I called to the Sacred College certain men who have the reputation of not being strictly orthodox ; if, during an epidemic, I should go—*ex abrupto*—to visit the hospitals of Rome.

Observant readers cannot help thinking that in the pontificate of a Pope who, whatever his private views may be, has never in his public utterances rung the changes of the magic words ' Science and ' Democracy,' after the manner of his illustrious predecessor, Leo XIII, such words were simply a challenge to combat. They were an appeal to authority at a moment when, from a human point of view, a *tolerari potest* could scarcely have been hoped for.

Therein Fogazzaro repeated the old mistake of the directors of *L'Avenir*, a mistake of many-sided issues, for if the fate of the great Lamennais fixes the minds of our generation on the saddest issue, Mrs. Wilfrid Ward's genius has, as I hope to point out in a future number, given us the most comforting and most masterly account of the meaning of our present crisis in Catholic Apologetics by skilful treatment of a similar mistake on the part of Paul D'Etranges, the hero of *Out of Due Time*.

JOHN O'NEILL, PH.D.

SYMBOLISM AND SACRAMENTS

IT is remarkable how deeply the instinct of symbolism is implanted in human nature. The child who, with a circle of shells and a small mound of sand, sets himself to build a medieval castle, the girl who sees in a tawdrily painted piece of wood and a scrap of horsehair a black-haired radiant princess, the savage who adores a tree and hangs on it particles of his own clothing—all these in their way are symbolists. It is scarcely to be doubted even, that the highest productions of art depend for their value upon their fidelity to an intensely refined code of symbols, rather than upon their realistic truth. In a picture, for example, we distinguish between legitimate and illegitimate art ; the former is not that which by 'trick-painting' produces an illusion of reality, but rather that which is most faithful to a set of canons universally accepted by the most competent—an impressionist sketch consisting of a blur, a couple of shadows, and a red spot may be an example of far purer art than a painting of a bunch of grapes against which birds fly in vain.

So, too, with music. Messrs. Maskelyne and Cooke's admirable reproduction of a storm at sea, the shrilling of the wind, the roll of thunder, the dash and roar of waves—this is not an example of musical art, for it is no more than an ingenious realistic reproduction. On the other hand, Chopin's symbolic representation of the Rain on the Roof, depending as it does upon melody and reiteration, upon the suggestion of musical phrases, and the colour supplied by the harmonies he uses—this, too, produces the effect of a storm coming up out of the distance, roaring overhead and dying away under the breaking of clean sunlight ; but this is accepted as lying in the realm of pure art, since it produces its effect by its amazing fidelity to that code of symbolism which lies at the back of all art whatsoever. Realism and art, therefore, are not identical.

It seems, therefore, that there is innate in human nature a mysterious language by which men may communicate with one another, employing as their vehicle of thought material objects or vibrations that bear no sensible relations to that which they convey.

Let us see this by another example. I am describing to a child, for instance, the battle of Waterloo, as we sit together in a summerhouse; and, in order to help him towards a realization of it, I choose pebbles of various sizes and colours to represent the places and persons concerned. A grain of earth is Napoleon, a round sea-pebble is Hougoumont, a white shell is the Duke of Wellington, and so forth. When he has once got these relations into his head, both for him and for me the small material objects receive a value which intrinsically they do not possess. It is even likely that if I succeed in inspiring him with military enthusiasm, I shall find that weeks afterwards the white shell travels with him in his knickerbocker pocket, is viewed with half shut eyes of delight as he listens to the tiresome talk of his elders in the drawing-room, and is reverently laid beside his bed to greet him when he wakes. When he is questioned as to the meaning of this ritual, he answers quite simply that 'It is the Duke of Wellington, who won the battle of Waterloo.'

Now, I think that we are a great deal too much apt to murmur that he must be a very imaginative child, and to think that having labelled him we have explained him; yet, to my mind, this is a very shallow way of dealing with the point; for I believe that here we have a witness to an extraordinarily deep law of human nature, a law that runs up into the spiritual world itself, and one that is even vitally connected with religion. After all, nothing that is human is alien to God.

What is it that has taken place that causes this child to say that the shell is the Duke of Wellington? It is not any visible resemblance between them. If I had taken the pains to carve a piece of wood with my pocket-knife into the semblance of a man with a cocked hat, certainly the symbol would have gained in realism, but it would have

lost in pure symbolic significance. Possibly, even, it would not have risen so high in the child's estimation, for it is a curious and a deeply important fact that children—who are, after all, men in the making—are apt to value less, rather than more, realistic representations of what they love; they prefer a bunch of rags tied together with a string rather than a wax beauty with closing eyes and flaxen hair. It is an important fact, I say, because here we have an indication that to those natures which we call imaginative, symbolism, pure and simple, makes a stronger appeal than does symbolism clothed with adventitious aids. The reason why the boy calls the shell the Duke of Wellington is a very much simpler thing; it depends solely upon this—that my will, acting practically apart from emotion or intellect, declared that it was so, and that his will accepted it.

It seems, therefore, that in this strange spiritual region where the symbolic language is current, the will is agent; and that man has the power, not indeed of literal creation, nor of causing matter to come into existence as the expansion of his thought, but of putting a practically insignificant piece of already existing matter into significant relations with an idea.

And this relation, too, is not purely transitory. The child retains a consciousness of it long after Napoleon has returned to the garden-bed and Hougoumont to the pit whence it was dugged; and, if we greatly magnify the elements in this little situation, we shall see its truth more deeply than ever.

Let us imagine that I was the Duke of Wellington myself, and that I was lecturing on the battle, not to a child in a summerhouse, but to the crowned heads of Europe in Buckingham Palace. Let us imagine that the pebble was secured and labelled afterwards, that it was laid aside with veneration, and shown through generation after generation as the pebble which, in the hands of the Iron Duke, once represented himself on an important occasion. Is it not obvious that the pebble would acquire a value, after, let us say, a hundred years, ludicrously out

of proportion to its intrinsic worth? We shall have explained nothing when we shall have remarked on the force of 'association'; rather, by the very use of the word we shall have witnessed exactly to the point which I am trying to make, namely, that when a number of significant human wills have been brought to bear upon an object purely worthless in itself, that object is, in a manner which at present we cannot fully understand, brought into an union, which we call 'symbolic,' with something else—an idea or a reason—with which, treated realistically, it has no connexion at all. It has been, that is to say, 'associated' with an idea, and still, in some manner, retains that association. The fact that it is venerated by those who look upon it; the fact that the loss of it would be considered, like the disappearance of the Nelson relics, almost a national loss, would seem to indicate that the will and election of man has power to raise a thing from insignificance to significance, from worthlessness to worth, and to place it in almost mystical relations to something that inconceivably surpasses its intrinsic value.

The bearing of all this upon religion, and especially upon religion in its symbolic department, is obvious; for is not this, after all, the spiritual principle upon which the Church founds many of her devotional practices? If one considers the Brown Scapular, for example, we see in it, on a higher range, a parallel to our garden pebble. Intrinsically it is worth rather less than a farthing; spiritually it may be the means of preserving chastity and leading to eternal life. I say, 'on a higher range,' because there is no true comparison, except an analogical one, between the pebble and the scrap of brown cloth. Yet, it may well be the same spiritual principle on which the respective values of the two depend.

The shell in the summerhouse actually for weeks afterwards conveyed to the child an idea—(and an idea, after all, is a spiritual thing)—which he could not have retained so easily without it; the pebble in Buckingham Palace conveyed an idea far greater and far more effective to countless thousands of men who looked on it—greater and more

effective because the will and circumstances brought to bear upon it were greater and more effective than my own and the child's. When, therefore, we consider that the Divine consciousness of the Bride of Christ has been brought to bear upon the piece of brown cloth, and that she has seen in it, by an act of her will, the livery of Mary, Mother of God, it can scarcely be doubted that by that act an union has been set up between the material object and the idea it typifies and conveys, that surpasses in intensity the union of ordinary human symbolism, as the agent and the object concerned surpass in sacredness and spirituality the wills of the crowned heads of Europe and the Iron Duke. It would seem, then, that here, as always, the supernatural which transcends the natural yet follows its lines, and that God who implanted instincts in man acts also on the groundwork of those same instincts in spiritual things. We do not degrade Catholic symbolism by the analogy, rather we enhance the spirit of man and understand better how truly even in details it is made in the likeness of God.

It would seem possible, then, to extend the principle yet further, and to see, raised again on a yet higher plane, the same plan at work in the sacramentals of the Church. These, as we know, act *ex opere operantis* only ; there is not in them the intrinsic energy of the sacraments themselves. Yet even here, too, we see a further illustration of the parallel lines of thought. The pebble in Buckingham Palace has not in itself any intrinsic energy whatever ; for the drawing out of the power that it has acquired through the bending upon it of the energy of the wills that have given it its ' associated ' value, there is required a knowledge of what it is, and a certain sympathy with the language through which it speaks. One who had no knowledge of what it was, one even who had no historical imagination, would gain from it absolutely no idea nor emotion whatsoever. So, too, with the sacramentals of the Church. The holy water, the ashes, and the palms have received indeed the formal blessing of the Church, they have been set in relation to spiritual things, they thrill, as it were, with the

movement of the spiritual world, yet for the obtaining from them of the energy which they convey, there is needed a response of the intellect and the will. It is not enough to use them unintelligently or involuntarily. Yet, they are none the less vehicles of grace to those who fulfil the required conditions.

Finally, then, as we approach nearer to the Heart of all Reality, to Him Who is the centre of creation as well as transcendent of it, is it not possible to say that we can trace the lines that are so deeply cut in human nature even in the highest manifestations of His love in the very sacraments themselves? Here, too, the dignity of the Agent and the awfulness of the object immeasurably surpass any human analogy of which we can form any conception, and we pass to a new realm. It is not with the will of a few human beings that we are concerned; it is not with the mystical Personality of the Church acting as it were upon her own divinely-given authority; and it is not ecclesiastical authority, though supported by the Divine,—that authority which in virtue of that support has instituted the sacramentals as means of grace—which here declares a material thing to be in union with spiritual things; but it is the Supreme Authority and the Creative Will which is at work.

We are passed, therefore, out of the realm of the finite and the symbolic into that of the infinite and the actual, when we hear Jesus Christ Himself use the words of a man to absolve us from our sins, and see Him employ oil or water to convey to us the gifts of His own holiness. It is the Will which not only immeasurably surpasses, but transcends and is other than any conception that we can form of will. It is the will which not only links matter and spirit but which has brought matter into existence from nothing, that here employs it in His endless and patient work of raising us to the estate whence we are fallen. And, therefore, we find here, not symbols as they are ordinarily accounted to be, but a reality *ex opere operato*, which better accords with the dignity of Him by Whose word the heavens were made. We are passed, in a word, from

shadow to substance ; yet the substance, as is fitting, bears a certain resemblance to the shadow which it casts.

And even in the supreme Gift of all—the Gift which is the Giver—as we hear Him say through the lips of a man that *This is His Body* and *This His Blood*, is it not possible to see in this the crown and apex of the tiny faint circles of human consciousness, a Reality of which symbolism is itself but a symbol, but a Reality which so far condescends to human weakness as to employ the appearances of bread and wine to be the vehicles of the soul's food, and instead of as in symbolism conveying a memory by a thing and a shadow by a substance, to convey a thing by a memory, a substance by a shadow, and a Reality through an appearance ?

ROBERT HUGH BENSON.

THE SECOND PART OF THE VATICAN EDITION OF PLAIN CHANT

IN the article on the Vatican Edition of Plain Chant in the I. E. RECORD of January last, it was my unpleasant task to criticise the first part of that edition, which comprises the *Ordinarium Missae*. It is now my equally painful duty to pass some strictures on the second part, which has been issued lately, and which comprises the *Commune Sanctorum*. For here, again, the hopes that were raised about the Vatican Edition, have been sadly disappointed.

The history of the movement towards the restoration of the Plain Chant is well known. The first serious attempt to return to the original form after centuries of 'reforms,' was made by a Commission, appointed in 1849 to issue a Gradual for the Dioceses of Reims and Cambrai. The result of their labours was published, in 1851, by Lecoffre, of Paris. Unfortunately, the Commission had not the courage to go the whole way. Otherwise their work, though based on a very limited manuscript material, would have been very valuable. It was Dom Guéranger, the Abbot of Solesmes, who laid down the principle of an absolute return to the original. About 1860, he ordered two of his monks, Dom Jausions and Dom Pothier, to study the matter with a view to editing a Gradual for the monastery. After twelve years of close work the Gradual was in the main completed. But another eleven years elapsed before Dom Pothier, who on the death of Dom Jausions, had become sole editor, published his *Liber Gradualis*. In this *Liber Gradualis*, then, the traditional form of the Chant was substantially reproduced, at least if we except the *Ordinarium Missae*. In the latter, indeed, Dom Pothier had introduced considerable changes from the readings of the manuscripts, changes which still mar the Vatican 'Kyriale.' But it is a proof for the faithfulness of the tradition as preserved in the

codices, that the rest of the Gradual, though based still on a small number of MSS., requires corrections only in some details in order to represent the true original reading as it can be restored now.

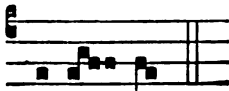
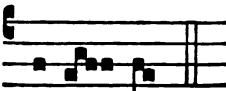
Since the publication of the *Liber Gradualis*, the Solesmes monks, under Dom Mocquereau, have continued their studies. Two things were required to settle some questions of detail: a larger MSS. material and better critical methods. Both were obtained, and as a result some improvements on the *Liber Gradualis* were embodied in the *Liber Usualis*, published a few years ago. But quite recently, the Solesmes monks began collecting materials on an unprecedented scale, and they have now in their laboratory at Appuldurcombe, about 400 of the best manuscripts—about 200 for the Gradual and 200 for the Antiphonary—of all ages and all countries, in photographic reproduction. On this material the Vatican Edition was to be based, and, needless to say, with the excellent critical methods of the Solesmes school, and under the supervision of a fairly representative Papal Commission, it would have been a work reflecting the greatest credit on Catholic science.

It is sad to think, then, that this magnificent material has not been used at all. The vast majority of these precious documents still await critical examination, and the Vatican Edition is a patch-work based apparently on the *Liber Gradualis*, the *Liber Usualis*, the manuscripts published in the *Paléographie Musicale*, and perhaps one or two other manuscripts.

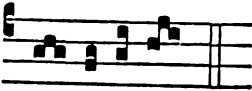

To get some idea of the nature of this second part of the Vatican Edition, I paid a visit to Appuldurcombe, and busied myself with the sources to be found there. Naturally, during the short time at my disposal, I could not go over the whole of the *Commune Sanctorum*. I had to be satisfied with taking up a few doubtful passages here and there. Even for these I could not consult all the 200 codices, but had to confine myself to the most important ones. Yet, however, I was able to get sufficient evidence that in a good many instances the Vatican Edition does not

represent the true tradition, and I publish my investigations confident that a future fuller examination will not modify my statements substantially.

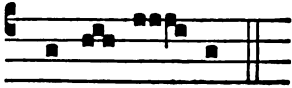
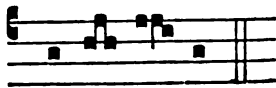
One of the principal changes by which, from the ninth or tenth century forward, the original form of the chant has been modified in the majority of MSS., is the substitution, frequently made, of the upper tone of the semitone interval for the lower one. Thus in the 3rd and 8th modes *c* has been substituted for *b*, in the 4th, and also sometimes in the 3rd, *f* for *e*. In my article in the May number of the I. E. RECORD, I have given (page 429 *seqq.*) a number of instances in which this change has worked strikingly to the detriment of the melodies. It is satisfactory to note that in the second part of the Vatican Edition, some of these changes have been rectified. Thus we read in the 4th mode Communion of the Mass *In Vigilia unius Apostoli*:

(1)  where the *Liber*
Gradualis has (2) 
 Domi- ne Domi- ne

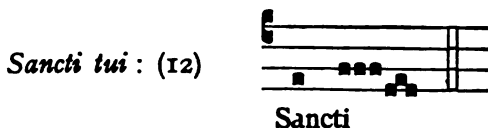
Similarly at *Domine* and *habui* in the Communion of the Mass *Me expectaverunt (pro Virgine et Martyre)*. Also in the 3rd mode Introit *In Vigilia unius Apostoli*, at *Domini*.

For the 8th mode 
 we find (3) tri- bu- isti
 instead of (4) 
 tri- bu- isti

in the Tract of the Mass *Statuit (Unius Martyris Pontificis)*, and similarly at *benedictione* (ib.) Also, in the same piece,

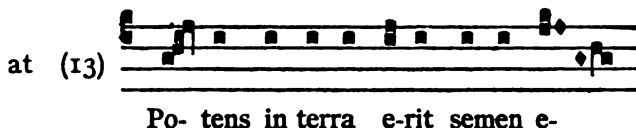
(5)  instead
 of (6) 
 praeve- ni- sti praeve- ni- sti

We ought to have *e*, not *f*, at the Intonation of the Introit



and similarly at *Intret (Plur. Mart. extra T. P.)*.

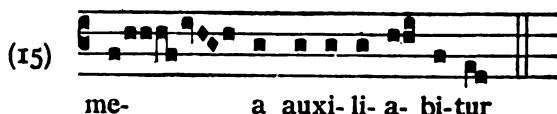
For the 8th mode the reciting note should be *b* in the Tract *Beatus vir* of the Mass *Sacerdotes (Unius Mart. Pont.)*



It will be observed here how, in the course of the recitation, the accented syllable of *erit* is ornamented by a rise above the reciting note. This is the normal thing in such recitations. Compare, for instance, in the Alleluja Verse *Dies sanctificatus* (third Mass of Christmas) at *sanctificatus illuxit, venite gentes, descendit*; or, in the Gradual *Anima nostra* (SS. *Innocentium*, also *Commune Plur. Mart. Alia Missa*) at *Adjutorium nostrum in nomine*. It is peculiar how this figure *bc* has survived in the later version



although it has lost its meaning there. The same change of the reciting note has taken place also in the next verse, *Gloria et divitiae*, and in the Offertory of the same Mass at *mea auxiliabitur*, which should read



In the next place I have to mention a number of melodic details in which the Vatican Edition deviates from the true

version. I shall enumerate them together with a general indication of the evidence against the Vatican reading.

In the Communion *Semel juravi* (*Unius Mart. Pont.*) at the second *aeternum*, nearly all the old MSS. have *f e* as the first figure on the accented syllable. The *Vaticana* has *g e*.

The melody of the Alleluja Verse *Hic est sacerdos* is one which recurs frequently. On the neuma of the Alleluja Dom Mocquereau published a special dissertation in the *Rassegna Gregoriana*, of May-June, 1904, page 311. From a careful examination of eighty-six codices, giving some 700 or 800 notations of the melody, he proves conclusively that the five notes *c d f d f* form one group. Notwithstanding, the *Vaticana* still separates the last *f* from the preceding group. It seems clear, then, that the editor does not want to act even on the most convincing evidence.¹

In the Offertory *Inveni David* (*Unius Mart. Pont. II.*) at *brachium* almost all MSS. end the figure on the second syllable with *c b c*. The *Vaticana* omits the last *c*.

In the Gradual *Beatus vir* (*Unius Mart. non Pont.*) on the last syllable of *mandatis* the *Vaticana* writes *a g c d c*, while the majority of the MSS. have *a g a d c*. In the same Gradual at *terra* we meet the figure *a b c d b d c*, although the large majority of MSS. have *d a* instead of *d c*. At *semen*

ejus, we find the following figure (16)



Here the best neumatic MSS. have, for the last five notes, a double Clivis with Apostropha. The double Clivis might mean, of course, *d c* and *c a*; but the Apostropha excludes

¹ M. GrosPELLIER, in his article on the *Commune Sanctorum* of the Vatican Edition (*Revue du Chant Grégorien*, August-September, 1906), tries to justify the vacant space after the Clivis *f d* from the fact that this Clivis is marked by the sign of prolongation in the Romanian MSS. It is really astonishing how a man like GrosPELLIER can make such a blunder. The prolongation mark found in St. Gall codices affects the first note (*f*). No instance is found where a prolongation mark is added to the second part of the Clivis (the *d*). On the other hand, the space left in the Vatican Edition between the *d* and the following Virga *f*, of course, affects the *d*.

the interval of a third (*a c*). Hence the reading of the *Vaticana* cannot be correct. The proper reading is *d c d c c*.

At the beginning of the following Alleluja the *Vaticana* has *c d f g*. The oldest MSS. show a Quilisma after the second note (between *d* and *f*). Towards the end of the neuma the *Vaticana* has *c f g a a*. In this it follows the MSS. of Montpellier and Vercelli (186), against all the others, which have *c d f* instead of *c f*.

In the Communion of the same Mass the *Vaticana* writes at *vult*, *f*, although most of the oldest MSS. have here a Podatus (*d f*). Similarly, at *venire* it writes *b b a* on the last syllable, although most of the oldest MSS. have a Torculus (*a b a*). At *sequatur* the *Vaticana* ends with *f e c*, the following word *me* having *d*. This note on *me* is written, in the oldest MSS., as a Punctum. It cannot, therefore, be higher than the preceding note. The correct reading on *sequatur* is consequently *f e d*.

In the Offertory *Posuisti* (*Unius Mart. non Pont. II.*) the *Vaticana* has on the accented syllable of *coronam* a Distropha *c c*, followed by a Torculus *b c g*. All the oldest MSS., however, have a Virga and Clivis (*c c b*) followed by a Clivis (*c g*).

In the Communion of the same Mass, the *Vaticana* has *d* on the last syllable of *minister*. The MSS. here have various readings. The majority of the best have *c*, a fair number have *d c*, but the reading of the *Vaticana* is found only in a very small number.¹

In the Offertory *Confitebuntur* (*De Uno Mart. T. P.*) there is a Quilisma on the accented syllable of *mirabilia*, which is not to be found in the oldest MSS.² In the following Communion all the oldest MSS. have an Oriscus at the end of the first Alleluja, which is omitted in the *Vaticana*.

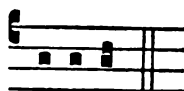
In the Communion *Gaudete* (*Plur. Mart. T. P.*) we find a Quilisma on the last syllable of *Gaudete*. In this the codex of Montpellier is followed against nearly all the oldest MSS., which have a simple Podatus (*d f*).

¹ Since the above was written, the Vatican Printing Establishment issued a sheet of errata. In this some of the mistakes that I mentioned, have been corrected. Thus on the last syllable of *minister d c* has been put instead of *d*.

² This Quilisma has been eliminated. See note 1.

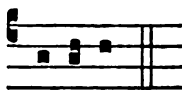
¶ In the Introit *Intret* (*Plur. Mart. e. T. P.*) on the second syllable of *redde* two notes are given against all the oldest MSS.

At *vicinis* the
Vaticana has (17)



vi-ci-nis

while all the oldest
MSS. have (18)



vi-ci-nis

¶ In the Gradual of the same Mass there are only two notes (*a g*) on the second syllable of *manus*, while nearly all the oldest MSS. have a Torculus (*g a g*). At *confregit* we notice a division mark after the second group (*f e d*). Perhaps this is an oversight, as in the corresponding places, at *non* in the Gradual *Inveni* (*Unius Mart. Pont.*) and at *Christo* in the Gradual *Sacerdotes* (*Conf. Pont. II.*) the division mark is placed eleven notes later.

In the Alleluja neume (*Plur. Mart. II.*) we find the

following figure (19)



I discovered the initial neume *e g* only in the codices of Montpellier and Chartreux. All other MSS. have *f g*. In the Verse at *et exultet* the first two syllables have *d d*. This is supported only by Sarum and the Dominicans. All others that have the *et*, have *c d*.

In the Offertory *Iustorum* (*Plur. Mart. III.*) only three notes (*d c d*) are given on the second syllable of *manu*, while all the oldest MSS. have a double Podatus (*c d c d*). The final Clivis (*e d*) on the accented syllables of *tormentum* and *oculis* is not found in any of the oldest codices, except that of Montpellier, and in this only at *aureum* (in the Offertory *Stetit Angelus*, of which *Iustorum* is an adaptation),

not at *ei*. On the final Alleluja we find, just before the division mark, the figure *g e*, where the large majority of MSS. give *g f*.

The Intonation of the Communion *Fidelis servus* (*Conf. Pont.*) is given only by bad Italian MSS. The German, French, and English MSS., as well as the Dominicans and Premonstratensians, have *g a c*.

In the Gradual *Os justi* of Doctors, the *Vaticana* has on the second and fourth syllables of *supplantabuntur* respectively *g e* and *f f e d*, while all MSS. have *g g e* and *g f f e d*.¹

In the Communion *Beatus servus* (*Conf. non Pont.*) only the Montpellier and St. Gall MSS. have *e g* at *quem*, all others have *f g*. The *Vaticana* has *e g*.

In the Alleluja Verse *Beatus vir* (*Conf. non Pont. II.*) almost all the oldest MSS. have *a c b a* on the first syllable of *ejus*. The *Vaticana* has *a c a b*.

The Gradual *Domine, praevenisti* (*Pro Abb.*) is ascribed, in the *Vaticana*, to the 4th mode, the Response proper (before the *Ÿ*.) ending *f g f e e*, not *f g f d d*. Dom Pothier wrote about this piece in the *Revue du Chant Grégorien*, 1897, No. 3, page 37. He points out that the final phrase of the Response is the same as the neuma of a 4th mode Alleluja (occurring, amongst other places, on the Third Sunday of Advent), and concludes from this that the Gradual *Domine praevenisti* must also be 4th mode. The stringency of this argument might well be doubted. As the whole character of the piece is that of the 1st mode, it would seem more likely that the accidental similarity of the phrase in question with the 4th mode Alleluja caused the transfer of the Gradual from the 1st to the 4th mode. But however this may be, it is interesting to quote what Dom Pothier says further on: 'Néanmoins le *Liber Gradualis*, dans lequel on n'a pas fait d'archéologie à outrance, donne le ré pour final au Graduel *Domine*, ainsi qu' au Graduel *Benedicta*, se conformant en cela à un usage suffisamment autorisé et depuis longtemps déjà généralement établi.' It would appear, then, that the *Vaticana*, which has changed *re* into *mi*, has 'carried archæology to excess'!

¹ The figure on the fourth syllable has been corrected. See note 1, p. 420.

In the Alleluja Verse *Iustus ut palma* of the same Mass, the *Vaticana* has *bb* as highest notes on *cedrus*. This reading is supported only by the codices of Montpellier and Marseille (Abbaye St. Madeleine). All the other old MSS. have *c*. It need scarcely be pointed out that the rise to *c* seems much finer as a description of a mighty tree. I may also be permitted to mention that the division of this neuma in the *Liber Usualis* seems much more appropriate than that of the *Liber Gradualis* and the *Vaticana*.

In the Offertory *Afferentur* (*Virg. et Mart.*) the *Vaticana* marks a liquescent note on the second *afferentur* which I have not found in any MS.

In the Communion of the same Mass the *Vaticana* follows Montpellier and Marseille against most other codices in giving to the first syllable of *injuste* the notes *d a* instead of *d f*.

In the Introit *Me expectaverunt* (*Virg. et Mart. II.*) all neumatic MSS. except Montpellier have a Torculus (*f a g*) on the third syllable of *consummationis*. The *Vaticana* shows again the one-sided preference for Montpellier.

The grouping of long neumata is a matter in which taste must have considerable sway, since the MSS. often give no clear indication on this point. In the figure on the first *Deus* of the Gradual *Adjuvabit*, however, we find three MSS. marking a Romanian *x* (a kind of pause) after the Distropha *cc*, while a number of others give the prolongation stroke to the second Apostropha. The same holds for the first Distropha on *civitatem*. Notwithstanding, the *Vaticana* joins the Strophicus in either case closely to the following group. At *commovebitur* the *Vaticana* has a Porrectus *c g a*, following the codices of Marseille and Chartreux, while practically all others have a Clivis *c a* followed by an Oriscus. At

fluminis the *Vaticana*
writes (20)



while the MSS. have only one neume here (Podatus subpunctis). The difference is only slight, indeed. Still it constitutes a deviation from the tradition.

For the Alleluja Verse *Haec est virgo sapiens* the *Vaticana* has introduced a new melody, which calls for criticism. In the neuma of the Alleluja we meet the figure *g a b c b c b a g*, followed by the repetition *a b c b c b a g*. To this repetition there would be no great objection. But the whole figure occurs twice again in the body of the Verse and also, as usual, in the final neuma of the Verse, so that with the repetition of the Alleluja after the Verse, we hear ten times *a b c b c b a g*. This, surely, is an overdose!

In the Communion *Feci judicium* all the oldest MSS. have a Quilisma on the last syllable of *justitiam*. The *Vaticana* omits it.

In the Gradual *Specie tua* (*Pro Virg. tant.*) nearly all MSS. have *c b d f* or *c bb d f* on the final syllable of *justitiam*. The *Vaticana* writes *c c d f*.

In the Introit *Vultum tuum* (*Virg. II.*) the MSS. generally have a Torculus (*d e d*) on the first syllable of *ejus*. The *Vaticana* has only a Podatus *d e*.¹

In the Communion of the same Mass only Montpellier and Sarum have *e g* on the first syllable of *bonas*, all the others have *f g*. The *Vaticana* has *e g*. Similarly, it follows Montpellier against all others in having a single note *g*, instead of *g a*, on the accented syllable of *comparavit*.

In the Intonation of the Introit *Cognovi* (*Nec Virg. nec Mart.*) only Montpellier has the Pressus as the *Vaticana*.

In the Alleluja Verse *Adorabo* (*Ded. Eccl.*) at the beginning of the repetition of the melody on *confitebor* the MSS. generally have *f g a*. The *Vaticana* omits the *g*.²

In the Offertory of the same Mass the *Vaticana* has a Pressus on the second syllable of *tuum*, which I have not discovered in any MS.

I notice that in the Intonation of the Communion of the same Mass, the *Vaticana* omits the *b*. If this is intentional, the fear of the tritone which was so noticeable in the *Ordinarium Missae* seems to have vanished.

It remains to say a few words about the treatment of the Introit Psalmody. The mediations and finals of these

¹ This has been corrected. See note 1, p. 420.

² Also corrected.

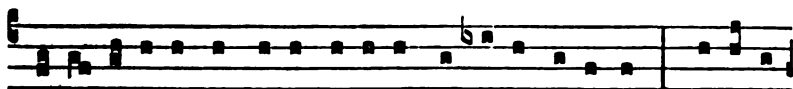
psalm tones are of two distinct classes. One class is based on an accentual principle, like the Office psalm tones; the other is based on the *Cursus*. The first class has two subdivisions, one having cadences of one accent, the other cadences of two accents. To the first division belong the mediations of the second, fourth, fifth, and eighth tones; to the second the mediations of the first, third, and seventh tones, and the final of the fifth tone. The *Cursus* is a peculiar rhythmical arrangement of the last two or three words of a clause, used by prose writers especially from the fourth to the seventh century. It is observed in all the prayers of our Liturgy (with the exception of a few modern ones). There are several forms, but the most frequent is the *Cursus planus*, which comprises five syllables, with accents on the first and fourth, and a cæsure after the second, e.g., *nostris infunde*. It is on this form of the *Cursus* a large number of cadences in Plain Chant are constructed. In the Introit Psalmody it includes the finals of the first, second, third, fourth, seventh, and eighth modes.

There remain the mediation and the final of the sixth tone. The *Vaticana* treats the former as a cadence of two accents, the latter as of one accent.

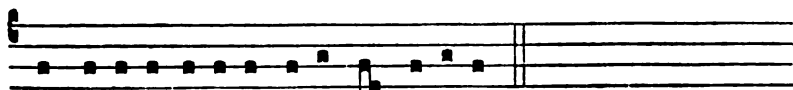
Dom Pothier speaks of this tone in the *Revue du Chant Grégorien*, January-February, 1906, page 90, *seq.* He says :—

Conformément à la doctrine classique et à un usage plus ancien, plus répandu et plus persistant, on trouve donc d'abord ceci :

(21)



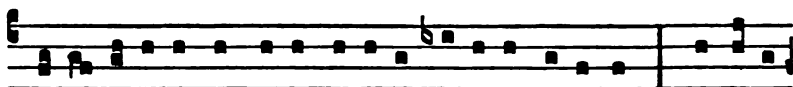
Be-ne-di-ci-te omni-a o-pe-ra Do-mi-ni Domi-no : * lauda-te



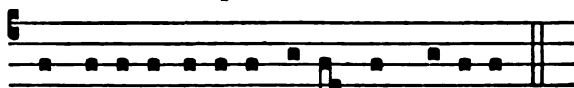
et super-ex-alta-te e-um in saecu-la.

Mais déjà de bonne heure apparait la modification suivante :

(22)



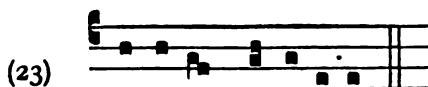
Be-ne-di-ci-te omni- a o-pe-ra Do-mi-ni Do-mi-no : * lauda-te



et super-ex-alta-te e- um in saecu-la.

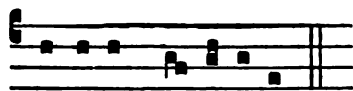
Cette finale se rencontre en particulier à la page 110 du codex, en neumes purs, B. 3, 18 de la bibliothèque Angelica, à Rome, de la première moitié du XI. siècle.

With regard to the mediation, the remark *de bonne heure* is misleading, to say the least. This mediation of the sixth tone, with *g* as first note, is not treated as a cadence of two accents before the fourteenth century. As to the ending, Dom Pothier's quotation from the Angelica MS. is not quite correct, as was pointed out in the *Rassegna Gregoriana*, of May, 1906, page 203. It is true, however, that some fairly old MSS. treat this cadence as of one accent, although originally, as Dom Pothier admits, it was treated as a *Cursus* cadence. But if it wanted to be consistent, the *Vaticana* should also have treated the final of the fourth tone as a cadence of one accent. For this cadence, too, is used thus in some codices, e.g.



pomo-rum custo-di- am.

The *Vaticana*,
however, writes : (4)



pomo-rum cu-sto-di- am.

Besides fixing the form of the melody, the Vatican Edition has also in some cases changed the words from the

form of our present Missal, restoring the original form. In principle I approve of this entirely. I should even advocate at least one other change. In the Introit *Vultum tuum* (*Virg. non Mart. II.*) the text ran originally thus: '*adducentur Regi virgines: postea proximae ejus adducentur tibi,*' etc. By restoring this form the musical cadence on *virgines* would have regained its significance. But what about the legality of these changes? In his *Motu Proprio* of 25th April, 1904, Pope Pius X laid down the regulation that in cases where the text presents any difficulty, the Commission should consult the historico-liturgical Commission of the Congregation of Rites. Has this been done? It is strange that nothing has been heard about it. Nor has there been any Decree of the Congregation of Rites on this point. It would seem obvious that any changes in choir books should mean corresponding changes in the Missal and Breviary. It would be most unusual, however, if such changes were introduced without any formal Decree of the Congregation of Rites. Until such a Decree is issued, it seems to me to be very doubtful whether we may use the new readings of the Vatican *Commune Sanctorum*.

In summing up my criticism of the Vatican *Kyriale*, I was able to say that of all existing editions it was the best. I cannot say the same of the *Commune Sanctorum*. On the whole the *Liber Usualis* is decidedly better. If the original plan of Pius X had been carried out, however, the Vatican Gradual would have represented a considerable advance on the *Liber Usualis*. It is most melancholy that the magnificent idea of his Holiness has been frustrated through the vanity of one man.

If one were to look out for a consoling feature in this failure, it might be the consideration that if the Solesmes monks had prepared for the Vatican Edition a new recension based upon their accumulated manuscript material, there would have been some hurry to get ready, and some trifle, here and there, might have been overlooked, which it would have been very difficult to correct once the new reading had been adopted officially; while now, that this

new critical edition can be prepared leisurely, we may expect something very perfect. To this new Solesmes edition, anyhow, we must look forward. There is no hope for the Vatican Edition, at least so far as the Gradual is concerned. Possibly this new Solesmes edition will be out before the Vatican Gradual is completed ; for, at the present rate of progress, it will take about ten years to produce the whole Vatican Gradual. In the meantime the *Liber Usualis* will do good service for all practical purposes.

H. BEWERUNGE.

ON THE VALUE OF TASTE

I N the review of my book *Art and Ireland*, by the Very Rev. J. F. Hogan, D.D., I was attracted by two questions respecting ecclesiastical art, viz. : 'What is to be the standard of taste in such matters?' and 'How is taste formed?' To the latter he answers, 'By the study and contemplation of masterpieces, and by the practice of the art—the former is the chief method;' but to the former question, with a right feeling for its profundity, he can but suggest that 'we should discuss, argue, test, try, and examine. We should get the best artistic advice.'

Now, as there never can be a standard of taste in art, any more than there can be a standard of taste in the beauty of men and women (in the sense that a standard is something irrevocably fixed), the most we can do is to 'test, try, and examine,' so that a standard of taste in ugliness be set up for avoidance. For to two or more beautiful things will as many men incline in differing degree; but is it not granted that all civilized men are agreed about, or can be brought to see, things wholly or in detail essentially ugly? We do not need to be told by Trelawney that Byron's lower limbs were those like a Satyr's; it is sufficient that the poet is unfortunately halt; it is an ugly detail; we admit the head is beautiful, we admit the incomparable—ah! no; here is that question of taste! Do not say *we*, I pray, for *I* have seen much finer heads, sir! What is your standard? And as for a Satyr—just look at that beautiful one by Piero di Cosimo!

Now taste lies, as it were, at the bottom of a well, however pure, as deep as that which hides truth. And I should like by amplification, rather than by way of criticism, of the Very Rev. Dr. Hogan's answers to his own second question, 'How is taste formed?' to indicate the depth of that well which it is necessary to sound in order

to reach that hidden and subtle attribute of the mind which men call taste. Its uncomeatableness may give some pause ; not alone to those excellent pastors and church decorators to whom Dr. Hogan refers, but to us artists and critics as well. And after some slight demonstration of the difficulties underlying taste formation, I shall attempt to show the nature of an artist's defence when assailed by the pastor's or tradesman's dictum that his taste is as good as ours.

'How is taste formed?'

'By the study and contemplation of masterpieces.' This is Dr. Hogan's chief 'method.' I agree that certain things hold good in painting and literature, sculpture and architecture, co-ordinately in the domain of art. And I hold in part the view of Goethe and of Matthew Arnold, that taste can be educated (drawn out), as well as acquired, by the study of masterpieces—i.e., to a much desirable extent. I seem, myself, by my occupation with the works of 'Donatello, Della Robbia and Perugino' to be, as it were, in my book, *pari passu* following these two great *littérateurs*. But the study and knowledge of masterpieces does not, unfortunately, always guide a man in forming a judgment that will carry the adhesion of posterity. Or, maybe, it guides him erratically. 'Milton and Keats,' to whom Dr. Hogan refers, nay 'Shakespeare' himself, were thought little of by certain of their respective contemporaries who had studied masterpieces of other poets. Robert Greene, the poet, travelled scholar, and novelist, to whom Shakespeare was himself indebted, writing to 'those gentlemen, his quondam acquaintance, that spend their wits in making plays,' terms Shakespeare 'an upstart crow beautified with our feathers,' and sneers at Shakespeare's presumption, and conceit, and attempts to 'bombast out a blank verse.' Nearly a century later hard things were said and written of Milton, and his blank verse ; and perhaps harder things thought (judging by some expressed opinions on poesy of the men of the Dryden period) ; and as for Keats, everybody to-day knows about his reception by those who undoubtedly had

studied masterpieces of literary and other art. But dozens of instances could be cited about other poets' opinions on poets.

The opinions of certain painters and sculptors seem to be as untrustworthy as those of literary artists, sometimes. Men of genius seem to have their faults of taste as much as lesser men. Indeed, as Sir Joshua Reynolds points out of other faults, 'so far indeed is the presence of Genius from implying an absence of faults that they are considered by many as its inseparable companions.' (In Ireland it is only the tradesman who can do 'faultless' work.) But to continue about the opinions of artists. William Blake, e.g., an artist in two media, held a poor one of Burke, an accepted æsthetician of his time; and still, to some extent, so. Says Blake in a marginal note to Reynolds *Discourses*: 'Barry Painted a Picture for Burke equal to Rafael or Mich.-Ang. or any of the Italians. Burke used to shew this Picture to his Friends, and say, "I gave Twenty Guineas for the horrible Daub, and if any man would give . . ." [*cut away by binder*] such was Burke's patronage of Art and Science.' I quote this, not to illustrate Burke's opinion of Barry (which I think was too low) but Blake's, which I hold to be excessively high and erratic.

Henry Weekes, R.A., the Professor of Sculpture at Burlington House, from 1869 to his death in 1877, in a lecture on this very subject of 'Taste,' said that Reynolds's picture of 'Mrs. Siddons as the Tragic Muse,' 'would, if well translated into marble, make one of the finest statues known'! Could he not, as a sculptor, understand that a *painting* cannot be translated into marble, and retain one quality of the original that commended it to our sense of beauty? (Here, in Ireland, the ghastly attempts of the tradesmen to 'translate' Leonardo's 'Last Supper,' indicate to some extent its impossibility; but were they artists they would still fail in translating any painting; for a painting can but suggest to the sculptor one aspect alone of a certain pose, or grouping; and any other aspect of this pose, or grouping, might be, and usually is, utterly disastrous. Sculpture, statuary, even high relief, invites many

points of view ; painting only one.) Weekes, let it be remembered, was Professor of Sculpture at the Royal Academy.

Reynolds had strange taste in stained glass. His partial attempt to 'translate' Correggio's painting, the 'Notte,' into a window for an Oxford Chapel, failed almost as disastrously, as it had a right to, as any modern tradesman's pictorial plagiarisms in sculpture, or in any other medium. But Reynolds was a great artist. Another great man, an architect, he of St. Paul's at London fame, had a taste for doing very ugly things as well as beautiful ones. Had he his way, modern central London would have been planned out like Philadelphia, or Turin !

But these men had all studied masterpieces ; and, in addition, were artists ; practical ones. One could multiply instances of artists' tastes, and erratic opinions about works of art, to fill a volume. But, to refrain from anecdotes about 'the man in Cavendish-square,' as Reynolds termed the great Romney, with insulting contempt ; and of Hogarth and his contemporaries ; it might be helpful to indicate that musicians and dramatists have also, in their respective arts, been erratic in their opinions of contemporary work. What was said by composers in Paris, years ago, of Bizet's 'Carmen,' is not what is said to-day all over the world. And what was said of Wagner's art ? Musicians to-day are beginning to discover the beauty of folk-songs that once were ridiculed. In the drama¹ it has been the like. Plays of great men have been condemned by men as great in the dramatic art. It is true that professional jealousy might, in certain cases, be advanced as a solution for problems of apparent taste² and strange opinion ; but

¹ What was Dryden's opinion of Chapman's *Bussy D'Ambois* ? And just compare the cultured, brave, honestly miscomprehending pedagogic opinion of Jeremy Collier, with the discriminating taste of Charles Lamb in the question of Wycherley's and Congreve's plays.

² Just as, per contra, personal *friendship* leads men to praise things which they *know* merits no praise. Dr. Samuel Johnson, in his Latin epitaph on Goldsmith (e.g.) insisted on '*Poetae, Physici, Historici* ;' though he had said of the gentle Oliver, that 'if he can distinguish a cow from a horse, that, I believe, may be the extent of his knowledge of natural history.' (Goldsmith, following Buffon, said the cow sheds her horns every two years—as an instance of his zoological knowledge.)

one could cite many instances where such a solution would be futile.

It can thus be shown that the 'study and contemplation of masterpieces,' though it may educate taste, cannot always be relied on; and that the practice of any art (Dr. Hogan's lesser method) does not necessarily insure against erratic judgment. But to go further into this aspect of the question, one might delve into the virgin soil of Greek art, which underlies all the top-dressing of medieval and modern work, and enquire how the men of the Periclean period judged works of art without the study of pre-existent masterpieces? There was archaic and interesting work, truly; that of those who had laboured before Polygnotus and Phidias; from Bularchus the painter (708 B.C.) to Anaxagoras of Aegina, whose period overlaps the birth of Phidias. But Phidias and his pupils were practically without the stimulus of great and perfect masterpieces in our modern sense. Yet who can doubt that the Periclean patrons were men of the most refined taste? The Pericleans culminated entirely by independent effort. We may postulate, if we choose, the existence of painted masterpieces, as these are perishable (and there were the Egyptian temples), but we cannot of statuary, for we have fragments, and better, of all the periods preceding Phidias. These ante-Periclean remains are often beautiful, but they are not masterpieces in the sense that the works of Phidias, and Polycletus, and Praxiteles and (leaping a chasm of time in which much beautiful *architecture* arose) Donatello, and Michael Angelo, and Giovanni Bologna are to us moderns.

The 'study and contemplation of masterpieces' is good; the practice of an art is better; but we must try and find something nearer invulnerability for the artist and critic when assailed by the tradesman and the philistine, if we can; something more than a passage from 'Milton and Keats,' or a visional memory of Raphael's 'Parnassus,' and Giovanni Bologna's 'Neptune.' How shall we meet these church decorators of Dr. Hogan's review, who 'will hold that their taste is as good as that of the fault-finders,

and that they have had as good opportunities of forming their taste, and better, than most of their critics' ?¹ By proving that they have little or no taste in art ? Nay, they will flatly contradict that you can prove it—and I, for one, quite appreciate the almost insuperable obstacles to such a course. The tradesman, and his patrons, have perfect confidence in their taste ; and I am bound to respect that confidence, for I have confidence in my own. One must have confidence in one's self or ' the reed is as the oak,' and all is a sceptical chaos. And these tradesmen will always be the tradesmen they are, offering short cuts to art to people in search of it. By pointing out that great artists with their ' contemplation of masterpieces, and the practice of the art,' have formed erratic opinions on works of art now held to be masterpieces and that, this being so, how can a *tradesman* hope to be a man of fine taste ? Nay, they may say that some of the greatest artists worked as tradesmen first, in the shops of their masters ; and, anyway, that this distinction between artists and tradesmen is an arbitrary one, without true significance ; they are artists as much as any who claim the title. Nay, they are also artists who have no errors of taste, like Reynolds or Hogarth had.²

If one say to the patron that the tradesman-work includes details that can really be 'described as horrible or shocking,' and that they do repel one ; he can reply that on the whole they do not repel him ; nay, that they awaken

¹ I feel satisfied that in certain components of art work (in colour especially) science can be wielded as a defensive weapon by the man of artistic taste ; if he know how to. I suggested this some months ago. Here is something *apropos* of this point which I have dug up since : ' It is possible to measure the waves radiated from a piece of bad colouring and prove them *mathematically* to be bad colour. It is a satisfaction to the artist to know that this is so ; because although he will never compose colour-schemes by the aid of mathematics, it gives him solid ground to stand on, and it diminishes the assurance of the man who claims the right to assert his opinion on colour because " one man's taste is as good as another." '—D. B. PARKHURST.

² Benvenuto Cellini says, in the manner of his period, that he ' opened a fine shop in the place called Banchi, opposite to Raffaello,' and that he kept ' five able journeymen.' As the tradesmen, to-day, are beginning to use the words ' studio ' and ' assistants,' I think that, in time, all artists will have to call their studios and assistants, just *workshops* and *journeymen*, as in the days of Cellini.

within him feelings of 'awe, reverence, solemnity, grandeur, which are the elemental feelings of all religion.' And if, as I wrote in the *Irish Independent* for March 26 (before my book was printed), patrons such as this 'ostensibly admire the best things that Europe of the great Christian art period produced, and yet who, in their patronage of either native or foreign art, strangely show what seems to be an inexplicable bias for everything contrary to the supposed foundations of their taste'—they can express surprise, and exclaim that Messrs. Pergola, Malfatti and Son's workmen, under their experienced direction, actually took the figures on the bridge of St. Angelo for models in their mosaic work. If one point out that the figures on that bridge are not masterpieces (and if they were the case would be worse still), but that this black and white drawing of a coster-girl by Phil May, which you have in your hand, is truly a masterpiece though ill-suited to mosaic work or stained glass, he smiles in a blank uncomprehending way, and the target is hopelessly missed.¹

Yet the value of your own taste is not shaken; you feel that you are right, and that these tradesmen and their patrons are utterly wrong. It is not one's travel and study of masterpieces; it is not one's practice in any art, that lies at the base of one's critical confidence. I think it is something more assured than that. It is, I think, the consciousness of that early and full comprehension of æsthetic principles underlying all great work; from Botticelli's to Steinlen's; that no subsequent travel, no practice in the arts, has *been able to shake*. It is a reliance on conscious natural taste, as differentiated from that acquired taste which has often led artists astray.

Ah! this is a doctrine of innate taste; so this is your

¹ And because art, like history (for art has made one half of history), as Sir Thomas Browne says of the latter, 'sets down not only things laudable, but abominable: things which should never have been, nor never have been known; so that noble patterns must be fetched here and there from single persons, rather than whole nations; and from all nations, rather than any one,'—because art, like history, does this; a rejecting and a discriminating taste must precede the contemplation of supposed masterpieces, the claim of which to be such does not rest on medium, size, or even on purpose.

infallible defence? Nay, it is not infallible; but it is a doctrine less shakeable than any other of æsthetics. But it is a putting of the cart before the horse; for study and experience form taste, do they not? No, they can develop natural taste, but may in exceptional cases spoil it. In the *New Ireland Review*, for April, I said: 'The milliner who makes a hat that will awaken strong emotions in the breast of a number of women may be a great artist; and the sculptor who works for twenty years at a statue, and transmits no emotion whatever, may not be an artist at all. And it is in this sense that, rightly or wrongly, we are beginning to use the word "artist" to-day.' The milliner pleasurably affects the acquired taste of a certain number of women; the sculptor negatively affects our natural taste—offends it; though there may be men of acquired taste who are pleasurably affected by it. One can acquire a taste for anything; from the commonplace and the insipid, to the bizarre and the grotesque. Tolstoy relates (I have not been able to verify it myself), 'Baudelaire had a preference, which he expressed, for a woman's face painted rather than showing its natural colour, and for metal trees and a theatrical imitation of water rather than real trees and real water.' I can understand that; and from ^{one} point of view I cannot condemn Baudelaire. I have seen Chinese women who were hideous when unpainted,—to my Western taste. Art improved *one aspect* of them; as shaving (an art) may improve a man with whiskers like tufts of asparagus foliage.

We can think of taste in an analogous way to that which we think of the artist who appeals to its two varieties—natural and acquired. We can readily distinguish between voluntary cultivation of, and subjection to fashion, until fashion becomes supremely dominant; and that natural disinclination for those things for which we showed a healthy detestation in early years, and which no study of masterpieces and no practice of art has been able to obliterate, but has rather helped to retain and develop. Byron's head may be tolerably beautiful or excessively divine—but a Satyr's feet are a Satyr's feet still.

William Blake's taste seems wholly of this innate kind. And though he called Rubens an outrageous devil, and Correggio an effeminate demon, there are many artists to-day who are prepared to admit that there is a certain substratum of truth in the words outrage and effeminacy, at least. He felt the same 'contempt and abhorrence' for Newton, and Locke, and Burke, when 'very young,' as he did in mature life; because, says he, 'they mocked Inspiration and Vision,' and such was always his 'Element and Eternal Dwelling Place.' He also says, 'I am happy that I cannot say that Rafael Ever was from my Earliest Childhood hidden from Me. I saw, and I knew immediately the difference between Rafael and Rubens.' Coventry Patmore, I think—but I cannot just now find the reference—calls Blake a 'mannikin genius'; and Swinburne, who has no love for 'fever and fancy,' says he lived and worked out of all rule and yet by law. But my point lies in the subjective verity and constancy of his natural taste, more than in the objective quality of it. This natural taste for art distinguishes the true artist from the counterfeit one, so often an imitative tradesman.¹ Ruskin's taste, though he was an artist himself, was, like that of many others', at the mercy of later acquisitions, which made it shaky, unreliable, and often self-condemnatory. Acquired taste, where we can prove it by a man's utterances, is generally to be suspected. The tradesman acquires, and even,—what is worse,—affects to acquire; first, a taste for 'gothic' art; then 'classic'; then 'romanesque'; and so on, to curry favour with his patrons. The man usually has no taste at all; though, as I suggested, he can put one to some straits in order to prove it. If he have any natural taste for those beautiful, and age-long principles that underlie all art work, he will come forth from the camp of the tradesman and show himself an artist.

But how is a candid patron, who does not pretend to

¹ Whether there is anything in some eyes visually analogous to the physical *gustative papillae* of the tongue, I do not know; but we should distinguish between the natural taste in art, and that youthful power of intellectual perception and apprehension of propounded theory—about art or anything.

any kind of taste in art, and yet who becomes responsible for the administration of a fund, or bequest, to choose his advisers among artists? How is he to know that one has this excellent natural taste, which, however affected by later acquisitions, is radically invulnerable? Nay, how is the patron to know that the study of masterpieces and practice of art has not spoiled it, as unfortunately might happen in *exceptional* cases, as I pointed out? After all, is he not safer in the tradesman's hands; the tradesman is so sure, so confident, yet so deferent withal, if his patron doubt? And then consider the money and the labour saved. One goes to the shop, and says, 'I have thirty pounds, I want a life-sized statue; give me the *best style of art* (*sic*) for the money.'

'Which do you prefer?' says the tradesman, 'the Rue Buonaparte, the Ober Ammergau, or the Romanaliffic style?'

'Oh, I'll leave that to you; but I want value for my money.' And he gets it; the money is always worth the statue.

Consider the case if he go to an artist. 'Perhaps,' says the patron to himself, 'this man would like to make me a victim of experiment; I must be circumspect, cautious; I am dealing with a strange fellow now; Heaven knows what kind of taste is his!' The patron is suspicious from the start; for that which is misunderstood sets up uncertainty. The artist himself is uncertain, as it were. ('The most powerful motor of human energy is uncertainty,' said Dumas.) The artist deprecates haste; he must carefully think on the subject; it must grow in his mind; then he must feel the necessity of releasing himself from a burden which shall be daily accumulating. And then he may set to work to bring forth—to create; for then he *must* create, or he will be miserable. The mind has conceived in fullness; mental parturition takes place; and, with the aid of cunning, scheming brain, and skilful trained hand, the work of art, for good or for ill, is made.¹ And the price? Ah, the

¹ See my essay in the *New Ireland Review*, referred to; also one in the *Nationist* last October (1905).

patron wishes he had gone to the tradesman, after all. He has paid six hundred pounds for a single figure, six feet high, and the artist complained that it was too insignificant a sum for a figure that had destroyed many a night of sleep and many a day of peace, and left him no profit in the end ; and, in addition, to make the patron more dissatisfied, the artist himself does not seem satisfied with his own work ! And the tradesman—his opinion invited—says that the artist's figure is not truly devout ; because the eyes are neither gazing toward the sky, nor cast down humbly to the ground ! Sanctimony, as a last stroke by the tradesman, pierces through even the armour of a patronic indifference to art. The tradesman gets the next commission, and furnishes a whole side chapel with altar, statuary, candlesticks, and vases for six hundred pounds ; and the patron is happy once more.

How is the patron to find taste in others, if he lack it himself ? How is he to distinguish the man of taste, and the artist, from the impostor, or the self-deluded ? And, if he cast his lines among artists, how is he to hook out one who will be worthy of trust ? He must be able to distinguish between taste and the absence of it, and between good natural taste and acquired uncertain taste, in others. How can he do it, if he be just an ordinary conscientious patron ?

He cannot. There is no need that he should be able. Why should he be afraid to experiment with an artist ? Such proceeding succeeded in ninety out of a hundred cases in the days of peasant Arnolfo, or of Pope Leo X. Why not now ? Can the modern inartistic tradesman and the 'jobbing architect' insure him against fewer failures ? Nay, rather can they insure him one success ? Which is preferable, to be at the mercy of the artist or the tradesman ?

Dr. Hogan rightly says, *apropos* of church-building, 'employ as good an architect as you can get, and give him as free a hand as you can give him.' The general and quite rational idea of a good architect is that of one with a diploma, great experience, and great achievement. Mr. Wm. Scott

has diplomas, and experience, and also 'great achievement,' in the sense that he has built buildings as fine as lay in the power of any great architect under like conditions of monetary resource. But how came he to be patronized before he had achieved? Was it not by wise experiment? He has not as yet built a cathedral. Others have, in Ireland. Should there be any hesitation in giving him the next Irish cathedral wherever needed? No. Not because he has diplomas, not because he has long experience, not because he has achieved really great things, but primarily because he has shown himself possessed of that natural taste which makes him kin to all the great artists that the world has honoured. And he has shown that taste as much in the designing of a domestic ventilating shaft, as in the designing of a sanctuary corona, or in the projection of the plan of a convent chapel, or a hostelry for a garden village, or a college of agriculture.

I do not underrate the value of the study and contemplation of masterpieces; for many years I have studied them myself in different lands, and so has Mr. Scott, Mr. John Hughes, Miss Purser, and others, who have Irish art so much in their care. Their knowledge and experience of their respective arts is immeasurably greater than mine; but the artist is born, not made, as the trite saying goes—poet, painter, sculptor, or architect—and all must have natural and inherent taste rather than (though not excluding necessarily) acquired taste. No study of masterpieces, I hold, can form taste that shall be always good, confident, and unchangeable in essentials. The tradesman's is as changeable as his patron's. The poor confident taste of men who admire much of the modern, and some of the worst ancient, art in Ireland, can be changed by study and examination; it is possible for them to acquire a very good taste in art; but such taste is never quite reliable, it affects fashion, and the excellence of their taste will depend upon the excellence of the prevailing fashion. Natural and inherent taste is as much a rejecting taste as an acquiescent one; it is, perhaps unfortunately, not normal to man, though thousands may have it who do not suspect

it. It may be, in a figurative sense, a natural disease like the pearl formation in the oyster ; but who doubts the beauty and value of the pearl, a gem likened by One to the Kingdom of Heaven, and by another to a gate of the New Jerusalem ?

There can be no disputing the existence of the pearl when time has opened the oyster, found it, and set it in an annulus fit to adorn the pointing finger of destiny.

ROBERT ELLIOTT.

NOTE.—We should not confuse knowledge and appreciation of 'technique' with natural taste for the essentials of objective beauty, which a work of art can contain (or exhibit) despite defective technique. An Italian marble, and a Bavarian wood, carver, can do wonderful things sometimes with their tools (as in undercutting especially), but the very excellence of their craft does but emphasize the absence of essential beauty in the 'work of art' when completed. Somewhat analogically in literature, a clever writer may construct a polished sonnet irreproachable in sense, measure, rhyme ; and even *verbally* attractive with carefully chosen syllabical music ; and yet, despite all, it may not contain that essential beauty which is found sometimes in the coarsest of peasant-fathered ballads ; or in, say, Herrick's insistently re-iterative *Ternary of Lilies*—the other end of the gamut. (This beauty, of course, is undepending on the subject, or on the purpose, of the work of art.)

DIALOGUES ON SCRIPTURAL SUBJECTS: THE PENTATEUCH

DIALOGUE II

PATRICK O'FLAHERTY.—At our last interview you told me that, in order that I may properly understand the nature and force of the late decision of the Biblical Commission on the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch, the way has first to be prepared. I am glad you have taken that course, as since then it has occurred to me to ask you, how do you know that there was such a person as Moses ever in existence, and, if there was, how can it be proved that he was the leader and lawgiver of the Israelites, or the author of the Pentateuch?

FATHER O'BRIEN.—A very natural question to ask. May I ask you, in return, do you believe that there was a Pope called Pius IX, or a Daniel O'Connell, or a St. Pius V, or a Hildebrand?

P. O'F.—Most certainly I do.

FR. O'B.—How do you know? You never saw them.

P. O'F.—Never; but everybody knows and believes that these men existed. Their names occur in the history and tradition of the times. Anybody who would deny their existence, I would regard as an idiot.

FR. O'B.—Just so. Do you believe that there was a St. Patrick, who preached Christianity in Ireland nearly fifteen centuries ago?

P. O'F.—Of course I do. I may as well doubt my own existence as doubt that. The history of the Irish race and nation during all these centuries would be an inexplicable riddle, if we were to try to explain it, leaving out the existence and mission of St. Patrick.

FR. O'B.—Quite right. You have the very same reasons for belief in the existence of a real historic person called Moses, the leader and lawgiver of the Jews, and,

furthermore, of his being the author of the Pentateuch, as you have for your belief in St. Patrick. If you disbelieve or doubt it, the history of the Jewish people from the earliest ages is perfectly unintelligible, and ought to be regarded as a myth.

P. O'F.—This statement is decisive enough. You are taking up a rather strong position, considering the waverings and uncertainties one notices even amongst some Catholic writers.

FR. O'B.—This I know—but I hope to be able to justify myself for doing so.

P. O'F.—I will be an attentive and interested listener to the exposition of your arguments.

FR. O'B.—In order that you may understand the force of my arguments in support of my thesis, let me tell you, in the first place, that the existence of Moses, the Jewish lawgiver, and his authorship of the Pentateuch are questions of fact. Now, facts are to be proved by witnesses. Other arguments may be used to help on this testimony of witnesses. The main argument depends on testimony—the others are secondary and subsidiary. Let me give you a homely illustration of my meaning. Suppose there is question of whether your friend Charles M'Grath was at Mass last Sunday, or not. One or two of your companions, who know him well, and are truthful, say to you that they saw him there. That would be enough for you to make you certain of this fact. There is an external argument—an argument based on testimony. Let us suppose, in addition to this, that the day was fine, the distance short, his health was good—in a word, there that was no reason why he should not have been at Mass. All these circumstances would strengthen, if necessary, the testimony of your two friends. The argument derived from such circumstances corresponds to what is called the internal evidence regarding the authorship of a book. Now, I want to know from you, in this particular case which argument has the greater force with you?

P. O'F.—Why, of course, the direct evidence of my two truthful friends, who saw him at Mass; the other

circumstances of themselves are only of a secondary kind, and beget a strong probability that he was there. The testimony of my two friends produces certainty in my mind.

FR. O'B.—That is right. Now, let us take the converse of the case, and suppose that the day was wet, the distance long, and that Charles had been in delicate health some time previously. These circumstances would create a probability in your mind that he was not at Mass. But suppose that in this case, also, your two trustworthy friends assure you that they saw him at Mass, which would you trust—the antecedent improbability arising from the accidental circumstances of health, weather, distance, or the direct positive evidence of the truthful witnesses who knew him, and assure you that they saw him at Mass?

P. O'F.—Most assuredly, I would believe the witnesses.

FR. O'B.—Quite right again. This is common sense. When there is a conflict or apparent conflict between external and internal arguments in questions of fact, the latter must give way to the former. Keep this before your mind. It is the key to the solution of many of the difficulties which are being urged by rationalists, or rationalising Christians, against the authenticity of the Pentateuch and the other books of the Sacred Scripture, as well as to the understanding of the recent decision of the Biblical Commission.

P. O'F.—I think I grasp that principle. But kindly let me hear how you will now apply it to the question before us.

FR. O'B.—In this way. The Jewish people are scattered over the globe to-day. They have the Old Testament as their guide wherever they are. The first book in that sacred volume is the Pentateuch. If you ask the Jews who wrote that book, they will tell you it was Moses. And if you ask them who was Moses, they will tell you he was the great leader and lawgiver of their forefathers, when they left the land of Egypt, and wandered in the desert of Arabia for forty years. Is not that the belief of the Jews of the present day?

P. O'F.—Yes; as far as I know.

FR. O'B.—You need have no doubt about it. Furthermore, that has been the belief, universal and unchanged, of the Jewish people during all the centuries from the present back to the time of Christ and the Apostles. Nobody will question this.

P. O'F.—That is so far an argument in favour of your position. But I am curious to know what was the view of Jesus Christ and the Apostles on the point. For this must be a factor of great importance in the argument?

FR. O'B.—I was just coming to that. But, in order to make my argument clear on this head, I must fetch my New Testament and read for you the exact words of our Lord and His Apostles. And, mind you, at present I do not want you to assume at all that Jesus Christ was God, but simply to take Him at the rationalists' own estimate of Him—as the noblest type of man, of vast knowledge, high character, a truthful teacher. Now, let us see what does Jesus Christ say about the Pentateuch and its author. I will take up at random a few of the many texts bearing on the point. Look here at Mark xii. 26, in which, replying to the objection of the Sadducees regarding the resurrection, He uses the following words: 'And as concerning the dead that they rise again, have you not read in *the book of Moses*, how in the bush God spoke to him, saying: I am the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob?' Here He calls the Pentateuch the 'book of Moses'—and lest there may be any mistaking His meaning, He quotes the very words used by God to Moses at the bush, which are recorded in Exodus iii. 6. Again, speaking of the law of divorce, Mark x. 2-4, we read as follows: 'And the Pharisees coming to Him asked Him: Is it lawful for a man to put away his wife? But He answering, saith to them: What did *Moses command* you?' Is not this a clear proof that our Blessed Lord believed Moses to be the lawgiver of the Jews? 'Who [that is the Pharisees] said: Moses permitted to write a bill of divorce, and to put her away.' Here you have the Pharisees not only acknowledging that Moses was their lawgiver, but actually quoting in substance the words of

the law as given in the book of Deuteronomy xxiv. 1, which reads thus, as you see: 'If a man take a wife, and have her, and she find not favour in his eyes, for some uncleanness: *he shall write a bill of divorce*, and shall give it in her hand, and send her out of his house.' Mark, now, what our Blessed Lord said in reply, verse 5: 'Because of the hardness of your heart, he *wrote* you that precept'; that is, he not only gave them that precept but *wrote* it in the book of Deuteronomy. Again, in the Gospel of St. John v. 46, 47, speaking of Moses, He says: 'For he *wrote* of Me. But if you do not believe *his writings*, how will you believe My words?' When did he *write* of Him? What were *his writings*? Surely nowhere else or no other than in that book with which his name has been identified at all times—the Pentateuch.

P. O'F.—These seem to be very clear and convincing arguments in support of your thesis—so far as the testimony of Jesus Christ is concerned.

FR. O'B.—There are many others equally strong. I have given you only a few as specimens. Let me now read for you the teaching of some of the Apostles on the point. See here how, at the Council held at Jerusalem by the Apostles, St. James speaks (Acts xv. 21): 'For Moses of old time hath in every city them that preach him in the synagogues, where *he is read every sabbath*'—that is, his work, the Pentateuch. Again, see how St. Paul speaks in his second Epistle to the Corinthians, iii. 15: 'But even until this day, *when Moses is read*, the veil is upon their heart;' so that according to these two Apostles, Moses—that is, the book written by Moses, the Pentateuch—was read in their own time by the Jews in their synagogues. There are several other texts which I might read for you proving the same thing, but there is no need to multiply them, as I am sure from what I have read for you, you are thoroughly convinced that Christ and His Apostles and disciples, and the whole Jewish people at that time, firmly believed that Moses was the author of the Pentateuch.

P. O'F.—I confess, I cannot conceive how anybody who reads what you have just read for me, can have

a shadow of doubt of the universal belief of the Jewish people at that period of their history, at all events, in the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch. But what was their belief prior to that ?

FR. O'B.—The very same. Let us take that period of their history between the time of Christ and the Babylonian Captivity, and look into their canonical books that were written during that interval, what do we find ? In the second book of the Maccabees, which was written towards the end of the second century before Christ, and is the last of the canonical books of the Old Testament, in chapter vii., which treats of the martyrdom of the seven Maccabees and their mother, having previously described the cruel sufferings inflicted on the eldest son, the sacred writer, in verse 5, thus continues : ' And while he was suffering therein [that is, being fried in a frying pan] long torments, the rest [that is, the other six sons] together, with their mother, exhorted one another to die manfully, saying : The Lord will look upon the truth, and will take pleasure in us, *as Moses declared in the profession of the canticle* : And in his servants he will take pleasure,' or as in some readings, ' He will have mercy.' This quotation is from the book of Deuteronomy xxxii. 36. So you see this pious family believed Moses to be the author of the book of Deuteronomy.

Let us now go back a few centuries, and what do we find ? In the prophecy of Malachias, the last of the prophets, who lived, according to the common opinion, towards the end of the fifth century before Christ, in chapter iv. 4, we find the following words : ' Remember the *law of Moses* my servant, which I commanded him in Horeb for all Israel, the precepts, and judgments.' Here allusion is made to the twentieth chapter of the book of Exodus, in which the Commandments are contained, and to the fourth, fifth, and sixth chapters of Deuteronomy, in which they are reaffirmed and further explained.

Let us go back to the second book of Esdras, which is usually attributed to Nehemias, the contemporary and co-labourer of Esdras in the building up of the Jewish

republic after the Babylonian Captivity, that is, about the same time as that of the prophet Malachias. See here, in the thirteenth chapter, verse 1: 'And on that day they read *in the book of Moses* in the hearing of the people, and therein was found written, that the Ammonites and Moabites should not come into the Church of God for ever.' Come back, now, to the book of Deuteronomy xxiii. 3, and what do we read? Here it is: 'The Ammonite and Moabite, even after the tenth generation, shall not enter into the Church of the Lord for ever;' just the exact words used by the prophet. See here, chapter viii. verse 1 of the second book of Esdras: 'And they [that is the children of Israel] spoke to Esdras to bring the *book of the law of Moses*, which the Lord had commanded to Israel.' Further on, verse 14, see: 'And they found written in the law, that the Lord had commanded by *the hand of Moses*, that the children of Israel should dwell in tabernacles on the feast in the seventh month.' What could be more explicit, more convincing, than this language? The *book of the law of Moses*, and by *the hand of Moses*? What book is that, I wonder? None other, of course, than the Pentateuch. For if you read and compare Exodus xxiii. 16, Leviticus xiii. 34, Deuteronomy xvi. 13, you will find the prescriptions of the law for keeping the Feast of the Tabernacles, to which allusion is made, clearly laid down.

P. O'F.—From what you have just read for me, it seems to me clear, that at this period of Jewish history, that is, five centuries before Christ, the universal belief amongst the Jews was that Moses was not only their law-giver, but was himself the author of the Pentateuch.

FR. O'B.—Let us now go back further, to the time of the Babylonian Captivity, during which Daniel wrote the book which bears his name, and which contains partly history and partly prophecy—that is, to the end of the seventh century before Christ. Let me read for you the eleventh verse of the ninth chapter: 'And all Israel have transgressed Thy law, and have turned away from hearing Thy voice, and the malediction and the curse, which is *written in the book of Moses*, the servant of God, is fallen

upon us, because we have sinned against Him.' Let us turn back now to our Deuteronomy xxvii. 14-26, what do we read: 'And the Levites shall pronounce, and say to all the men of Israel with a loud voice: Cursed be the man that maketh a graven and molten thing.' . . . 'Cursed be he that honoureth not his father and mother.' . . . 'Cursed be he that removeth his neighbour's landmarks.' . . .

P. O'F.—Quite enough. I see that each of the verses from the fifteenth to the end of the chapter begins with the word 'cursed' and the whole extract is evidently that portion of the *book of Moses* to which Daniel alludes.

FR. O'B.—Let us now go back to the next stage of Jewish history—that of the Kings, which comprises a period of about 500 years. You will see that during this period also, it was regarded as a certain fact amongst the Jews that Moses was the author of the Pentateuch. See here, in the fourth book of Kings, xiv. 6, speaking of the action of King Amasias, who put to death the murderers of his father, the author adds, verse 6: 'But the children of the murderers he did not put to death, according to that which is *written in the book of the law of Moses*, wherein the Lord commanded, saying: The fathers shall not be put to death for the children, neither shall the children be put to death for the father; but every man shall die for his own sins.' Let us turn back to Deuteronomy xxiv. 16, what do you read?

P. O'F.—I read the very same, word for word, just as you have read it for me from the book of Kings.

FR. O'B.—It is needless to read for you further proofs from this period, which are to be found in this book, and the books of Paralipomenon. Let me rather bring you back to an earlier stage of this period of history, to the time of David. What was his dying exhortation to his son Solomon. Here it is in the third book of Kings ii. 2, 3: 'I am going the way of all flesh: take thou courage, and shew thyself a man. And keep the charge of the Lord thy God, to walk in His ways, and observe His ceremonies, and His precepts, and judgments, and testimonies, *as it*

is written in the law of Moses.' Furthermore, in his Psalms he mentions more than once the name of Moses in connexion with the book of the law.

Let me bring you back yet another stage, to the time of the Judges. And, first of all, I will direct your attention to chapter iv. of that beautiful book called Ruth which, whoever the author was, relates the history of an event that occurred at this time. For Ruth gave birth, from Booz, to Obed, who was the grandfather of David. But what I wish you to observe in particular is, that the renunciation of his claim to the hand of Ruth by the next kinsman of her deceased husband, and her marriage with the second next of kin, namely Booz, was carried out in every detail according to the law of Moses, as it is contained in Deuteronomy xxv. 5-7.

See here, too, in the book of Judges iii., in which alluding to the nations which the Lord spared in order to try as well as instruct the Israelites, the author thus speaks (verse 4): 'And He left them, that He may try Israel by them, whether they would hear the commandments of the Lord, which He had commanded their fathers by the *hand of Moses* or not.'

And now I will read for you texts from the book of Josue, who was himself very probably the author of the book, with the exception of the last few verses. Moses, as you are aware, brought the Israelites in sight of the Promised Land—but did not enter it. This privilege was reserved for his successor Josue, who became their leader. Now, in the first chapter of the book of Josue, verses 7, 8, what do we read? Here it is. The Lord speaks to Josue: 'Take courage, therefore, and be very valiant: that thou mayest observe and do *all the law, which Moses My servant hath commanded thee*. . . . Let not the *book of the law* depart from thy mouth. . . .'

Again, see here, chapter viii., verses 30, 31:—'Then Josue built an altar to the Lord the God of Israel in Mount Hebal, as Moses the servant of the Lord had commanded the children of Israel, *and it is written in the book of the law of Moses*'—that is to say, just a few years after the death

of Moses you have his contemporary and successor, Josue, carrying out an ordinance of Moses *as it is written in the book of the law of Moses*. Where is this commandment written? You will find it in the book of Exodus xx. 5, and again in Deuteronomy xxvii. 2-13.

Let me now sum up for you the result of what I have been trying to explain to you. Looking back from the present moment to the time of Christ, we find that the whole Christian world, not only the Catholic Church, but all the Christian communions outside its fold, have believed in the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch. The voices of the few heretics in the early ages of the Church, such as the Nazarenes and the author of the Clementines, and of Carlostad and a few others in the sixteenth century, were drowned in the unanimous chorus of condemnation by both the Christians and the Jews. They do not count. We see, furthermore, that during all these centuries the Jewish people scattered all over the habitable globe have regarded Moses not only as their lawgiver, but also as the author of the Pentateuch. The two Rabbis, who in the eleventh and thirteenth centuries raised a doubt about it, were refuted and reproached by their own co-religionists, and may be passed over, too. You have heard the words of Christ and the Apostles appealing to Moses as the author and writer of the Pentateuch; and the Jews who were listening, and were often confounded by this appeal to Moses, never raised their voices to question the words of our Lord or His Apostles. A clear proof that the Mosaic authorship was the belief not only of Jesus Christ and His Apostles and followers, but of the entire Jewish people at that time. Going backward from the time of Christ to the Babylonian Captivity, thence through the period of the Kings, thence backward through the time when the Israelites were ruled by Judges, back to the days of Josue, and of Moses himself—have we not traced in their canonical books a firm, clear, constant, and universal tradition that the Pentateuch was the work of Moses?

P. O'F.—Of that there can be little doubt, I think.

FR. O'B.—Now, there is only one explanation of this

fact ; and that is, that Moses was really the author of the Pentateuch. If you deny or doubt this, the whole history of the Jewish people becomes an inexplicable mystery—a succession of frauds and forgeries, which it is impossible to explain or even to conceive. You must not lose sight of this fact, also. If the Jews were not firmly convinced that Moses was their divinely appointed leader and legislator, and the author of the Pentateuch, why should they have guarded and revered in every period of their history, from Moses himself up to the present moment, this book as among their most sacred and precious treasures ? Does it not contain much unpleasant reading for them ? How many an exposure and rebuke calculated to put them to shame and wound their racial feelings does it not contain ? And yet, when it was quoted against them time after time by the Prophets—by Jesus Christ and His Apostles, as we have seen—not one of them ever raised his voice to say, Moses is not the author of that book. How explain this phenomenon ?

P. O'F.—As far as I can see, there is no explanation possible, except that they knew it would be useless for them to deny it, and were themselves firmly convinced that Moses was its author.

FR. O'B.—You can understand now, why I said in the beginning of our interview, that you may as well try to read and understand Irish history for the last fifteen centuries, ignoring the existence and mission of St. Patrick, as to try to understand the domestic history of the Jewish nation for the last three thousand five hundred years, setting aside the great central fact that Moses was the author of the Pentateuch.

P. O'F.—Yes, and I can see now, why, on a question of fact such as the authorship of a book, the primary and fundamental argument must be the testimony of tradition, written or oral—or both. For, as you said, the authorship of a book is a question of fact, and facts, according to the trite saying, have to be proved by witnesses.

FR. O'B.—Yes ; and I think, too, you can now understand how vain and silly are the attempts of the modern

enemies of Revelation, the rationalists from the end of the eighteenth century up to this present moment, to whom must be added some Christian and a few Catholic writers with rationalistic tendencies, to set aside that grand argument of prescription by inane conjectures, philological subtleties, and sophistical reasoning. I believe, too, that you are now in a position to understand the meaning of a portion, at least, of one of the recent decisions by the Biblical Commission, about which you questioned me. But, as it is now late, we will discuss this on a future occasion.

H. D. L.

THE RIGHT REV. MONSIGNOR MOLLOY

WITH this number of the I. E. RECORD the name of Gerald Molloy disappears for ever from its accustomed place on our cover. Since the year 1880, when the periodical was revived, Dr. Molloy acted as its 'Censor.' He was, moreover, as our readers know, one of our most constant and valued contributors. Indeed his contributions to the I. E. RECORD extend back to its earliest days, and it was in its pages that his work on 'Geology and Revelation' first appeared. We have many personal reasons, therefore, for expressing our sincere and heartfelt regret at his departure from amongst us. Mgr. Molloy was a man with whom it was a pleasure to have any business relations. Thoroughly in matter of fact, and at the same time considerate and refined, he was in our experience the very model of an accomplished and courteous gentleman. The great variety of his gifts and acquirements make his loss irreparable to the Catholic body at large. His disappearance at a critical moment in the settlement of the Irish University question is particularly deplorable.

This is not the place or the occasion to write a history of his life and labours in the cause of the Church which he so faithfully served. Here we can only say how sincerely and widely his loss will be felt, nowhere, we believe, more sincerely and affectionately than in the College of Maynooth, in which he spent close on twenty years of his life as a professor. To Maynooth he was devotedly and gratefully attached to his dying day. His pleasant reminiscences of old times and of old professors were amongst the features of his visits which ever made him a doubly welcome guest at the College board. Dr. Russell, Dr. O'Hanlon, Dr. Callan, Dr. Whitehead, with all their peculiarities and characteristics, were brought back to life before a new generation. Dr. Gargan, whose perpetual youth, notwithstanding his great age, made him live in the present and the future rather than in the past, would listen complacently to stories of his own contemporaries, who had long gone the way of all flesh, whilst he, who had been extremely delicate in his youth, outlived them all and surpassed them in vitality and endurance. But apart from such domestic attractions Dr. Molloy's great intellectual gifts, the lucidity of his mind, the admirable purity of his speech, the variety and accuracy of his acquired knowledge, together with his great experience of men and

of the world made his conversation at all times delightful and his company most pleasant. He could adapt himself to his surroundings as few other men could, and whilst he willingly talked on subjects with which he knew his companions for the time being were conversant he did not do so with the air of one who was anxious to show off or to impress people with his versatility or his penetration.

As for ourselves, we cannot sufficiently express our sense of the kindness, forbearance, patience, and gentleness with which he discharged his office of 'Censor' during the time that it has been our lot to conduct the fortunes of the I. E. RECORD, nor adequately to record our gratitude for the support and assistance he gave us. Few had stronger claims than he had on our space and on our compliance with his desires in the matter of publication; yet few were more willing to leave such matters entirely in our own hands, and at our own convenience, or were more anxious to have their attention called by the Editor to anything that appeared inappropriate to him or otherwise to call for comment.

Does it not look as if he felt the end drawing near when he sent us about a year ago those lines of the poet on the passage from Purgatory to Paradise?—

As snow amid the living poles that grow
Along the back of Italy congeals,
When blown upon and pressed by Eastern winds
Then trickles liquefied within itself,
Soon as the land that knows no shadow breathes,
Like as a candle melts before the flame:
E'en so devoid of tears and sighs was I,
Before the chant of those who tune their song
Unto the notes of the eternal spheres.

During his whole life-time Dr. Molloy was occupied with great thoughts and great ideas. There was nothing narrow or paltry or small in his nature. Broad-minded in the truest sense he did to others as he would be done by; and he now reaps the reward of his high character and great services not alone in the universal esteem in which his memory is held, but in the ardent prayers that accompany him through whatever trials await him on his way to eternal peace. In the sincere hope that these prayers may be the pledge of happiness we lay our wreath on the tomb of one of the most distinguished priests and scholars that Ireland has ever produced.

J. F. HOGAN, D.D.

Notes and Queries

THEOLOGY

CELEBRATION OF MARRIAGE BEFORE A PROTESTANT MINISTER

REV. DEAR SIR,—A Catholic contracting marriage before a Protestant minister who uses the prayers of the Protestant Ritual commits a grave sin, and is excommunicated. A Catholic marrying in the presence of a Protestant minister acting simply as a civil registrar does not incur excommunication, nor does he commit a grave sin if there are sufficiently grave reasons for his action. What is to be said of a Catholic who marries a Protestant before a Protestant minister not employing any religious ceremony, nor yet acting as a civil registrar? The bride, for instance, happens to be a Protestant and succeeds in getting the Catholic bridegroom to go before the parson, because she wishes to be married by her own religious pastor. To allay the scruples of the bridegroom she arranges that no religious ceremony of any kind is to be performed by the Protestant minister; she gets him to be present merely as a witness in the same way in which a parish priest assists at a mixed marriage if the general law of the Church is enforced. Is the Catholic party excommunicated?

M.

Our correspondent states, with truth, that a Catholic who is married before a Protestant minister acting as a civil registrar does not incur the papal excommunication of the Constitution *Apostolicae Sedis*, and that a Catholic who is married before a Protestant minister employing any religious rite or ceremony of his Ritual does incur the excommunication. Even the celebration of marriage in the Protestant church, or outside the Protestant church but with the use of some Protestant vestment such as the cotta, comes under the excommunication. The question of our correspondent refers, however, to the case when the Protestant parson, acting as an heretical minister and not

as a civil registrar, assists at the marriage not in the church, but, say, in the parsonage, without any religious vestment, and without the recitation of the prayers to be found in the Protestant Ritual.

This case seems to come under the excommunication specially reserved to the Holy See. In the first place, there is favour shown to Protestantism as such, since a Catholic who acts in the way stated goes before the Protestant minister not in a civil capacity, but in a religious capacity; the minister is not present in the case as the deputy of the State; he is present as an official of his heretical sect. Just as a Parish Priest is the authorized witness of the Catholic Church when he assists even passively at a mixed marriage, so too the Protestant minister who passively assists at the marriage in the circumstances indicated is present in the name and by the authority of his heretical church. It seems clear that a Catholic who employs a Protestant minister in his official capacity of representative of his Church in religious affairs is guilty of the crime of showing favour to Protestantism as such, and, therefore, incurs the excommunication attached to *communicatio in divinis* with heretics.

In the second place, the ceremony of marriage in the circumstances is a religious service, even though the parson recites no prayers. If the marriage were celebrated before a civil registrar it is the civil aspect of the matrimonial contract that would be brought into prominence; so, on the other hand, when the consent is externated before a religious minister as such, that externation of matrimonial consent necessarily wears a religious aspect; and when the religion of the minister is heretical the ceremony will be an heretical rite. A Catholic, consequently, who takes part in such a ceremony incurs the excommunication specially reserved to the Holy See. So that, whether we look at the minister as representative of an heretical sect, or at the ceremony performed by the contracting parties, the truth seems clear that there is of necessity a grave crime of favouring heresy, which comes under the excommunication of the Constitution *Apostolicae Sedis*.

In the third place, this view seems to have the sanction of the Holy See. It will be sufficient for my purpose to quote two decrees emanating from the Holy Office. In its Instruction to the Bishops of the kingdom of Hanover (17th February, 1864), the S. Inq. made the following declaration :—

Verum enimvero quotiescunque minister haereticus conseatur veluti sacris addictus, *et quasi Parochi munere fungens*, non licet Catholicae parti una cum haeretica matrimonialem consensum coram tali ministello praestare, eo quia adhiberetur ab quodam religiosam caeremoniam complendam, et pars Catholica ritui haeretico se consociaret; unde oriretur quaedam implicita haeresi adhesio, ac proinde illicita omnino haberetur cum haeticis in divinis communicatio. . . . Sciant insuper Parochi, si interrogentur a contrahentibus, vel si certe noverint eos adituros ministrum haeticum sacris addictum ad consensum matrimonialem praestandum, se silere non posse, sed monere eosdem debere sponso de gravissimo peccato quod patrant, *et de censuris in quas incurrunt*.

In this decree it was stated explicitly that a Catholic who externates matrimonial consent before an heretical minister who is *sacris addictus, et quasi Parochi munere fungens*, thereby is guilty of implicit adhesion to heresy and of unlawful *communicatio in divinis* with heretics, and incurs the censures attached to such crimes. Now, in the case under consideration the minister does act the part of a *quasi parochus*, since he is in precisely the same position as a Parish Priest who passively assists at a mixed marriage. Hence the case comes under the excommunication of the *Apostolicae Sedis*.

On the 29th August, 1888, the Holy Office was asked the following question: 'Utrum absolutio a censuris omnibus catholicis, qui coram ministro acatholico nuptias contraxerunt, necessaria sit, an potius in eo tantum casu impertienda sit, quo in hujusmodi celebrationem ab Antistite censurae promulgatae sint?' The reply was: 'Affirmative ad I^{am} partem, negative ad II^{am}.' Hence, again, the excommunication of the *Apostolicae Sedis* is incurred by all Catholics whose marriage is celebrated before an heretical minister as such, no matter whether he assists passively or actively.

The opinion which I have so far defended is maintained commonly by theologians, some of whom explicitly teach it,¹ and others of whom implicitly adopt it by stating generally that a Catholic who celebrates marriage before a Protestant minister as such, and not as a civil magistrate, incurs the excommunication.² Gasparri,³ on the other hand, maintains that excommunication is not incurred in the case contemplated, because, no heretical ceremony being performed by the parson, there is no *communicatio in divinis* with heretics. In proof of his theory he points to the argument of the Instruction to the Bishops of Hanover: 'Non licet catholicae parti una cum haeretica matrimonialem consensum coram tali ministello praestare, eo quia adhiberetur ad quandam religiosam caeremoniam complendam, et pars catholica ritui haeretico se consociaret.' This reason is not verified, according to Gasparri, when no religious rite or ceremony is performed by the assisting parson, and consequently the excommunication is not incurred. To my mind, this interpretation of the Instruction is not warranted by the context, because the decree plainly states that celebration of marriage before an heretical minister of whom it can be said that he is *quasi Parochi munere fungens* entails excommunication proper to communication in divine things with heretics; and because in the case contemplated the celebration of marriage is a religious rite or ceremony even though the prayers of the Protestant Ritual are not recited, the religious nature of the contract being sufficiently determined by the presence of a parson who assists, not as a civil registrar but as an heretical minister.

Until the Holy See gives a definite decision on the point raised by our correspondent, there seems no reason for denying practical probability to the view of Gasparri, so that no censure is incurred in practice, unless there is a local censure imposed by competent authority.

¹ V.g. Genicot, II. n. 520.

² V.g. Wernz, IV, n. 588. not. 42; Santi-Leitner, IV., n. 194.

³ *De Matrimonio*, n. 467.

OBLIGATION OF PAYING 'CATHEDRATICUM SEDE VACANTE'

REV. DEAR SIR,—Would you kindly give your opinion on a disputed question amongst some clergy, viz. : Are the Parish Priests obliged to pay 'cathedraticum' to the Vicar Capitular or Administrator, *sede vacante* ? By answering the above you will oblige,

A SUBSCRIBER.

Parish Priests are bound to pay the 'cathedraticum' as a mark of subjection to the Bishop and in honour of the Episcopal See. Hence, the obligation is founded not merely on submission to the individual Bishop who happens to rule the See for the time being, but also on subjection to the episcopal See itself. The 'cathedraticum,' consequently, belongs to the revenues of the See and as such must be paid during a vacancy, just as other revenues that belong directly to the See must be paid in like manner. Parish Priests are, therefore, bound to pay the 'cathedraticum' to the Vicar Capitular or Administrator who, in these countries and the United States, holds episcopal authority in the temporal and spiritual affairs of the See during the interregnum ; and the Vicar Capitular or Administrator can, apparently, use his spiritual jurisdiction to enforce payment, no limitation excluding this power being laid down by Canon Law.

The Vicar Capitular or Administrator cannot, however, utilise the 'cathedraticum' for his own purposes ; he must reserve it for the future Bishop. If the Vicar Capitular or Administrator requires a salary as well as necessary diocesan expenses, it will be provided out of the revenues of the diocese, but he has no authority to appropriate these revenues to himself.

J. M. HARTY.

LITURGY

CEREMONIES OF BENEDICTION OF THE MOST HOLY
SACRAMENT

REV. DEAR SIR,—Your answers to questions about the rite to be employed in giving Benediction of the Most Holy Sacrament, which appeared in the October issue of the I. E. RECORD, suggest to me some further queries under this head on matters that have often perplexed myself and others.

1. Is the genuflection on both knees the proper reverence to be made when the Celebrant ascends the predella and places the monstrance on the throne, and also when he goes up to take down the same for the Benediction?

2. When a person has genuflected *utroque geni* is it also necessary to make a profound inclination of the body?

Information on these points in an early issue of the I. E. RECORD will oblige,—Yours truly,

SACERDOS JUNIOR.

1. We are aware that the custom of making a *double* genuflection, when the Officiant at Benediction of the Most Holy Sacrament goes up to the predella to take the monstrance for the blessing and afterwards when he has placed it on the altar, prevails in some places, but we have failed to find any authority for it among approved modern Rubricists. All these without exception direct the Officiant or the sacred minister who may assist him, to make a *simple* genuflection. The practice of genuflecting on both knees is possibly to be attributed to a different direction by some of the older Liturgists, or to a mistaken notion of the outward reverence due to the Blessed Sacrament in the circumstances. Seeing that the Church is inclined to tolerate such well-meant and edifying customs rather generously in this matter,¹ we are slow to condemn the practice, but we have no hesitation in saying that the simple genuflection is sufficient, and more in harmony with the principles of the Liturgy generally.

2. For the *simple* genuflection no inclination of the body

¹ Cf. Decr. S.R.C., n. 3108 ad vi.

or head in necessary. In fact, these are to be kept perfectly erect and rigid. Not so in the case of the *double* genuflection. Here, in addition to bending both knees to the ground, a further reverence is required. Is this additional reverence an inclination of the body, or of the head merely? This question, which has been a moot point among Rubricists heretofore, has recently been decided by a Decree of the Congregation of Rites.¹ The query being put in terms almost identical to those in which we have just proposed it, received the following response: '*Inclinatio mediocris, id est capitis, et modica humerorum inclinatio, quae in casu habetur ut profunda.*' To us the answer appears somewhat ambiguous, as it does not clearly define whether the supplementary reverence is a *moderate* inclination of the body or a *profound* inclination of the head, both of which are discriminated in the rubrics.² The description given would point in the former direction, contrary to prevailing notions, but the matter is of trivial importance as there is in reality very little difference between the two forms of reverence, while the important thing decided is that a *profound* inclination of the body is not required as the complement of a *double* genuflection.

We may here take occasion to emphasize some other points about Benediction decided in the Decree referred to.

(1) Those kneeling around the Altar are not to make any reverence when the tabernacle is opened either before or after the exposition of the Blessed Sacrament.

(2) The Officiant and the ministers should make a *moderate* inclination³ before rising to put incense into the thurible. No reverence, however, is to be made when the Officiant rises to recite the prayer or ascend the Altar, when the Assistant rises to go for the humeral veil, or when the Celebrant has knelt after giving the blessing.

(3) It is also decided that the custom of putting incense into the thurible after the singing of the prayer of the *Tantum Ergo* may not be continued.

¹ Feb., 1906. Cf. I. E. RECORD, August, 1906, pp. 163-4.

² Van Der Stappen, *Ceremoniale*, III. ; De Herdt, etc.

³ *Ut Supra*.

THE FIRST SUNDAY PLENARY INDULGENCES

REV. DEAR SIR,—The question put in the October number of the I. E. RECORD regarding the Indulgence of the First Friday of the month was not sufficiently explicit. By the addition of a few words the difficulty raised will be apparent. It is stated in a footnote, on page 26 of the July number of the I. E. RECORD, that a Plenary Indulgence may be gained on the First Friday, but only by members of a Sodality of the Sacred Heart. I do not see this limitation mentioned in the *Ordo*, where (at bottom of page viii.) it mentions this Indulgence. I take it that the answer to the part of the question—which regards the Indulgence of the First Sunday—is in the affirmative? Faithfully yours,

C. D.

I. The *Ordo* states in the place indicated that a Plenary Indulgence may be gained by the faithful generally on the First Friday of each month—provided they fulfil certain conditions—independently of their connexion with any Association, and our correspondent wishes to know what is the authority for this statement which, to his mind, appears to conflict with something he has seen elsewhere. The compiler of the *Ordo* relies for his information on a Decree of the Congregation of Indulgences, published in 1897. As it is important we take the liberty of giving it *in extenso*. It will be seen that the conditions required for the Plenary Indulgence, which prescind altogether from membership in any Sodality, are Confession, Communion, Meditation on the infinite charity of the Sacred Heart, and prayers for the Pope's intention; and that the fulfilment of the same conditions on *any* Friday of the year will entitle the faithful in general to a *partial* indulgence.

Gulielmus Pifferi, Epis. Porph. ad S. V. pedes provolutus humillime exponit quod R.R. P.P. Plenariam Indulgentiam benigne concesserunt lucrandam prima sexta¹ cujusque mensis ab omnibus Christifidelibus qui Conf. SSmi. Cordis Jesu nomen

¹ *Quinta*, the word in the copy of the *Acta Sanctae Sedis* from which we copy, is manifestly a misprint.

dederunt. Ut magis magisque haec devotio augeatur S. V. humiliter exorat ut eandem Indulgentiam omnibus utriusque sexus Christifidelibus concedere dignetur qui dictae Confraternitati adscripti non sint, tamen die supra dicta vere poenitentes, confessi ac S. Synaxi relecti infinitam SSmi. Cordis Jesu caritatem pia meditatione recoluerint et aliquamdiu ad mentem S. V. oraverint, insuper ut ejusdem Christifidelibus qui praefata praestiterint quaecumque sexta anni feria indulgentiam septem annorum totidemque quadragenarum benigne elargiri dignetur :—

S.S. D. N. Leo Pp. XIII benigne annuit pro gratia in omnibus juxta preces. Presenti in perpetuum valituro absque ulla Brevis expeditione contrariis quibuscunque non obstantibus.

Datum Romae ex Secretaria S. C. Indulgentiis Sacrisque Reliquis praepositae die 7 Sept. 1897.

2. Yes. The First Sunday Indulgences are also granted to the faithful generally and without any limitation. The conditions necessary to gain them are of the usual kind, viz. : Confession, Communion, prayers for the Pope's intention, and visit to the Parochial Church.¹

P. MORRISROE.

¹ For text of those Indulgences *vide* I. E. RECORD, March, 1882, pp. 182-5.

DOCUMENTS

RESOLUTION OF THE TRUSTEES OF MAYNOOTH COLLEGE

AT the annual meeting of the Trustees of Maynooth College, held on the 9th October last, the following resolution was unanimously adopted :—

That the Trustees desire to place on record their appreciation of the valued services of their late distinguished Secretary, the Right Rev. Monsignor Molloy, and their estimate of the irreparable loss which the Irish Church and the cause of Catholic education in Ireland have sustained by his lamented death, and that a copy of this resolution be sent by the Secretary to his brother, John Molloy, Esq.

**RESOLUTION OF THE IRISH HIERARCHY REGARDING
MIXED TRAINING COLLEGES**

AT the meeting of the Irish Hierarchy, held at Maynooth, on the 10th October last, his Eminence Cardinal Logue presiding, the following resolution was unanimously adopted :—

As it has come to our knowledge that mixed residential colleges have been established by the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction, we have to direct the attention of the faithful to the following declaration of the Bishops, published on the 16th of May, 1899 :—

‘ We desire to impress upon the local bodies concerned the primary importance in the establishment and direction of Technical Schools and Colleges of avoiding anything to which Catholics should object on religious grounds, whether in the teaching or in other departments of such schools and colleges. It has been the duty of the Bishops to repeatedly warn their people against the institution of mixed residences for Catholics and Protestants. The principle already so successfully maintained for many years in the working of training colleges in Great Britain, and applied within recent times with the best results in the case of similar institutions in Ireland, should be followed in this also if residential institutions are to be set up.’

In addition to this, a decree of the last Synod of Maynooth, which has been already sanctioned by the Holy See, enacts as follows :—

‘ Since it appears to us that interest in technical subjects and in agriculture is highly useful, and even necessary for our people, we consider it permissible for Catholic youths to frequent schools attended by non-Catholics where this instruction, as distinct from a general training or education, is given. We, however, strictly forbid Catholics to reside with non-Catholics in such schools, unless on special grounds the Bishop of the place judge otherwise in particular cases.

‘ Whilst we are prepared to support an agitation for the reform of the National Board that will give adequate representation to the educational interests of our people, we wish to warn our priests and people against any movement that may result in a change calculated to interfere with or endanger the authority or control of our Catholic managers, which is our chief security for the safety of religion in the school.’

**LETTER OF SYMPATHY FROM THE IRISH HIERARCHY
TO HIS EMINENCE CARDINAL RICHARD, ARCHBISHOP
OF PARIS**

THE following letter was addressed by the Irish Hierarchy, on the occasion of their recent meeting at Maynooth, to his Eminence Cardinal Richard, Archbishop of Paris.

COLLÈGE DE S. PATRICE, MAYNOOTH,
le 10 Octobre, 1906.

EMINENCE,

L'étroite amitié qui a toujours uni les Catholiques irlandais à leurs frères de France et les faveurs insignes que nous avons plus d'une fois reçues de la grande et généreuse nation française nous imposent un devoir spécial de partager vos soucis et vos douleurs comme vous avez partagé les nôtres aux époques de nos luttes pour la foi de Jesus-Christ. Aussi réunis en ce moment à notre assemblée annuelle, nous tenons à exprimer à votre Eminence, au vénérable épiscopat français, au clergé, et au peuple Catholique de votre pays, notre très vive et très fraternelle sympathie au milieu des épreuves si cruelles que vous subissez aujourd'hui.

Avec les Catholiques du monde entier nous nous rejouissons

à l'attitude si ferme et si digne que vous ne cessiez de maintenir en présence des dangers qui vous menacent. Votre esprit d'unité et de foi ; votre admirable fidélité aux traditions les plus glorieuses de la France ; votre confiance si pleine et si frappante dans les directions et les conseils de l'auguste Pontife qui est chargé de veiller sur les suprêmes intérêts de l'église, ont été pour nous l'objet d'une juste admiration et ne nous laissent aucun doute sur l'issue d'un conflit que vous n'avez pu éviter.

Nous, évêques irlandais, nous sommes les fils d'une église qui a connu la souffrance. Les libertés que nous avons conquises sont les fruits de siècles de renoncement et de sacrifice de la part de nos prédécesseurs et de leur noble peuple. Nous avons la conviction profonde que la foi de la France Catholique renâtra pareillement plus forte et plus pure de la crise ardue qu'elle traverse, et que l'église de S. Louis, loin de faiblir, prendra de nouvelles forces pour accomplir sa mission glorieuse et divine.

Avec les sentiments de la plus profonde vénération nous sommes de votre Eminence les serviteurs très dévoués et très fidèles en N. S.

Signé de la part de tous les Archevêques et Evêques d'Irlande,

✠ MICHEL, CARDINAL LOGUE,

Archevêque d'Armagh.

✠ RICHARD,

Evêque de Waterford et Lismore,

✠ HENRI,

Evêque de Down et Connor,

} *Secrétaires.*

REPLY OF HIS EMINENCE CARDINAL RICHARD

ARCHEVÊCHÉ DE PARIS,

le 21 Octobre, 1906.

EMINENTISSIME ET RÉVÉRENDISSIME SEIGNEUR,

La lettre que votre Eminence a eu la grande bonté de m'adresser au nom de tous les Archevêques et Evêques d'Irlande rappelle l'étroite amitié qui a toujours uni les Catholiques irlandais à leurs Frères de France. Elle s'affirme une fois de plus dans cette participation de votre charité à nos soucis et à nos douleurs.

Entre tous les fils de l'Eglise les Irlandais ont donné les témoignages les plus éclatants de leur inébranlable constance. Les Catholiques d'Irlande ont gardé la foi de S. Patrice malgré

trois siècles de persécution. Ni la tribulation, ni la famine, ni le glaive n'ont pu vous séparer de Jesus-Christ et de son Vicaire.

Puissions nous, par un courage aussi persévérant que le vôtre, reconquerir cette liberté religieuse dont vous jouissez maintenant. Celui qui s'en est fait l'éloquent défenseur, votre O'Connell, a voulu que son cœur reposât à Rome ; c'est le symbole de votre inaltérable attachement au Saint-Siège. Nous demandons à Dieu d'imiter cette admirable fidélité.

Je me suis fait un devoir de communiquer votre belle lettre à tous mes collègues de l'Episcopat français.

Je prie Votre Eminence de vouloir bien être l'interprète de notre très-vive reconnaissance auprès de nos vénérés Frères, NN. S.S. les Archevêques et Evêques d'Irlande, et d'agréer l'hommage de ma profonde vénération.

De Votre Eminence le tres humble et dévoué serviteur.

✠ FRANCOIS CARD. RICHARD,
Archevêque de Paris.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

LORD ACTON AND HIS CIRCLE. Edited by Abbot Gasquet,
O.S.B. London : Burns and Oates. 1906.

THIS volume presents Lord Acton in a much more favourable light than the volume of his letters to Mary Gladstone, published some time ago, by Mr. Herbert Paul. In truth, it is not very easy to reconcile the two ; but at present we are only concerned with the work before us ; and, judging by its contents alone, it is impossible to resist the conclusion that, whatever may have been Lord Acton's aberrations regarding certain phases of ecclesiastical history, he was deeply and sincerely attached to the Catholic Church and intensely desirous of serving it in the only way in which, rightly or wrongly, he conceived it could be served by a layman and a man of the world in his position.

Abbot Gasquet presents him to us as the real moving power that gave life and vigour to the *Rambler*, the *Home and Foreign Review*, the *Chronicle*, and the *North British Review*.

In all his activities Lord Acton was a liberal Catholic, some will think much more liberal than Catholic ; but it is clear from the evidence of this volume that whenever he came into collision with ecclesiastical authority he found a way out of his difficulties without any open rupture, and satisfied his immediate ecclesiastical superiors as to his motives and his orthodoxy.

It has to be borne in mind that Lord Acton was a man of great learning and great intellectual gifts, who was brought into contact with many of the ablest men both inside and outside the Church at home and abroad. Considering the surroundings in which he lived, the turn and constitution of his mind, the nature of the influences brought to bear upon him, the fascination of the Church that kept him within its pale must have been great indeed ; and the strength of his own faith must have been much greater than he got credit for. His attitude on the occasion of the definition of Papal Infallibility, which gave rise to such misgivings amongst Catholics, is admirably cleared up in the concluding part of this volume, and reveals him to us in a very different light from that in which he had long been regarded.

With the history of the Church and the Papacy in its temporal and civil aspect, Lord Acton took liberties which remind us of Villani and Guicciardini ; but it is evident that he distinguished sufficiently between the accidental and the essential to satisfy his own conscience that he did no wrong, but rather served the spiritual interests of the Church which he had much at heart.

If we must have liberal Catholics to remind us that the kingdom of God is not of this world, and that the most glorious epochs of the history of the Church were not those in which she adopted many of the ways of the world and shone most brilliantly in wealth and earthly splendour, it is well that they should be men like Montalembert and Lord Acton whose motives were not corrupt, to say the least of them, and whose devotion to the Church cannot be seriously called in question.

The danger is, that the methods of procedure and the forms of speech employed may be taken up and utilized by men who have neither the wide learning, the high motives, nor the true faith of Lord Acton, and that the language of persistent depreciation may alienate people from the Church on personal and historical grounds, who would otherwise remain undisturbed, or become more attracted towards her. Nothing could well be more disgusting to Catholics than to see a man scavenging in the contemporary annals of the Church in order to find something to say, in Protestant newspapers and periodicals, against the rulers of an institution of which he professes himself a member. We are all familiar with the letters of such men in the *Times*, and in the monthly reviews. They evidently think that they are imitating the independence and courage of Lord Acton ; and they do not shrink from indulging in their shady occupation under the cover of his name. It is a poor way of making a living, and not very creditable either to the journals and reviews that encourage it, or to the individuals who make it their trade. We can understand an independent though not a disloyal attitude in the investigation of the facts of history, whether civil or ecclesiastical ; but when we find men distorting the words and misrepresenting the acts of those whom they profess to acknowledge as their spiritual rulers in order to curry favour with the enemies of the Church, or to manufacture a spurious though lucrative reputation for themselves, we can only regard them with contempt. It will probably be Lord Acton's misfortune if not entirely his fault, if the least

reputable of this band both claim him and proclaim him as their leader. Whatever we may think of some of his letters and opinions, we could wish him a better fate than to be regarded as the head of such a school.

No Catholic can or will defend the passages in Lord Acton's letters to a Protestant young lady, in which he attributes the most atrocious crimes to the Popes and to several canonized saints of the Church. These passages are shocking and revolting in the last degree, and, coming from a man who made such a boast of scientific methods, they are partisan and biased beyond all decency. It is, indeed, difficult to believe that they were ever written by a man who held the Catholic faith and professed his submission to the Catholic Church. And yet, on the other hand, we remember to have read a few years ago, in the *Memoirs* of Sir Mountstuart Elphinstone Grant Duff, the declaration of Lord Acton, that never during his whole life had he a moment's doubt as to the truth of Catholicism. The author of the *Memoirs* adds, that this was one of the most remarkable declarations he had ever heard, coming as it did from one of the most learned and enlightened men of his age. How Lord Acton was able to reconcile in his own mind and to his own conscience, the passages in his letters to which we have referred, with his statement to Grant Duff, is it not easy to divine. The problem is more difficult when we remember that the letters were written not for the benefit of the public, but for the private enlightenment and edification of the daughter of Mr. Gladstone. Lord Acton, no doubt, was anxious to react against the methods of writing history which were, perhaps, too common amongst Catholics in his day, and wished to show that an educated Catholic was as free to judge the shortcomings of the Church on its worldly side as any other man; but he surely overshot the mark, and left a stain, not upon the Church, but on his own reputation. We should be sorry, however, to cast the stone at him and take such outbursts as the substance of his message to his countrymen. These are the shadows of a great reputation, which is far, in our opinion, from being entirely clouded by them.

J. F. H.

PRAELECTIONES IN TEXTUM JURIS CANONICI—DE JUDICIIS ECCLESIASTICIS. Auct. Michaelē Lega, Antistite Urbano, Sub-Secretario S. Cong. Concilii. 4 vol. in 8. Romae: Ex Typographia Polyglotta S.C. de Propaganda Fide. Editio altera.

It is next to impossible to acquire a full and complete knowledge of the intricacies of ecclesiastical trials unless their theory and practice be carefully perused and profoundly studied. It is necessary to discover the intrinsic and extrinsic motives which originated the various parts and numberless details of the interesting procedure, harmoniously co-ordinating the different matters, and showing that, despite the apparent diversity, the whole is animated by the same spirit, tending towards the same end which is the triumph of justice.

Then alone the theological school-tyros, and in general those who are prone to belittle the importance of the story of ecclesiastical law, will begin to realize how mistaken and unjust they were in their estimation, and how a defective knowledge in this line, besides being a lamentable drawback in the case of ecclesiastics, will inevitably lead them to form an erroneous conception of the necessity and arduous nature of this branch of ecclesiastical learning. In order to acquire an exhaustive idea of the provision made by the Church to regulate the complicated subject of ecclesiastical judicature, and to comprehend its far-reaching importance from the practical point of view, it will suffice to read the excellent and valuable work under consideration. This is the second edition, augmented and corrected, while the first appeared in 1896, and it was then that all conversant with these special studies hailed it with praise, and agreed that Mgr. Lega's elaborate tract is a marked success, and one of the best works which have appeared for a good many years past.

Here we find the sound doctrines treasured in the old tomes as well as the novelties contained in the manuals of recent date, all happily combined with the valuable outcome of the author's long experience as Professor of Canon Law in the Roman Seminary, of his practice as Vice-Secretary of the S. Cong. of Council, and of his unremitting study and patient research. Indeed, we who have the pleasure of his personal acquaintance know him to be the happy possessor of rare gifts, varied talents, extensive knowledge, and, above all, of an unlimited love of study and

capacity for taking pains in acquiring knowledge. This is with him a regular monomania, and his figure is familiar to those who frequent libraries and archives in Rome, where he is frequently to be found spending long and weary hours in exploring both musty volumes and new books in search of doctrine, and we believe that there is not even a single book or pamphlet, old or new, having some connexion or other with his favourite subject, of which he has not made a special study, or of which, at least, he is not cognizant. It took him, we are told, almost twenty years of constant labour to compose and bring to completion this work, and it is appalling the phenomenal amount of doctrine he was able to accumulate within the compass of four octavo volumes. From the outset he made up his mind to produce a classical work, and he admirably succeeded in achieving this result. True, the path of his work was not strewn with roses, the subject was encompassed with difficulties and beset with obstacles, but time, patience, and study enabled him to unravel the first and surmount the latter, thus clearing the way of the sinuous labyrinth of judicial procedure for the studious youth to tread on it with safety and profit.

Mgr. Lega is not only a learned canonist, and an incessant worker in his multitudinous avocations, but also an amiable and highly accomplished gentleman. Of kind disposition and gentle manners he is held in great esteem by his acquaintances and friends, and no wonder if all the Roman students who have been in his class speak in glowing terms of his affableness and courtesy, and cherish for him warm feelings of affection and regard.

He has also published a few days since, and for class use, a 'compendium' of his large work; for although he wrote the tract, *De Judiciis Ecclesiasticis* and adapted it as a manual in the class while he was professing Canon Law, yet he was the last man to believe that it was suitable for ordinary school purposes, on account of its extensive proportions, and of its method not being strictly in accordance with the best pedagogical rules.

The work under notice consists of four volumes. The first treats of judicial processes in the civil causes of clerics, which are tried in ecclesiastical courts; the second is occupied with the organization of the Roman Curia and all its attributions and ramifications, some attention being paid also to the diocesan courts; the third is entirely devoted to the exposition of

ecclesiastical crimes and punishments; the last deals with criminal and disciplinary trials. Our remarks, however, will be confined to the first volume of this second edition, which alone lies before us.

The author warns us, at the outset, that a change has been effected in the method of exposition. The legal and historical method of interpretation of the Decretals, hitherto prevailing in the works of Canon Law, has been relinquished and replaced by the logical or ontological system which appears to be at once more natural and scientific, and has the advantage of presenting collected together all the various laws bearing on the same subject, and enacted in different times; co-ordinating them, moreover, according to the doctrinal order, and connecting them with the supreme principles of law. This departure from the old method introduced in recent years has proved beneficial both to professors and authors, for while the legal order served the purpose of the collector of the Decretals who aimed at preserving them from dispersion and corruption, it would scarcely be equally suitable to doctors and writers who have to explain them systematically, or compose a doctrinal treatise.

Apart from the diversity of method the doctrine is the same as that of the *Corpus Juris*; but the author does not content himself with the exposition and interpretations of the Decretals, he shows, also, the main evolutions and historical phases of canonical legislation, determining what is in force at at present, and what, in process of time, has been modified or become obsolete, and keeping pace with the latest innovations contained in the responses of the Sacred Congregations.

He divides this first volume into three sections. He devotes the first to extensive and copious prolegomena, discoursing on peaceful and private ways of settling controversies either by arbitration or compromise, on the *personnel*, principal or secondary, required in forming an ecclesiastical court, namely, on plaintiffs, defendants, judges, advocates, and procurators, and other persons of minor importance, on actions and exceptions, on the competency of the ecclesiastical judge, and on other general rules to be observed in a judicial process. All these topics are in the main abstruse and complex, but at his hands they receive an exhaustive and scholarly treatment. He is unexcelled in the art of seizing, amid a maze of ideas and opinions, what is pertinent to his subject, and discarding what is out of place or irrelevant; in arranging the divergent views;

in adopting the most scientific and the safest, and in presenting old doctrines in such a fashion as to make them assume a new character under the light he sheds upon them.

The manifold ways of introducing and conducting ecclesiastical trials are now explained in the second section. Here questions regarding citation, the nature and various kinds and force of judicial proofs, questions which may incidentally arise during the debate find their place and lucid exposition, and it is gratifying to notice that summary trials have engaged, in a particular manner, the author's attention in the last title. This is a form of procedure used in cases indicated by law and frequently adopted in places where it is impossible to have fully equipped courts, and which is in keeping with the ever increasing need of discarding certain judicial formalities which have grown useless or entirely antiquated. In the treatment of those momentous subjects, the author reveals himself, as ever, a learned and competent lawyer ; one to whom study and practice have yielded an abundant wealth of doctrine and experience ; but he is at his best, when he, with rare ability and dexterity, disposes of the numerous difficulties with which he is often confronted.

Lastly, the conclusion of a trial and all its parts are discussed in the third section, especially with regard to the sentence and its execution, and to the remedies provided to impugn it, with all their multiform and practical details.

These sections are so skilfully connected with each other, as to lead us gradually and almost inadvertently through the different stages of the proceedings, and when the subject threatens to prove heavy and tiresome, he relieves it with opportune historical digressions. Besides, he makes it one of his special pleasures to take occasional wanderings through the vast field of old Roman legislation, and never fails returning without a handsome amount of information, which is sometimes as necessary as it is always useful in elucidating unintelligible enactments of Canon Law. This is the work both of a canonist and jurist, of one who aimed at offering a helping hand to students *in utroque iure*, in clerical places of learning ; hence, he is not to be blamed if his appeals to arguments derived from the ancient Roman Law, and its history and evolution, are frequent and plentiful.

He holds the opinion that defective canonical legislation should be supplemented by Roman Civil Law, and that a recourse to modern civil law in force in different countries may

be had only in profane matters concerning clerics, and in civil courts. Roman Law was already approved of by Pope Lucius III, as a subsidiary source of law in the Church ; hence a departure from it cannot be effected without a declaration from the Holy See, which is going to be made, he asserts, in the compilation of the new code under the auspices and approval of the present Holy Father. It would be a difficult undertaking to show all the parts and passages of this work where Roman Law has played a great part in the explanation of obstruse questions ; but I will mention one example, namely, the much disputed but all-important subject of Possession.

It is well known how, in the Roman Imperial times, the *praetor*, or equity judge, in disputed matters used, before settling the main case at issue, to decide the question of Possession, granting the 'Interdicts,' *Uti possidetis* and *Utrobi*, in behalf of those who were found to enjoy a lawful possession—*nec vi, nec clam, nec precaris*—in order to retain it, relying on the dictates of common sense, and on the spirit more than on the strict word of the law. In process of time he issued also 'Interdicts' for recovering and also for acquiring possession, thus contriving to relax the strictures of the rigid *Jus Quiritarium*. Hence the origin of the common saying, *De minimis non curat praetor*.

The study of that and similar questions in the old law of the Romans is of a fascinating character. It is absorbingly interesting to realize how human reason, obnubilated by depraved nature, often conceived and adopted legislative measures, which far from being just and wise were positively tyrannical and iniquitous ; and how gradually it redeemed itself by a number of ingenious devices which eventually formed that wonderful body of laws handed down to posterity under the stylish name of *ratio scripta*, on account of their accuracy and ingenuity, and on which all modern legislations and codes, whether civil or ecclesiastical, are modelled and based.

Mgr. Lega has fully mastered all these nice yet difficult questions, and he, of course, only hints at them in his tract, a full treatment being beyond his scope ; but the fitting and learned application he makes of them, and especially of the question on Possession, to the canonical legislation with regard to the spiritual rights and ecclesiastical goods, such as benefices and matrimony, bears unmistakable witness to his learning and

competency, as both a famous canonist and civilist ; so that Mgr. Giustini, a renowned canonist himself, Professor of Law for a good many years, and now secretary of the Sacred Congregation of Bishops and Regulars, emphatically said on one occasion, that had Mgr. Lega written nothing else but this part of Canon Law on Possession, it would have been more than an abundant reason for him to claim the place of honour in the ranks of the living canonists in Rome.

Having thus acknowledged the excellence of this work, well maintained throughout, we must regretfully, before concluding, point out two defects which struck us since the time it was put in our hands as a manual in the text-class of Canon Law.

It is an obvious principle of art, that the door of an edifice solely meant to allow admittance should not be, or threaten to be, wider than the forefront of the structure ; a departure from this rule would cause the whole construction to look disfigured and quaint. The 'Prolegomena' of this work seem to sin against that principle ; for they are prolix beyond measure, occupying almost half of the volume, and, as an introductory part, are certainly out of proportion with the rest of the book. We always cherished the hope of seeing this imperfection soon eliminated from an otherwise excellent book, and are sorely disappointed to find it still maintained in the second edition.

Again, the style is at times unnecessarily diffuse, creating entanglement and confusion, where clearness and lucidity were perhaps aimed at, and certainly needed. We still believe in the time-honoured principle of Horace, *Quidquid praecipies esto brevis*, which is as true now as it was of yore ; the inevitable result of prolixity and verbosity being, as the same poet points out, a hopeless loss of strength in the main concept, *nervi deficiunt animique*, if, indeed, it does not vanish altogether, distempered and diluted, in a sea of words and quotations.

It is very hard, we readily admit, to avoid all imperfections in a work of such gigantic proportions ; but we are, at the same time, glad to notice that those blemishes affect only the form and style of the work, and do not in the least interfere with the soundness and excellence of its doctrine, and that it remains, as it was, a classical book, with its original features and novelties, and a veritable mine of erudition and information in contentious matters ; a book which ought to prove indispensable not only

to specialists and students of law, but also to all diocesan superiors who, in the discharge of their arduous office as administrators of justice, are occasionally called upon to institute judicial proceedings, and want a complete and reliable guide for the accurate fulfilment of their duties.

S. L.

BRIEFS FOR OUR TIMES. By the Rev. Morgan M. Sheedy. Altoona, Pa. ; author of *Christian Unity*, *Social Addresses*, etc. New York : Thomas Whitaker. 1906. Price One dollar net.

FATHER MORGAN SHEEDY is one of the most learned priests and solid theologians in the United States. He has devoted his brilliant talents in recent times to the study of social questions, and this is the second book which has resulted from his studies. Father Sheedy takes up, one by one, some of the great failings of modern life in America, and deals with it from the point of view of a clear-thinking, practical Christian.

Father Sheedy is an able man, and his essays and lectures are neither commonplace nor meagre. They are full of substance and are admirable examples of how a profound knowledge of the Scriptures and of Catholic principles can be brought to bear with effect on the problems of the day. Father Sheedy knows what he wants to say, and says it in a manner which is dignified, and at the same time intelligible to all men. His essay entitled 'Money Mad,' is perfect of its kind, bold and courageous without being offensive, and persuasive without being weak. His papers on the 'Gospel of Wealth,' and the 'Gospel of Pain,' on 'Faith and Doubt,' 'Labouring in the Night,' 'How to Win the Crown,' are quickly and pleasantly read ; but they do not pass away like the ephemeral papers of profane literature. They make a permanent mark, and will be read again.

Father Sheedy has done a good work in writing these papers, and in giving them to the public. They are one more proof that the Church neglects nothing that is capable of attracting the world ; that she presents her message in any and in every form that can bring it home to men. We congratulate him on his ingenuity and his success. His papers are of a high class, and deserve the widest attention.

J. F. H.

A HISTORY OF MODERN ENGLAND. By Herbert Paul. Vol. V.
London : Longmans, Green & Co. 1906. Price 8s.

THIS is the fifth and last volume of Mr. Herbert Paul's *History of Modern England*, which opened at the fall of Sir Robert Peel's government in 1846, and closes with the disappearance of Mr. Gladstone in 1894. This last volume is one of the most illuminating and valuable of the five. The historian has gained confidence in himself as he advanced, and has had less recourse to smart sayings, epigrammatic sentences, and other tricks of rhetoric which irritated the reader in his early volumes. His criticism of the policy of Unionism, of Lord Salisbury's attitude towards 'Home Rule,' when he thought it might be turned to some party account by Lord Carnarvon, of the great plot of the *Times* and Pigott to wreck the Nationalist movement, is clever and interesting from beginning to end. Mr. Herbert Paul has certainly done one historian's part to stigmatize the infamous conduct of the plotters.

Mr. Herbert Paul seems obsessed, like many of his kind, by the idea that the power of the priests in Irish national life is the bane of the country. We do not think the priests will feel inclined to relinquish any of their authority on that account, nor do we believe that it will make much difference even in the attitude of the laity towards them.

English writers will, of course, insist on lecturing us in such matters ; but we can also persist in telling them they would be better employed in minding their own business, and particularly in endeavouring to patch up some sort of unity amongst their almost innumerable sects.

J. F. H.

A MODERN PILGRIM'S PROGRESS. With an Introduction
by Henry Sebastian Bowden, of the Oratory. London :
Burns and Oates. 1906.

THE author of this book is a lady who has made her own way, guided by the hand of God and urged on by His grace, to the Catholic Church. It is evident from the contents of the book that she is no ordinary lady, but one highly endowed and intelligent far beyond the average of her sex. The account of her conversion given in this volume might well be included, in

an abridged form, in a new edition of *Roads to Rome*. Not that there is anything absolutely unique in the influences that have moved her on the way of grace; but the strivings and trials of an individual soul are always of interest, and are helpful and encouraging to others.

Amongst other things we learn from this volume the value of the notes in the Douay Bible, and we realize how much depends for a soul in doubt and trouble on the accurate application of Catholic principles to the philosophic questions of the day. The course of the pilgrim was, from the spiritual point of view, somewhat chequered and erratic; but it was, on the whole, brave and loyal to the truth. Her sincerity has been crowned with a rich reward, and the story of her progress will be an undoubted help to others who are groping their way on the same pilgrimage.

J. F. H.

DOCTRINAL HYMNS. By the Most Rev. Archbishop Bagshawe. Westminster: Art and Book Company.

THIS is a collection of hymns expressing devotionally in verse the doctrine of the Church on some of the principal mysteries of faith. We single out as illustrations, 'The Word made Flesh' a simple rhyming paraphrase of the first chapter of St. John's Gospel, in which the words of the Sacred Text are very ingeniously preserved; Jesus our High Priest and Sacrifice; the Holy Ghost; and a beautiful prayer for the Dying. The last thirty pages of the volume are devoted to a method of assisting at the Holy Sacrifice.

MASS OF THE HOLY ROSARY (No. 2 in C.) for Four Voices with Organ Accompaniment. By Alphonse Cappelletti. London: Cary & Co. Price 1s. 6d.

WE are sorry to see a Mass like this one published at the present day. Perhaps it is not so bad as other Masses, but that is about all that can be said in its favour. It is certainly not in a style that we should desire. The beginning of the *Gloria*, for instance, is the true music-hall style undiluted. We must sincerely wish that it may have no sale.

H. F.

"*Us Christiani id est Romani sumus.*" "As you are children of Christ, so be you children of Rome."
Ex Dictis S. Patris, in Libro Armacano, fol. 9.

The Irish Ecclesiastical Record

A Monthly Journal, under Episcopal Sanction.

Thirty-ninth Year] DECEMBER, 1906. [Fourth Series.
 No. 468.] Vol. XX.

A Soldier Bishop.

Rev. James J. M'Namee, C.C., Clones.

Oxford and the Benedictines.

Rev. G. E. Hind, O.S.B., Oxford.

Legal Aspect of the Seal of Confession.

R. S. Nolan, Inner Temple, London.

Progressive Catholicism: 'Out of Due Time.'

Rev. J. O'Neill, Ph.D., Carlow College.

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Circular of Sacred Congregation of Propaganda regarding Chaplains to the British Army and Navy. Pioneer Total Abstinence Association of the Sacred Heart.

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Title and Contents, July to December.

Nihil Obstat.

THOMAS O'DONNELL, S.T.D.
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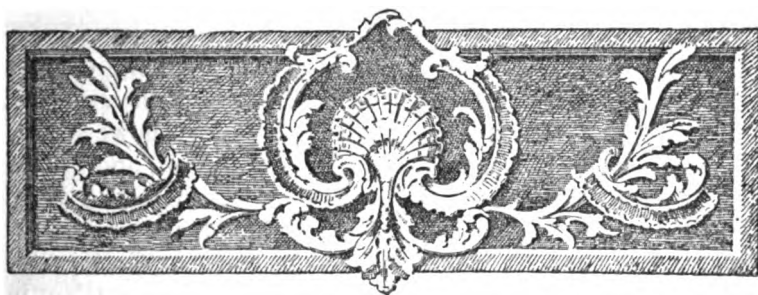
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A SOLDIER BISHOP

ONE of the most interesting figures amongst the Irish Hierarchy of the seventeenth century, is that of Heber M'Mahon, the warrior Bishop of Clogher. Unfortunately for his fame, the terrible disaster which finally befell the Confederate army under his leadership has thrown into the shade his life-long efforts for the freedom of his country, and has robbed his memory of the meed of honour due to his lofty patriotism, his dauntless courage, and his heroic death.

Heber, or Eber M'Mahon, sprang from the ancient nobility of Ulster. His family had for ages been chiefs of Oirghialla, or Oriel, and had ever been ready to take the field in defence of their ancient independence. The M'Mahon of the time had been one of Hugh O'Neill's staunchest lieutenants, and having fled the country with the fugitive Earls when the cause was lost, he died in exile, at Genoa. Emer's father, Turlough M'Mahon, had shared the fortunes of the war from Clontibret and Armagh to the great victory of the Yellow Ford, and the terrible disaster of Kinsale. This Turlough had married Eva, a daughter of the princely house of O'Neill, and their son Heber was born in Farney, in the year 1600. The child was but three years old, when the last hopes of the Irish chieftains were extinguished at Kinsale. Four years later the head of the clan, James Colla M'Mahon, was obliged to join the fugitive Earls in their flight from Lough Swilly ;

but Turlough, who never quite recovered from the wounds he had received at Kinsale, resolved to brave the storm of persecution at home. For greater security, however, he withdrew from his ancestral home in Monaghan, and retired to Donegal, where he took up his residence near Killybegs, with his wife, Eva, and their only child. Some years later he learned that his chief had died in exile, at Genoa, and that the Irish executive had confirmed the new settlers in their possession of his lands.

Seeing himself thus shut out for ever from his rightful patrimony, Turlough, now head of his clan, resolved to devote the remaining years of his life to the training of his youthful son. The father's intention was that his boy should become a soldier in the service of Spain, where so many of his fellow-countrymen were biding their time, waiting an opportunity of striking a blow at their oppressors and despoilers. But his mother, Eva, had other plans for her son. It was her earnest wish that he should devote himself to the service of the Church in the priesthood, a profession at that time no less dangerous than the profession of arms itself. Though the youthful Heber inherited to the full the martial instincts of his race, his wishes in this matter were identical with his mother's, and he forthwith proceeded to devote himself to the necessary preparatory studies. Already his house had given many distinguished ecclesiastics to the Church, and about that very time a scion of his race, the learned Eugene M'Mahon, was promoted from the see of Clogher to the Archbishopial see of Dublin. Little did father or mother dream that the wishes of both were to be realized in their boy, who was destined one day to be Bishop of his native diocese, and commander-in-chief of all the northern clans!

Heber's education for the priesthood began in his father's place of retreat in Donegal. His first preceptor was a poor Franciscan friar of the neighbourhood, who taught him Latin, Greek, and Spanish, which last held then a place of eminence amongst European languages afterwards held by the French. In his seventeenth year the youth bade a last adieu to the fond parents whom he

was never more to see on earth, and proceeded to Douay, in France. Here he entered the Irish College, and read his course of philosophy. Thence he went on to the University of Louvain, where he studied theology under the learned MacCaghwell, a priest of the Order of St. Francis. Having at length completed his studies, to the entire satisfaction of his professors and superiors, Heber M'Mahon was ordained priest in the year 1625, in the Franciscan chapel at Louvain, in presence of Colgan, O'Clery, and other distinguished Irishmen.

At this period it would have been easy for an ecclesiastic of M'Mahon's character and family to have obtained high preferment in Flanders. That country was filled with Irish soldiers, amongst whom were officers of great influence, as Owen Roe O'Neill, Preston, O'Cahan, and others. The Archduke Albert and the Archduchess Isabella were the devoted friends and supporters of the Irish Catholics, and would have esteemed it an honour to protect and advance a scion of the princely house of Oriel. But with the courage of a true soldier of the Cross, he preferred to brave a life of poverty, hardship, and danger amongst the persecuted faithful of his native diocese.

Here, for twenty years, M'Mahon toiled in poverty and obscurity. He saw his people deprived of their lands and churches, and obliged to worship by stealth in the fastnesses of the woods and the mountains, but had the consolation of finding them, amid the fierce fires of persecutions, still true as steel to the faith of their fathers. He laboured zealously amongst them, sharing all their misfortunes, but still revered by them, not alone as a priest, but as a scion of their ancient nobility. So well did he discharge his ecclesiastical duties, that we find him specially recommended to the Roman authorities by O'Reilly, then Vicar-General of Kilmore, and afterwards Primate, as worthy of the highest honours to which the Holy See might raise him.

But, devoted though the young priest was to the spiritual wants of his flock, he was not neglectful of their temporal interests either, nor did he forget his duties as a

patriot to his oppressed country. On one occasion at least, before the rising of 1641, he warned the authorities that, if justice were not done to the Catholics, they must of necessity, in self-defence, have recourse to the sword. But, finding that all such remonstrances fell upon deaf ears, he entered into communication with the Irish leaders in Flanders with a view to securing their help in the great struggle which could not be long delayed. Indeed, he appears to have visited Flanders about 1630, for in an account of the conspiracy by Lord Maguire, that nobleman represents him as having had an interview abroad with Owen Roe O'Neill. Possibly it was in consequence of this interview that M'Mahon, with Daniel O'Neill, Owen Roe's nephew, journeyed in 1634, through most of Ireland, to test the feelings of the chiefs and clans. The result of this propaganda was soon visible in the great body of recruits that Owen Roe's regiment received from Leinster. When, at length, after several years more, everything was ripe for the great struggle, Heber M'Mahon was one of those who, with Lord Maguire, Phelim O'Neill, and Rory O'More; fixed the 23rd October, 1641, for a general rising of the clans of Ulster against the English and Scottish usurpers.

Meantime, M'Mahon's zeal for faith and fatherland had not escaped the notice of his ecclesiastical superiors. His native diocese of Clogher had been without a bishop since the translation of his kinsman, Eugene M'Mahon, to Dublin, in the year 1611. In 1632, indeed a petition was forwarded to Rome, praying that this dignity might be conferred on Father Francis O'Donnell, O.S.F., a son of the Earl of Antrim, but no appointment was made. The see was meantime ruled by Vicars-Apostolic, and to this dignity M'Mahon was raised, in 1637. In 1641, he was strongly recommended for the see of Down and Connor, by the Primate and the Bishops of Meath and Kilmore; and was appointed Bishop of that diocese in March 10, 1642. The *processus* of his appointment bears witness to the efficiency with which he had discharged the duties of his Vicariate, and to his learning and sanctity. M'Mahon remained Bishop-elect of Down and Connor, till the 2nd of

June, 1643, when, on the recommendaton of the bishops and nobles of the Confederation, he was transferred to his native diocese of Clogher, 'in order,' according to the *processus*, 'that he might the more easily take part with the lords and prelates in certain weighty matters concerning the kingdom of Ireland.' The consecration took place at Drogheda.

When Owen Roe arrived in Ireland, in July, 1642, he was met at Doe Castle, Co. Donegal, where he landed, by Heber M'Mahon. From that day till he was laid to rest in an obscure grave in Cavan, O'Neill had no trustier friend in every phase of fortune than this soldier Bishop, who now placed at the general's service his own good sword, and the spears of his clansmen. It was chiefly through M'Mahon's exertions that Sir Phelim O'Neill, a brave soldier but an inexperienced commander, was superseded by his cousin, Owen Roe, who, to the fearlessness of his race added the experience in war reaped on many a bloody field, and the wisdom and prudence of a consummate statesman.

As might be expected, Heber M'Mahon was one of the most earnest and enthusiastic of the prelates who, in solemn council at Kells, on the 22nd March, 1642, pronounced the war just and lawful, and issued a spirited call to arms, urging the people to join in a holy war for their country and their religion. Before separating, they summoned a National Synod, to meet at Kilkenny, on the 10th of May following. Accordingly, on that date, the three Archbishops, of Armagh, Cashel, and Tuam, along with six others, met and drew up the oath of the association. Amongst the signatures to this historic document we find that of 'Emer., Elect. Dun. et Conor.' So zealous was M'Mahon in organizing the Confederation, that he was specially recommended to the Holy See by Father Luke Wadding, and so highly were his services appreciated at Rome, that when the Holy Father resolved to send over Rinuccini as Papal Legate or Nuncio to the Irish Catholics, he instructed that prelate to make a special confidant and counsellor of Heber, Bishop of Clogher.

When at length, in 1645, the Nuncio arrived at Kilkenny,

one of the first to greet him was the Bishop of Clogher. The two men became fast friends, and in all the trouble and vexations of his nunciature, Rinuccini could at all times rely on the true heart and clear head of Heber M'Mahon. Some of his earliest despatches to Rome prove how much he esteemed the Bishop, and bear witness to the help he received from him in overcoming the timorous policy of some of the older prelates. He found in M'Mahon great zeal for the restoration of ecclesiastical buildings and ceremonies, and a boldness and decision of character that were in strong contrast with the vacillation of many of his colleagues.

During the campaign of 1646, which culminated in the battle of Benburb, Heber M'Mahon was constantly with the army, and shared the honours of that great victory. When immediately afterwards, the half-hearted party in the Confederation agreed to an ignominious truce with Ormond, M'Mahon denounced the truce and supported the Nuncio in his secession to Waterford. Unfortunately he must share the blame, too, of supporting Rinuccini in recalling O'Neill from the pursuit of Monroe, to support his party in the Confederation against the Ormondists.

Immediately after this, M'Mahon formed a project well worthy of his bold and enterprising spirit—the reduction of Dublin itself. The defences of the city were weak, and the garrison not large. He urged his plan both on O'Neill and Rinuccini. O'Neill's forces were insufficient, and so M'Mahon tried to get Preston, the general of the moderate Ormondist faction, to co-operate with the northern leader in this great enterprise. But unfortunately, the rivalry and jealousy of the generals rendered all his efforts nugatory. He accompanied the Nuncio on this occasion to Preston's camp, but the attempt to overcome that general's prejudices against O'Neill was all in vain. Indeed, Preston had been urged by the Ormondists to arrest the Bishop, but thought it more prudent to refrain from doing so. The opportunity for reducing Dublin was gone, and all M'Mahon could do was to induce the generals to sign an agreement to act in conjunction on all future occasions.

Wearied and disgusted by these dissensions, the good Bishop now withdrew to his diocese, where he spent most of the year 1647. He held conferences of his priests, administered Confirmation, visited the parishes, and initiated the restoration of the churches. Even now, however, he did not lose sight of the cause. It was at his request that General O'Neill marched to Trim, when Preston had been defeated there by Jones, the governor of Dublin. For four months O'Neill held the Parliamentarians at bay. This saved the situation ; for Jones, who meant to finish the war by seizing Kilkenny, was obliged to retire within the walls of Dublin. Soon afterwards M'Mahon again joined O'Neill at Trim, where he remained, till summoned by the Nuncio to Kilkenny.

Here the Ormondists had prepared a scheme to rid themselves of this troublesome prelate. They represented how necessary it was for some influential ecclesiastic to proceed to the Continent to procure aid for the causes and voted that M'Mahon, with two others, should go to the court of Henrietta Maria, the exiled Queen of Charles I, at Paris. M'Mahon at once saw the object of this scheme, and bluntly refused to go. He pleaded his ignorance of the French and English languages, the strong prejudices of the Queen against him, the enmity of her secretary, Digby, and of her favourite advisers. The indignation of the Ormondists at seeing themselves thus baffled knew no bounds. They ordered the mayor to arrest the Bishop of Clogher ; but that functionary, on the contrary, offered him his protection. Thereupon, the gates of the city were closed to prevent all communication between the Bishop and his friend O'Neill. Next day, when M'Mahon appeared in the assembly, he was forced to retire while the Ormondists discussed the legality of arresting him. Defeated in this, they sent him an order not to quit the city, but such was the effect of the Nuncio's protest, and of O'Neill's threat never to set foot in their town, till they should have apologized to his friend, that they withdrew everything, and made a tardy atonement. Thereupon, the Marquis of Antrim was chosen envoy in his stead, and Heber of Clogher

was left to be a thorn in the side of Ormondism and flunkeyism.

When, later on, the ignominious truce was concluded with Inchiquin—Murrough of the Burnings—M'Mahon was one of the prelates who supported Rinuccini in his excommunication of all the aiders and abettors of the truce. But this act soon made Kilkenny too hot for both, and they were obliged to escape secretly from the city by night, and join their trusty O'Neill at Maryborough.

Here it was that the Nuncio resolved to return to Rome, in spite of the earnest remonstrances of O'Neill and M'Mahon. He published his excommunication, signed also by M'Mahon, against all the aiders and abettors of the Inchiquin truce, with the result that 2,000 of Preston's soldiers joined O'Neill. After this, M'Mahon accompanied O'Neill to the north, where many recruits flocked to his standard. They then returned to Leinster, and defeated Preston, but were soon obliged to go north again to defend Ulster against the Scots.

Soon after this, O'Neill found himself obliged to make an alliance for a time with the Parliamentary, Coote. That general agreed to supply him with arms and ammunition, if he would march to the relief of Derry, then besieged by the Scots. O'Neill did so, and the Scots fled before him. He was splendidly entertained by Coote at Derry, but it was soon clear that this unnatural alliance could not last. He then resolved, at the instance of M'Mahon, to join his forces with the Royalists under Ormonde, and with a view to this he marched his troops southwards. But he was suddenly seized by a deadly illness, the result, according to tradition, of poison administered to him at Derry. The heroic soldier gradually sank, and at last died at Cloughouter, Co. Cavan, the residence of his brother-in-law, Philip O'Reilly. He was attended by his grief-stricken friend, the Bishop of Clogher, who administered to him the last rites of the Church, of which he had been such a loyal and devoted son. Two days later, that is, on the 8th November, 1649, his mortal remains were laid to rest in the cemetery of the Franciscan monastery in Cavan.

On the 4th December following, the Irish prelates met,

twenty in number, at Clonmacnoise. Their deliberations extended over a period of three weeks, and the result was embodied in an address to the clergy and laity of Ireland, urging them to forget their quarrels and unite for the common safety. Chiefly owing to the pleading of M'Mahon, they resolved to adhere to the treaty between Ormonde and O'Neill, and to declare that no security for life, liberty, or religion could be expected from Cromwell, whose shadow now began to darken the unhappy land. To this, Cromwell replied in what Carlyle calls 'the remarkablest State paper ever issued by a Lord Lieutenant;' but which the unprejudiced reader would be inclined to describe in the words which the same writer applies to the Bishops' very moderate call to arms: 'A huge embodiment of headlong ferocity and general unverity.'

Early in the following March, 1650, a meeting of the northern leaders was held at Belturbet, under the presidency of M'Sweeny, Bishop of Kilmore. The purpose of the meeting was to appoint a commander-in-chief, in succession to Owen Roe. There were present, the Marquis of Antrim, Sir Phelim O'Neill, Henry O'Neill, son of Owen Roe; Con O'Neill, Daniel O'Neill, General O'Farrell, Philip O'Reilly, and the Bishops of Clogher and Down. There was a stormy debate on the question before the meeting. The O'Neills, as the chief clan in Ulster, claimed the position for themselves. O'Farrell demanded it, as having been Owen Roe's chief lieutenant, and the Marquis of Antrim was also a candidate. Antrim was not agreeable to Ormond; Daniel O'Neill looked on himself as disqualified, he being a Protestant; and the assembly was divided between the others. At length, to prevent dissension, it was unanimously resolved, that Heber, Bishop of Clogher, be appointed. The good Bishop, though brave even to temerity, was not possessed of the military training necessary for a successful general. Nevertheless, with his usual dash and energy, he accepted the onerous position, and Ormond soon confirmed, in the name of the exiled Stuart, the appointment of his trusty and well-beloved Heber M'Mahon to the generalship of the Ulster army.

The patriot Bishop now found himself at the head of an army of 5,000 foot and 600 horse. O'Farrell acted as lieutenant-general; and, owing to his exertions, the troops were soon disciplined and ready to take the field. They marched east to Charlemont, where a proclamation was issued, inviting the Scots to join the Irish under the Royal standard. Very few answered the appeal; the majority continued to serve under the old commanders, Coote and Venables. M'Mahon marched north along the Bann, taking several forts that had been garrisoned by Coote, and then, turning west, crossed the Foyle, near Lifford. This was an unfortunate move, as it left Coote and Venables free to unite their forces which separately would have been no match for the Irish army. These commanders effected a junction near Letterkenny, and M'Mahon, contrary to the advice of his officers, determined to offer them battle.

The armies met on the fatal field of Scariffhollis, near Letterkenny. The battle was fought on the 21st June, 1650, and lasted nearly the whole day. The Irish fought fiercely and well, but their position was most unfavourable and told against them in the long run. The ground was very uneven, and unsuited for the operations of the cavalry, who were thus unable to sustain the splendid work done by the infantry. By sunset, the Irish forces were completely defeated, with a loss of 3,000 men, including most of the bravest and most experienced generals.

After this terrible defeat, M'Mahon was a fugitive, with a few faithful followers. Information as to his movements was given to King, the governor of Enniskillen, and that officer despatched a party of horse to seize the fugitive prelate. M'Mahon defended himself with great courage, but was at length wounded and taken prisoner, under a promise that his life should be spared.

The unfortunate prelate was conveyed to Enniskillen, and thrown into the common gaol to await the orders of Coote. Meantime, the governor, King, a brave and humane officer, learned to esteem his frank and soldierly captive, and resolved to make an effort to save him. Coote refused; but King again petitioned him, representing how cruel and

unnecessary it was to put to death a brave soldier, who had surrendered on a promise of quarter, and who could not any more lead an army against the Government. But Coote was inexorable, and sent back a peremptory order that the Popish Bishop should be hanged forthwith.

When the fatal day arrived, the generous King secured for his prisoner the services of a Catholic priest, bade him farewell, and absented himself from the town, that he might not be present at the cruel fate of a gallant foe.

And so, one beautiful July evening, when the setting sun was gilding with its last rays the lakes and mountains of that beautiful district, the soldier Bishop was led out to die. To the last he maintained the courage and manly bearing that had always distinguished him, so that an old writer tells us, that he might have been taken for the captain in command, and not for a prisoner on his way to death, were it not that he held in his hand a small gold crucifix, which he frequently pressed to his lips. When the fatal spot was reached, the prisoner knelt awhile in silent prayer, and then addressing those around, told them he was grateful to God for giving him the opportunity of laying down his life for the Catholic faith, and for his dear country. He then submitted to his terrible fate with the steadfast courage and fervent piety that became his noble race and his high and holy dignity. His body was cut down before he was yet dead and the head struck off, and stuck upon the gates of the town. Some few friends, with the governor's permission, took charge of the mutilated trunk, and buried it in the holy Island of Devenish, a fitting resting place for a martyred priest and patriot.

His memory is still green in Clogher, and his statue, sword in hand, adorns the beautiful cathedral which his successors in the see have raised to the glory of God and the honour of St. Macarten.

JAMES J. M'NAMEE.

OXFORD AND THE BENEDICTINES

THE stream of Benedictine student life at Oxford ceased to flow in the sixteenth century. The thread then broken has again been taken up, and year by year one or more English Benedictines may be seen in the Sheldonian theatre having various degrees conferred upon them by the University.

Ampleforth Abbey resumed this long severed connexion in 1897, and it is interesting to know, that as the last Benedictine to graduate at Oxford was John Feckenham, the last Abbot of Westminster, so the next to succeed him, after a break of more than three centuries, was a monk of Ampleforth, an abbey which inherits from Westminster the right to be a monastery of the ancient English Congregation of the Order of St. Benedict.

The monastic colleges which were confiscated at the dissolution of the monasteries were Gloucester, Durham, and Canterbury; the two first still exist under the names of Worcester and Trinity. Gloucester College, founded by Sir John Giffard, in 1283, was established according to Leland for thirteen monks of St. Peter's Abbey, Gloucester; but, as Camden puts it, 'Gloucester Hall was founded in the reign of Edward I on ground obtained of Sir John Giffard of Brimsfield by the Benedictine monks within the Province of Canterbury for students of their Order; the prior and first twelve monks being taken from Gloucester Abbey gave it its name, but that abbey soon disclaimed it, and it was subjected to the General Chapter of the Order.'

However, if the monks of Gloucester were the sole owners in the beginning, they did not remain so long, for the Abbot of St. Peter's soon found that he was not able to carry on the new house satisfactorily unaided by his brethren. These also saw the advantages to be gained from sending their younger monks to study at the University and eagerly wished to join in the new venture. The matter was brought before the notice of the Chapter of 1290, when

four officials were appointed to make arrangements for increased accommodation at the College. In the Chapter of the following year some further regulations were agreed upon, but unexpected difficulties blocked the way.

In the last year of his (Giffard's) life, he fell into the hands of the Abbot of Malmesbury. The abbot persuaded him to annul the deed by which he had already conveyed away the college. This could easily be done, as the grant was to a corporation which did not exist; and a grant of the ground on which the college stood was made in almost identical words with those of the earlier deed, the only difference being that the name of the Abbot of Malmesbury was inserted as grantee. The copy of this deed, which is at present in the Bodleian, is written in a handwriting of about 1480. But the claim of Malmesbury was set up at a much earlier date, and even if the deed itself were a forgery, it would still substantially represent the position which the Abbot of Malmesbury maintained with a great measure of success. The effect was to annul all the provisions of the Chapter. Gloucester College could no longer be an independent priory, as Malmesbury had become the freeholder of the site, and the dual ownership was one of the causes that impaired the harmony of the College for many years to come.

In this way the thorough establishment of the College was delayed for some years after its actual foundation. At first it only admitted monks of the Canterbury province, and not until 1337 was it open to students from the Province of York. This was the year in which the two provinces united to form one Chapter, and the Bull of Pope Benedict XII ordering this, also commanded all monasteries to send their younger monks to the Universities. In England the only choice was between Oxford and Cambridge, and out of the total number of sixty-five abbeys and priories thirty-eight can be connected with Gloucester College.

The peculiar feature of this College, was the distinct lodgings built by the various monasteries for their own students. As Antony Wood says: 'They were known from each other, like so many colonies and tribes, by arms and rebuses, that are depicted and cut in stone over each doorway.' There were buildings on the north side of the quadrangle used by the monks of Abingdon, St. Albans, Gloucester, Norwich, and Westminster; the last monastery

took over the dwelling which originally belonged to Canterbury, and which the monks of Canterbury vacated when they built their own college. On the south side five of the original lodgings can still be seen with their original doorways and separate roofs; they belonged to Winchcombe, Westminster, Ramsey, Pershore, and St. Augustine's, Canterbury. Nothing is known of the buildings which stood on the west, while on the east were the chapel, library, and refectory.

In the choice of students from the different monasteries, the rules laid down by Pope Benedict XII were followed. One out of every twenty had to be sent to the University, and monasteries which had more than eight and less than twenty members had to send one. This rule was frequently evaded, so that visitors were appointed to decide how many students each house could afford to send. The actual choice of students rested with four electors appointed by the superior in each monastery. Many of the superiors seem to have been as reluctant to send students, as the students themselves were eager to be sent, and to avoid the necessary expenses students were often recalled before taking their degrees, *in totius ordinis verecundiam generalem*. The Chapter put a stop to this by providing a common fund, which was to supply the £20 for those who took the degree of D.D., and the twenty marks required for those who took their degree in Canon Law. The abbot of Abingdon collected this money which was kept in a chest in the college.

The students might graduate either in Theology or Canon Law, but a few graduated in Arts before commencing either of these courses. Indeed for some time this was the general custom at Oxford, but in 1421, the University exempted the Regular Orders from taking the Arts course. The Canon Law was the easier course; it entailed the study of Civil Law for three years, the attendance at lectures on the *Decretum* of Gratian for two years, and on the Decretals of Gregory IX and Boniface VIII for three more. Thus, in eight years, the student could become a Bachelor of Canon Law, was allowed to lecture, and very shortly to proceed to the Doctorate.

The theological course was much more tedious. After spending six years in the study of Theology proper in the monastery, the student was sent to Oxford, where he spent his first three years in the study of Sacred Scripture, his fourth and fifth in 'opposing at the disputations in the schools, and was then allowed to 'respond' and to 'determine.' This fitted him for the Bacalaureate, and permitted him to lecture on the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard and Sacred Scripture. Finally, he preached a Latin sermon in St. Mary's, and was then admitted a Doctor of Theology.

Over and above the ordinary work of the schools, there was a regular system of tuition inside the College, regulated by the General Chapter. This included the study of Logic and Philosophy, as a preparation for Theology; each student had to preach four times a year in both Latin and English; disputations were held in the college twice each week.

Gloucester College, as we have seen, was the general house of studies for the whole Order. Every monastery had a right to send students there, but the northern monastery of Durham, from the beginning, and Christ Church, Canterbury, after a time, opened colleges of their own at Oxford. Land was given to the prior and convent of Durham for an Oxford College, as early as 1286; but for twenty-five years it was merely a site and nothing more. After this, developments began, and the College was gradually established. It was supported almost entirely by the mother house, aided by the more important cells, such as Stamford, Wearmouth, Jarrow, and Coldingham. There was no permanent endowment for at least the first fifty years of its existence. Richard de Bury, Bishop of Durham, made an attempt to alter this unsatisfactory condition. He persuaded Edward III, whose tutor he had been in former years, to fulfil a vow he had made on the eve of the battle of Halidon Hill, by granting the rectory of Symondburn for the support of the Durham monks at Oxford, but for some reason or other the appropriation never took effect. Another of his designs was to leave his large and valuable collection of books to the College; but this scheme also fell

to the ground. The library seems to have been sold at his death to pay his debts, and so in spite of his efforts and generous intentions he did not leave the College in any more flourishing condition than that in which he found it.

Though no financial progress had been made by the middle of the fourteenth century, the College was playing no obscure rôle in the intellectual life of Oxford. Its prior, Uthred de Bolton, was one of the leading controversialists of the day. He showed himself no friend of the friars, and so Tryvythan, in his *De Laude Oxoniae*, calls him their third great enemy—a blasphemer, a Scot, a beast armed with two horns :—

Jam loco tercio procedit acrius
Armata bestia duobus cornibus.
Hanc Outredem reputo, qui totis viribus
Verbis et opere insultat fratribus.
Hic Scottus genere perturbat anglicos
Auferre nititur viros intraneos.

Thomas Hatfield, one of the grandest of the Durham bishops, finally was able to place the College in a sound financial condition. He endowed it with £3,000, a capital which is supposed to have produced an income of £240. He formulated its statutes, wherein it was dedicated to our Blessed Lady and St. Cuthbert. Eight Durham monks were to be on the foundation, and the 'prior' or 'custos' was to be appointed by the Prior of Durham, therein differing from Gloucester College, where the students had the right to elect their own *prior studentium*. Eight secular students had also to be maintained, who had to take their meals apart from the monks, and perform all *honesta ministeria* for them.

The method of keeping up the supply of students was quite systematic. They were carefully trained and watched at Durham ; ' And if the maister did see any of them weare apt to lerning, and dyd applie his booke, and had a pregnant wyt withall, then the maister dyd lett the Prior have intellygence. Then straightaway after, he was sent to Oxforde to schoole, and there did lerne to study divinity.'

The relations between Gloucester and Durham Colleges

were, on the whole, amicable, but at times these relations did become strained. It is not surprising to find the former claiming a certain jurisdiction over the latter, since Gloucester, by virtue of the Constitutions of Benedict XII, and the repeated Acts of General Chapter, was the representative College of the whole body of Black Monks in England, and had a right to claim a certain amount of support from every monastery. No doubt, the reason for this feeling between the two colleges was mainly a financial one, for the existence of Durham College not only kept the Durham monks away from Gloucester College, but was also the cause of the monks of other monasteries absenting themselves, viz., the monks of Whitby and St. Mary's, York, who patronized Durham College in preference to Gloucester.

As at Worcester College, so also at Trinity, there are still remaining small portions of the old monastic buildings, but there is nothing now at Oxford to remind us of the college of the Canterbury monks, save the name of the smallest quadrangle of Christ Church, which occupies the site of the old college. When first beginning to launch out for themselves, the Canterbury monks settled in very humble quarters, in what is now known as Queen's Lane ; there were three of them there in the year 1331. The estate nearest to Oxford, which belonged to Canterbury, was Newington, near Henley, so its bailiff was required to keep them properly supplied. The number of students at this house never seems to have been more than two or three at a time ; it was an unsuccessful venture, and was finally abandoned. In 1355, Archbishop Islip complained to the prior that none of the Canterbury monks were at the University, urging him to again bring the monastery into touch with Oxford. So a few years later, a new beginning, was made by purchasing chambers in Gloucester College ; this arrangement was but temporary. It was about the time of the great pestilence, and one of the worst results of this awful scourge, a result which bore evil fruit for many long years, was the thinning of the ranks of the clergy. It became very difficult to worthily fill the vacant places, and unfortunately it often became necessary to supply these vacancies with men, who

through lack of education were but little fitted for such positions. The remedy needed was a suitable education for these men, and this Archbishop Islip determined to effect by founding an Oxford college. At first various small tenements adjoining the Priory of St. Frideswide, were made use of, until means were in hand for building Canterbury College.

The question of the constitution of the College was a difficult one. The Archbishop wished to help the secular clergy, but he also realized that the monks of his own cathedral church had claims upon him. To have ensured success the college ought to have been entirely secular or entirely regular; the Archbishop unwisely attempted to come to a compromise by joining both parties together. In his statutes there is nothing which might lead us to think that he specially wished to benefit the monks, but from another source we find that he allowed the Prior and Chapter of Canterbury to nominate three monks, one of whom he chose for the first warden. This arrangement proved a failure; the monastic customs, rules, and method of discipline did not suit the tastes of the secular students; they gained the ear of the Archbishop, and the monk-warden was supplanted by a secular one, John Wycliff.¹

Shortly after this Islip died; his successor, Simon de Langham, took the opposite view of the case, dismissed Wycliff, and recalled the Canterbury monk as warden. Then began a course of litigation, which resulted in the entire College being handed over to the Benedictines. This decision has been looked upon as unjust and tyrannical, but it must be remembered that the statutes of the College gave to the Archbishop of Canterbury the right 'statutaque praedicta, cum et quotiens opus fuerit declarare, corrigere, adjudicare et mutare.' Therefore, just as Islip acted within his rights in the dismissal of the monk and the subsequent

¹ Was this the reformer, or not? Though the learned note of the Rev. W. W. Shirley, at the end of his edition of the *Fasciculi Ziganiorum* (Rolls' Series) goes a long way to disprove the identity of the reformer with the warden, it must not be forgotten that the Grey Friar Wodeford, who was practically a contemporary of the reformer, says that they were one and the same person.

appointment of Wycliff to the wardenship, so also did Simon de Langham, when he chose to dismiss Wycliff and reinstate the Benedictine. From this time forward, the College belonged to the monks of Christ Church, Canterbury; no longer requiring the chambers in Gloucester College, they handed them over to the Abbey of Westminster, and set to work to build their own college.

Here and there in the Canterbury Letter Books,¹ there are interesting chatty letters which passed between the collegians and the friends and superiors at home. One of them becoming dissatisfied with his progress, tells the Prior he has made 'lytyll or nought profett in arte.' He feels more attached to the study of Law, and wishes to change his course. 'I have had, I thank your fatherhood, a long prose in Arts, and the season is in a manner but lost, which is sorrowful to my heart to remember, and my only comfort is to remember, if it shall please you, that I go to Law, that such small crumbs as I have gathered in Arts shall somewhat feed me in Law.'

That even wardens were human appears from Dom Humphrey's letter to his prior in 1476. He is very comfortable and happy at Oxford, when the Prior wishes to put him in office, at Christ Church. He is, of course, ready to do as the Prior wishes, but thinks there are many reasons why he ought not to be changed. If the change has to take place, he writes: 'I beseech you that I may have such stuff and apparel as I have at Oxford;' and he would also like 'an honest chamber.' Then, again, Dom Thomas Tysted, who has been appointed sub-cellarer at Christ Church, writes to Oxford for his little personal property:—

Truss up my stuff and send it by Buck with all speed: and because the great coffer is cumbrous to carry, truss them in my bed, laying my clothes in the middle of my stuff and my books thereupon. . . . Heartily cause my table² of St. Dorothy to be conveyed safe without hurt . . . if you have made sale of any of my stuff send me six pair of gloves, buttoned, in cheverett.

¹ *Christ Church Letters*. Camden Society.

² *Table* is here used for tablet, or picture. Fosbroke says: 'Where St. Dorothy's life was written or read in any house, it was deemed a protection from lightning, thieves, sudden death, and decease without the Sacrament.'

As was the case with the other Benedictine colleges, the wardenship was often the stepping-stone to positions of higher authority. The Priors of Canterbury, Molash, Salisbury, and Goldstone, had all been wardens. Another of the wardens was Edward Bocking, who for openly professing his belief in the inspired character of the Maid of Kent's predictions, suffered death at Tyburn.

The most famous of all the *alumni* of the College, its brightest ornament, the man whose connexion with it ought to cause it to be remembered by all classical scholars, was William Selling. He was a student at the College about 1460. Thence he went abroad to study at Padua, Rome, and Bologna. At Bologna, he became the intimate friend of Politiano whom he astonished by his wonderful skill in acquiring a knowledge of the classical tongues. He returned to Canterbury the bearer of many Greek and Latin MSS., was elected Prior, and established a systematic teaching of Greek in the claustral school. To this school came Linacre to learn his first Greek lessons at the feet of Selling. When Selling went as Henry VII's ambassador to the Pope, Linacre accompanied him and remained at Florence, with Politiano; here he was joined by his old Oxford friend, William Grocyn. Linacre and Grocyn are given all the credit for the introduction of the study of the classical languages into England, and the name of Selling is very rarely heard in this connexion. But, as Abbot Gasquet has written :—

Dates are important things when it becomes a question of who has, or has not, the right to be considered first in such a matter as this. Grocyn was admitted as a Winchester scholar in 1463, and was at Oxford in 1467. In 1488 he left England to study Greek in Italy . . . Thus whilst Grocyn was beginning his career as a boy at Winchester, William Selling, a man of thirty-four, a trained Oxford scholar, with the highest aspirations to profit by every opportunity, was drinking at the fountain-head in the cup of the new learning.

The stream of Benedictine student life at Oxford ebbed slowly and gradually. Even after the dissolution of the monasteries and the confiscation of the colleges, individuals sought shelter for a time in Gloucester, Durham, and

Canterbury Colleges, creeping back secretly to the homes of their early studies. But this was only for a few years, and after the middle of the sixteenth century the Benedictine became a stranger in the University which was once his home. He has again ventured to return to take up the broken thread, living in a humble dwelling almost in the shadow cast by the old walls of Gloucester College. He has not returned as a stranger, nor has he been received as one, for his memory still lives in the minds of many. The deeds of his past are not forgotten.

His return to Oxford, in 1897, was not unlike the advent of the Canterbury monks, when they came to reside in Queen's Lane. In both cases a very humble beginning was made, with no cloister and its garth, no grand monastic church with its daily round of praise and service ; nothing but the bare necessities of a student's daily life. Three came from Canterbury in the fourteenth century, four from the Vale of Mowbray, in the nineteenth. Of the Canterbury monks one died before the completion of the first year's residence—of the last comers one was recalled for other work shortly after the close of his first year's residence. But the admission to a University nowadays is not so simple as it was in days gone by. Now it is hedged round about with many formalities, laws and statutes. A student now must live in lodgings which are licensed by the University, and so, when the Benedictines had quietly chosen their own dwelling, furnished a humble chapel, begun the recitation of the Divine Office, and settled down to the daily routine of University work, they were told that it was all contrary to the statutes, and that they must go into licensed lodgings, or open a private hall. The first way out of the difficulty was no way at all for them, because it would have made impossible community life, the reservation of the Blessed Sacrament, and the work of the Divine Office. The other alternative was adopted, and a private hall was opened in October, 1899. All this took time to arrange, but the University in the meantime, kindly consented to license the house in which they lived, until the hall was established. For several years the number of

undergraduates never exceeded four or five, until October, 1904, when a larger house was taken, and the number of students was doubled. The Benedictines do not, as formerly, confine themselves to the courses of Canon Law and Theology. To-day they will be found reading for very various schools to fit themselves for the work of teaching Catholic youth in England. In the last few years there have been successes in the schools of *Litterae Humaniores*, Mathematics, and History, while at present in addition to those who are reading classics and history, one is devoting himself to the work of the Science School. The English Benedictines are thus preparing themselves to take their part in the efficient education of English Catholics.

G. E. HIND, O.S.B.'

LEGAL ASPECT OF THE SEAL OF CONFESSION

THE question whether courts of justice recognize any claim to privilege for confessions to clergymen, so as to secure to them exemption from compulsory disclosure in evidence, cannot be said to be finally settled, though, undoubtedly, much weighty judicial opinion has been expressed on one side of the question, regarded simply as one of legal right. Less than a year ago the point was raised by the refusal of a clergyman of the Church of England who had been called, by the prosecution, as a witness at Greenwich Police Court, to give evidence, on the ground that, as a priest, he might not disclose what he knew concerning the charge. The magistrate, in remanding the case, warned the witness that, if he continued to refuse he might be committed to prison.

The last occasion on which the matter appears to have attracted public interest was in 1865, when Constance Kent gave herself up for the murder of her little step-brother, which she had committed five years previously. She had been staying in an Anglican institute at Brighton, where she had become acquainted with the Rev. Arthur Wagner, curate of St. Paul's Church in that town. She made to him an open confession of the murder, and expressed her resolve to give herself up to justice. Mr. Wagner assisted her in carrying out her resolution, and he gave evidence of this open confession, and of her expression of her determination to give herself up, at Bow-street, and, subsequently, before the justices at Trowbridge; but on the latter occasion he prefaced his evidence by a statement that he must withhold any further information, on the ground that it had been acquired under the seal of 'sacramental confession.' He was but slightly pressed by the magistrates, the fact being that the prisoner was not defending the charge. But it is rather difficult to see how this case can be held to have established the immunity of religious confession,

as one of the clergy at St. Alban's, Holborn, was reported by the *Daily News* to have stated to their correspondent in an interview occurring directly after the incident at Greenwich Police Court last year. At the Assizes Constance Kent pleaded guilty, and her plea was accepted, so that Mr. Wagner was not again called, and the question of privilege did not receive the decision of Her Majesty's judge.

Questions were asked on the matter in both Houses of Parliament. In the Commons, Sir George Grey, Home Secretary, replied that he did not believe the magisterial bench had on this occasion recognized such immunity. In the Lords, in reply to the Marquess of Westmeath, the Lord Chancellor (Lord Westbury) and Lord Chelmsford both stated that the law recognized no such privilege, not even, the Lord Chancellor said, in Roman Catholic clergymen when dealing with a person of their own persuasion. In the remarks that accompanied his question, Lord Westmeath quoted two recent cases, one, he said, being the case of a priest in Scotland who, on refusing to give evidence, had been committed to prison ; as to this case Lord Westmeath stated that, upon an application for the priest's release being made to Sir George Grey, the latter had replied that if he were to remit the sentence without an admission of error on the part of the Catholic priest, without an assurance that he would not again adopt, in a similar case, the same course, he would be giving a sanction to the assumption of a privilege by ministers of every denomination which, he was advised, they could not claim. The second case referred to by Lord Westmeath was that of Father Kelly, cited more fully below.

This incident in the Kent prosecution, coupled with the statements made as to it, drew forth some animated leaders in the *Times* in defence of the right of the Protestant State ; while, on the other hand, it gave rise to one of the ablest essays on the law of the subject by Mr. Badeley, a barrister, and a convert to Catholicism. Mr. Badeley contended that there is still by common law a privilege attaching to religious confession. That there was such a privilege in

pre-Reformation days seems to be an almost irresistible inference from different undoubted facts, one fact of some little significance being, that there is, seemingly, no reported case to show the contrary. Sir Edward Coke affirms it in his Second Institute, when treating chap. x. of the *Articuli Cleri*. That enactment, passed in the ninth year of Edward II, in dealing with the right of sanctuary of offenders who have abjured the realm, after stating that such people are to have the necessities of life and an opportunity of egress in order to relieve nature, concludes as follows: 'Placet etiam domino regi, ut latrones vel appellatores, quandocumque voluerint, possint sacerdotibus sua facinora confiteri; sed caveant confessores ne erronee hujusmodi appellatores informant.' Sir Edward Coke's comment on the *caveant* clause begins thus:—

This branch extendeth only to theeves and approvers indited of felony, but extendeth not to high treasons: for if high treason be discovered to the confessor, he ought to discover it for the danger that thereupon dependeth to the king and the whole realme; therefore this branch declareth the common law, that the privilege of confession extendeth only to felonies . . . for by the common law [he states further on] a man indited of high treason could not have the benefit of clergy nor any clergyman privileged of confession to conceale high treason.

But the wording of the *caveant* clause seems to show that Sir Edward Coke has incorrectly interpreted it, and that the clause—except in so far as it shows that the right of confessing was reserved to such offenders—by its actual words contains no declaration as to the privilege of confession, because, taking the words in their usual and grammatical sense, the warning appears to be given to the confessors not to inform these offenders of what is going on outside, when they are admitted to hear their confessions.¹

¹ If this interpretation is the correct one, it would not be the only time that that great lawyer had made a mistake in the interpretation of the wording of a statute, for—a mistake pointed out by the late Wright, J.—in the 4th Institute, in dealing with the origin of the Court of the Star Chamber, he cites the statute 3 Henry VII c. 1, which assigned to this court certain offences against the administration of justice, etc., and the 'taking of money by juries.' This statute had been incorrectly printed as 'by taking of money by injuries.' Sir E. Coke, interpreting the statute according to the misprint, comments that 'albeit injuries is a large word,' yet the court had an extensive jurisdiction.

In support of his statement Sir Edward Coke quotes two cases. Firstly, he cites from Rolls of Parliament 7 Henry V, the case of Friar John Randolph, the confessor of Queen Joan, widow of Henry IV. It is difficult to see how Sir Edward Coke deduced from that record the averment that the Queen's conspiracy had been proved by the disclosures of her confession to Friar Randolph. The words are: '*Tant p relation & confession d'une frere John Randolf de l'ordre des Freres Menours come p autres evidences creables.*' But the word 'confession' in that record cannot mean disclosure of a confession; it seems clearly to be used in its primary sense of an admission. The reports of the matter in Holinshed and in Stow support this view, as they state that Randolph was imprisoned. Holinshed saying that 'it was reported that he had conspired with the quaene by sorcerie and necromancie to destroie the king;' while Stow says that he had counselled the queen to her crime. Thus, evidently when he was imprisoned on the charge of this conspiracy he made a confession of it.

Sir Edward Coke cites, secondly and lastly, the case of Fr. Garnett, in which, he says, it was decided that the privilege from disclosure did not extend to the confession of high treason. But there is no record of any such decision in that case. The point in question there was—only one of the many facts alleged against Fr. Garnett as proof of his share with Catesby, Greenwell, and others, in the Gunpowder conspiracy—an alleged confession of the conspiracy by Fr. Greenwell to Fr. Garnett some time before its attempted perpetration, and Fr. Garnett's failure to disclose what he had learned. The report of the proceedings certainly shows a seriousness paid by the court and counsel to the plea of Catholic confession which surprises us in a post-Reformation period, and especially at a moment of such strong anti-Catholic agitation.

Sir Edward Coke, for the prosecution, in addressing the court, put six points on the subject of this alleged confession, the first being that it was not sacramental; while the fifth was that Fr. Garnett had learned of the conspiracy

from Catesby *extra confessionem*, and only the sixth and last put forward his aforesaid contention, that 'By the common law, howsoever it (the confession) were (it being a *crimen laesae majestatis*), he ought to have disclosed it ;' and not a word is recorded as having been said by the court to uphold that contention. On the contrary, the Earl of Salisbury seems to have discussed at some length the nature of the confession, asking Fr. Garnett if there must not be confession and contrition before absolution. Lord Salisbury then went on to remark that Greenwell had shown no penitence or intention to desist, seeing that he had immediately afterwards encouraged the plot. 'Hereby, he said, ' it appears that either Greenwell told you out of confession, and then there would be no secrecy ; or, if it were in confession, he professed no penitency, and therefore you could not absolve him ;' and he added that after Greenwell had told him what Catesby meant in particular, and Fr. Garnett had then called to mind what Catesby had previously told him (Fr. Garnett) in general, he might have disclosed it out of his general knowledge from Catesby.

Proof of the recognition of the privilege in Anglo-Saxon days is to be derived from the laws of the time, both Anglo-Saxon and Danish, where it is made a punishable offence to withhold confession from a man 'guilty of death,' that is, a man who has incurred the penalty of death. The laws of Ethelred, who reigned from A.D. 978 to 1016, lay down : 'And let every Christian man do as is needful to him : let him strictly keep his Christianity and accustom himself frequently to shrift and fearlessly declare his sins, and earnestly pray as he may be instructed : and let everyone prepare himself to go to housel oft and frequently.'

In the laws of Henry I, 'To be observed concerning the liberty of the Church and of the whole of England,' which, according to Sir Edward Coke, are a monument of the ancient common law of the land, we find the following injunction against revelation by priests of confessions : 'Caveat Sacerdos ne de hiis qui ei confitentur peccata sua alicui recitet quod ei confessus est, non propinquis, non

extraneis,' and a perpetual penance of ignominious wandering is prescribed by way of penalty for a breach of the seal. That the Catholic Church in those days, as to-day, insisted on the most absolute secrecy, cannot be denied. The synods and provincial councils of England repeat it emphatically. For instance, the Council of Durham, in 1220, declared that not even fear of the Church or of death will excuse a confessor for violating the secrecy, whether by word or sign, general or special, as, for instance, by saying, 'I know what manner of men ye are,' under penalty of being degraded without mercy.

Thus, in an age when the whole nation was Catholic, and, as Sir Edward Coke states, the judges were sometimes priests, and under laws declaring the necessity of, and the subject's right to enjoy, religious confession, it would be contrary to all probability to hold that a violation of the secrecy of it might be demanded by courts of justice. Undoubtedly, the *raison d'être* of the privilege would be that the king and nation professed a religion of which confession was not only a prominent, but a vital element, not merely in extraordinary moments such as death, but more or less habitually. So the privilege would nowise have rested on any immunity granted to confidential communications to clergymen, but on the universally held doctrine of the necessity of sacramental confession. Accordingly, when we come to the Reformation I submit that the keynote to the question as to the continued existence of the privilege will be this: Has the significance of confession, on all sides admittedly altered in degree, remained, in essence, the same? The question is purely one of historical fact. It seems to me that even from a study of the reference to confession in the Royal Ordinances of Edward VI, in the prayer-books or homilies, or in ecclesiastical councils, one is forced to the conclusion that the significance of confession was essentially altered. Most people will probably admit that in the Protestant Church of England, in the belief of the majority, it ceased to rank as a sacrament. The statute 31st Henry VIII, it is true, declared auricular confession

to be 'expedient and necessary, to be retained and continued, used and frequented in the Church of God,' and constituted a felony the expression of a contrary opinion; but this latter part was repealed under Edward VI.

I do not think that I can agree with Mr. Badeley that the burden of proof rests on those who affirm the cessation of the privilege in the Protestant national Church; for, it seems to me that, if the nature of confession was altered, it lies upon their opponents to show that the privilege still attaches to the attenuated form of confession exhorted as a pious optional practice on extraordinary occasions, and that the proposition of 31st Henry VIII did not share the fate of the five other propositions that preceded it, concerning Transubstantiation, communion under one kind, celibacy of the clergy, observance of vows of chastity or widowhood by men and women, and the celebration of private Masses, all of which had been likewise by the statute affirmed. Even the 113th of the Canons of 1603, which Mr. Badeley cites in support of his contention, tends rather to show the essential change in the purport and meaning of confession. Having dealt with the presentment of the crimes and misdeeds of the parish by the vicar to the Ordinary, it provides

that if any man confess his secret and hidden sins to the Minister, for the unburdening of his conscience and to receive spiritual consolation and ease of mind from him, we do not in any way bind the said Minister by this our Constitution, but do straitly charge and admonish him, that he do not at any time reveal and make known to any person whatsoever any crime or offence so committed to his trust and secrecy (except they be such crimes as by the laws of this realm his own life may be called into question for concealing the same) under pain of irregularity.

Even apart from the exception, the words present a marked contrast to the vigorous language of the pre-Reformation councils.

The cases and the judicial dicta on the subject are generally noticeable for the fact that the courts seem to ignore the existence of sacramental confession, so that the question is treated solely on the basis of confidential

communications. As such, the balance of legal statement is against the claim of privilege from disclosure for confessions to clergymen. In the report of *The King v. Sparkes*, which only comes to us second-hand, about the year 1790, Mr. Justice Buller is said to have received in evidence the confession of a 'papist' made 'before a Protestant clergyman,' of the crime for which he was indicted; the prisoner was convicted and executed. From what we are told concerning the two principal parties it seems highly improbable that either of them would have regarded the confession as sacramental. The case of *Butler v. Moore* was decided in Ireland about a century ago, by Sir Michael Smith, M.R. It concerns the will of Lord Dunboyne, the popular story of whose return to Catholicism reminds one of a piece called 'The Sacrament of Judas,' so admirably played a few years ago by Mr. Forbes Robertson. On the death of the previous Lord Dunboyne, the succession had fallen to the Bishop of Cork. Anxious to be able to transmit the peerage and the headship of an ancient house, the new Lord Dunboyne applied to Rome for a dispensation from his vow of celibacy. It was refused him, and, thereupon, he joined the Protestant Church, and married, but had no issue. The story is told that one day, while he was driving along a country road, a woman rushed out of a cottage calling for a priest for some one who lay dangerously ill inside. Lord Dunboyne answered her: 'I am a priest,' and entering the cottage he heard the dying person's confession. From that time he conformed again, at least privately, to the Catholic faith. His will was disputed by his sister, Mrs. Catherine O'Brien Butler, on the ground that, being a 'lapsed papist,' he was incapable of making one. In order to prove that fact, she administered interrogatories to the Rev. Mr. Gahan, a Catholic priest, to the following effect: What religion did Lord Dunboyne profess, firstly, from 1783 to 1792? and, secondly, at the time of his death, and a short time before? As to the first, the witness answered that he professed the Protestant religion. To the second question he demurred on the ground that his knowledge (if any)

arose from a confidential communication made to him in the exercise of his clerical functions, and which the principles of his religion forbid him to disclose. Sir M. Smith held that there was no privilege from disclosure, and he overruled the demurrer. Father Gahan was subsequently committed to prison for refusing, on the ground mentioned, to answer questions put to him in this case.

In 1828, in the case of *Broad v. Pitt*, where the privilege of communication to an attorney was under discussion, Lord Chief Justice Best said: 'The privilege does not apply to clergymen since the decision the other day in the case of *Gilham*. I, for one, will never compel a clergyman to disclose communications made to him by a prisoner; but if he chooses to disclose them, I shall receive them in evidence.'

Lord Chief Justice Best, at that time, evidently only knew of the *Gilham* case by rumour, because, in fact, it did not decide nor did it even turn on the question of privilege of confession to a clergyman, but on the question of the admissibility against a prisoner of his own confession, induced by the ministrations and words of the prison chaplain, and made by the prisoner to the jailer, and subsequently to the authorities. The prisoner appears to have made no confession of the murder to the minister himself. Indeed the conduct of the different parties in that case would probably not commend itself to our courts to-day and though the clergyman was undoubtedly prompted by a desire to do good, yet his action in immediately reporting to the magistrates the events of his interview with the prisoner, would probably to-day meet with severe criticism. But of sacramental confession there appears not to have been the slightest suggestion between the clergyman and the prisoner, both of them being Protestants.

In 1853, in the case of *The Queen v. Griffin*, a Church of England workhouse chaplain was called to prove conversations with a woman charged with child-murder, whom, he stated, he had visited in a spiritual capacity. The judge, Alderson B., strongly intimated to counsel that he thought such conversations ought not to be given in evidence, saying

that there was an analogy between the necessity for privilege in the case of an attorney to enable legal assistance to be given, and that in the case of the (then) witness to enable spiritual assistance to be given, though, he added, 'I do not lay this down as an absolute rule; but I think such evidence ought not to be given.' But, in 1881, in the case of *Wheeler v. Le Marchant*, where the question of the production of certain correspondence between the defendants' solicitors and their surveyors was demanded, Sir George Jessel, M.R., observed: 'Communications made to a priest in the confessional in matters, perhaps considered by the penitent to be more important even than his life or his fortune, are not protected.'

In 1860 the case of *The Queen v. Hay* was tried before Mr. Justice Hill, at the Durham Assizes. The prosecutor had been robbed of his watch by the prisoner and another man. A police inspector had subsequently received the watch from Father Kelly, a priest in the neighbourhood, upon his calling at his house. Father Kelly was summoned as a witness, and as the oath was about to be administered to him, he objected to its form. 'Not that I shall tell the truth and nothing but the truth,' he answered the judge, 'but as a minister of the Catholic Church, I object to the part that states that I shall tell the *whole* truth.'

His Lordship said: 'The meaning of the oath is this: it is the whole truth touching the trial which you are asked; which you, legitimately according to law, can be asked. If anything is asked of you in the witness-box which the law says ought not to be asked—for instance, if you are asked a question the answer to which might criminate yourself—you would be entitled to say, 'I object to answer that question.' His Lordship told that he must be *sworn*.

When asked by counsel from whom he had received the watch, Father Kelly replied: 'I received it in connection with the confessional.'

The judge said: 'You are not asked at present to disclose anything stated to you in the confessional; you are asked a simple fact—from whom did you receive that watch which you gave to the policeman?'

Father Kelly protested: 'The reply to that question would implicate the person who gave me the watch, therefore I cannot answer it. If I answered it my suspension for life would be a

necessary consequence. I should be violating the laws of the Church as well as the natural laws.'

The judge said : ' On the ground that I have stated to you, you are not asked to disclose anything that a penitent may have said to you in the confessional. That you are not asked to disclose ; but you are asked to disclose from whom you received stolen property, on the 25th December last. Do you answer or do you not ? '

Father Kelly replied : ' I really cannot, my Lord,' and was forthwith committed into custody for contempt of court.

It may be fairly deduced from Mr. Justice Hill's words that he would not have required Father Kelly to disclose any statement which had been communicated to him in the confessional, and in this sense his words may be said to give some support to the Catholic claim for protection. But we need not wonder that he was not ready to extend the protection to the act of restitution, though even in the eyes of non-Catholics, it ought, in all logic, to have been entitled to the same secrecy, in view of the circumstances under which, obviously, it was made.

In 1893, the late Lord St. Helliers ordered a Church of England vicar to give evidence of a conversation which he had with the respondent in a divorce suit, when she had been sent to see him after her misconduct. Lord St. Helliers said that each case of confidential communication should be dealt with on its own merits, but in the present case he saw no reason why the witness should not divulge the conversation. Though in summing up he observed that it was not to be supposed for a single moment that a clergyman had any right to withhold information from a court of law, it is important to remember that there had been no allegation of a religious confession. It is more than probable that at the present day none of His Majesty's judges would order a priest to disclose matters alleged to have been told him by way of sacramental confession. In 1902, in the case of *Ruthven v. De Bonn*, the defendant, a Catholic priest, having been asked a general question as to the nature of the matter dealt with in confessions, was told by Mr. Justice Ridley that he was not bound to answer it.

It will have been observed that even where the

privilege has been entirely denied the Catholic claim for it has been prefaced by an 'even' as although admitted to be exceptionally pressing and on a different footing. This is only natural. In 1790, commenting on *The King v. Sparkes*, mentioned above, Lord Kenyon said that he would 'have paused before admitting the evidence there admitted;' but he added, 'The Popish religion is now unknown to the law of this country.' It would, perhaps, require an ingenious advocate to prove that if, as seems almost certain, the privilege existed before the proscription of Catholicism, that now, where that proscription has been removed, the right has legally revived.

But there are forcible arguments in favour of the seal being again respected. The Catholic religion is not only tolerated but is sanctioned by the State, which appoints as its own officers Catholic chaplains to the army, the navy, and to the prisons. Moreover, the State knows full well that the seal is an essential part of the Catholic discipline, and the three main objects for which these chaplains are required are, that they may hear the confessions of the men in their charge, say Mass in their presence, and communicate them. To say that, despite these facts, the Catholic chaplain of a remand prison might be required, under pain of committal, to disclose, on the trial, a sacramental confession which had been made to him by a remanded prisoner, would seem like laying a trap both for the priest and the prisoner. If the priest should be called as a witness, and, as the discipline of his Church would sternly require of him, he should refrain even from stating that the prisoner had not, in his confession to him, avowed the crime for which he was being tried, or that he had confessed the commission of it under circumstances which would render it a less or no offence (supposing either case to be the fact), the result would be that the prisoner's cause would, in all likelihood, be damaged in the minds of the jury, who would, most probably, consider that the priest was declining to reveal a guilty admission made to him.

But even if their immunity be not established as a legal right, there can be little doubt that no court of justice will

ever ask for the disclosure of confessions made by prisoners to prison chaplains, even though the confessions be not by Catholics, and not sacramental, if made in the exercise of a religion.

At one time communications to counsel or attorney were held only to be privileged if made in anticipation of the litigation actually before the court. In 1893, Lord Selborne said that the law had only gradually reached 'a broad and reasonable footing' in these matters. It would be satisfactory to see the same footing expressly and finally conceded to religious confessions, though there is reason to expect that in any future case it will, in fact, be accorded.

R. S. NOLAN.

PROGRESSIVE CATHOLICISM: 'OUT OF DUE TIME'

IV.

'OUT of Due Time' is a study of Progressive Catholicism along lines somewhat different from those of *Il Santo*. The principal character, Paul D'Etranges, is a young Frenchman, who has been converted from infidelity by the 'vision of a Church, glorious and conquering, the expression and the crown of a complete world of knowledge, where the human and the Divine clash no more even seemingly.' 'In the Catholic Church alone could modern thought and religious faith "make one music" in a world fast hurrying to destruction.' This ardent convert thinks it his mission to arouse those in authority to the intellectual situation of to-day. He believes intellectual reform is needed if the Church is to fulfil its destiny in the twentieth century. 'The Church cannot triumph unless it assimilates modern science and keeps its hold on the people. It must be scientific and democratic.'

D'Etranges comes to England, accompanied by his devoted half-sister, Marcelle, and shortly after his arrival annexes George Sutcliffe, 'the real hero of the book.' A very sad experience had led George Sutcliffe to the study of modern apologetics. He had been intimate friends with a Mr. and Mrs. Telles, both of whom were pagans, not in the sense of worshipping idols, but in their entire ignoring of a supernatural world. After three years, Mr. Telles died, and George Sutcliffe devoted himself to the task of comforting Mrs. Telles. He soon realized that he might as well 'read Shakespeare to a Red Indian as talk religion to this cultured Englishwoman.' It never dawned upon her that there could be by any possibility be any rational side to Christianity. 'She had learned it in early life in a form which made it quite inevitable (inadmissible) to her, and had henceforth shut it out for ever from her mind.' She died after a short time, but this experience of her

agony, this sounding of the depths of a soul to which the *In aeternum Vale* was an absolute reality, determined George Sutcliffe to throw himself heart and soul into the controversies between Christianity and Agnosticism. His fellow-Catholics could not understand his zeal. His wish to bridge the chasm between the very rich in spiritual gifts and the very poor in spiritual gifts, his desire to express the great truths of religion in the language of a new civilization was unintelligible to them. They had the faith of Christ, the sacraments of Christ, the grace of Christ, and they apparently forgot the spiritual needs of the world outside the Church. Had a beggar asked a cup of cold water, they would have remembered the Master's promise, they had apparently little care for that far more comprehensive word, 'Teach all nations.'

These are the two thinkers with whose destinies *Out of Due Time* is concerned. As the novel progresses, two young girls, Marcelle and Lisa Fairfax, enter on the scene as *fiancées* and co-workers, sharing with Paul and George the pleasures and pains of intellectual isolation.

D'Etranges' position as a philosopher is explained in the sixth chapter. He seems to be a mingling of Brunetière and of Blondel. I have failed in an attempt to summarize his views, and I think it unnecessary to quote them fully, for the main issues have nothing to do with his philosophy. A more important item is the project of a journal to promote modern views. The necessity of such a journal is obvious. If the salt of the earth—our Catholic faithful—be allowed to stagnate in pious stupidity, a moment will come when the problems of modern thought will force themselves on their notice, and then, if answers be not forthcoming, souls will suffer. Shortly afterwards, Dr. Dale, the Bishop of Leeds, is the guest of D'Etranges, and the opportunity is availed of to inform his lordship of the journal project.

Dr. Dale was a man of action, meeting all sin known to him by prayer and fasting, and the oblation of himself to God. He took no personal interest in intellectual controversies, and accepted as final in these matters the judgment of Canon Markham, his vicar-general. Canon Markham

was a rigid, self-taught narrow-minded scholastic, one of those who meditate on hell for heretics every morning, and on heaven for theologians every evening, and was a known adversary of Paul D'Etranges' line of thought. In spite, therefore, of Dr. Dale's manly and charitable personality, it was a delicate task to explain to him the needs and objects of the 'Catholic International Review.' George Sutcliffe opened up the question by explaining at length, 'the spiritual needs of the sceptical, the unbelieving, the unconscious pagan, and the Christian consciously loosing his hold on the bread of life.' His Lordship was visibly moved by this awful revelation of evil among pagans without help, but he hesitates about judging as superior what is not sufficiently known to him as a man. He is anxious to help these needy souls, but he dreads the risk of endangering other souls. 'I have always believed that to guard the faith of the little ones of Christ is a greater duty than to convince a scribe of righteousness. . . . I should suggest, and I should wish, as far as I may express a wish, your review to be expensive, it would then still be within reach of the cultured and less likely to come into quiet, unintellectual houses.' Thereupon the Bishop retired; all felt as he left the room, that his prayer would be longer and his nightly scourging sharper than usual that night.

Meanwhile, Paul criticises the holy man's feeble attitude. Modern thought and modern thinkers are arraying the new science of physical discovery and of biblical historical criticism against a Church 'rich in treasures of thought and light, the only hope of a faithless world, and of the darkened human intellect.' Oh! for a holy band of Catholic thinkers to preserve these sciences to the Church, and to blend them with the spiritual traditions of the past. Alas, authority occupied itself 'with minute details of antiquarian thought,' heedless and ignorant of pressing, present dangers, applauding the amassing of much useless knowledge by the ordinary theologians. Paul's hope lies centered in Rome.

The highest authorities in Rome are the people we look to. We must strengthen the hands of the Holy Father, he will need

all the support we can give him. . . . The time is coming, when the new knowledge will no longer be in the possession of the solitary student, but will come out into the busy world and be found on railway bookstalls, on the tables of the club, and of the mess-room.

This prophecy of 1886 is fulfilled in our day.¹

Shortly after Dr. Dale's visit, the first number of the 'Catholic International Review' appeared. It was admittedly orthodox, admittedly interesting, but it smacked of 'something hard to define that tickled unaccustomed palates as a doubtful novelty.' Its repeated appearance wore down its suspicious welcome, and after a few numbers, it ceased to be the object of anything more hostile than vigilant scrutiny. A few months later, Paul and George are in Switzerland at a Catholic Congress. The apostasy of Father Colnes during their absence awakens Lisa Fairfax to the truth of Marcelle's forecast—Paul thinks everyone has got his own brains. 'He can never see that it is not truth at all they receive; they get drunk, not nourished.' A severe letter from Paul brings Father Colnes to his senses, and in five days he is in tears at his Bishop's feet. The incident gives occasion to the best page in the book.

That day was my foretaste [L. Fairfax's] of the sense of misunderstanding, condemnations, rash judgments, things always hard to bear, but surely doubly hard when they relate to things most sacred; when it is exactly the noblest work, the highest aims of your life that are misunderstood. . . . I foresaw in a vague mist much of what was to come, and I think I was calmer afterwards for the foresuffering. I thought of the pious lady [a friend of Canon Markham's] and the condemning Canon able to console themselves for the apostasy of Father Colnes by shaking their heads over Paul and the modern thinkers, and then of many pious groups of women and groups of theologians.

¹ In an address to the Catholic Truth Conference in Dublin, December, 1903, the Very Rev. P. A. Canon Sheehan, declared: 'The Rationalist Press of London, is, I am sorry to say, pouring out by the million its copies of works, nominally scientific, positively blasphemous and aggressive. You may see these infamous booklets, endorsed by names famous in science and literature, selling at sixpence even here in your Catholic city; and you may see them advertised and recommended in newspapers owned by Catholics. I have read these books, and can testify that an untrained mind would suffer serious injury to faith if without precaution or antidote, it read these books which are the standard volumes on irreligion and infidelity.'—Cf. *Catholic Truth Annual*, 1903, p. 16.

I saw a storm gathering and bursting on the devoted heads of a little group of men entirely single-minded and high-souled, a little knot of men who, looking out from the fortress had seen that a great and powerful enemy was nearer than was supposed—an enemy with new weapons, with guns of strange power with which they would plant their balls in the very heart of the fortress, ignoring the old defences of centuries, not troubling to attack the carefully defended walls thick with theologians. And then this little knot were misjudged and called traitors because they wanted to study the methods of the enemy. Last of all, was there any danger of any of those men failing under the double fire of friends and enemies, leaving the fortress and becoming traitors to all that was most sacred and most binding.

This reverie was presently interrupted by the approach of a carriage.

I knelt down hastily and made the sign of the cross, for I saw it was Canon Markham taking the blessed Sacrament to the dying woman. . . . How little was everything else beside the thought of death, and of our Lord, first by the deathbed, and then in the heart of the dying woman. . . . A great peace was in my troubled heart ; my mind dwelt on the hovel whither He was going, the foolish, tired old woman, the Divine Comforter, and the 'Well done, good and faithful servant, enter thou into the joy of thy Lord.'

There was the Church in action ; she is always asked the question that was asked of Peter : ' Lovest thou Me ? ' ' Lord, Thou knowest that I love Thee.' ' Then feed My sheep, feed My lambs.'

The chapter on the Catholic Congress is most interesting. F— during these days was the trysting place of the most conservative and most progressive thinkers of the whole Catholic world. Priests and laymen hitherto known to one another only by their writings, and judging harshly and bitterly of one another from the narrow standpoint of polemics, now met at Mass and Benediction, and felt, not perhaps without a thrill of surprise, the bond of their common faith. Paul's paper is most fully reported. His theme was the necessity of freedom for science. Opening with a picturesque description of the devoted specialist, he raised the old objection from theology, and

. . . replied much on Newman's lines that they (men of science)

must nevertheless be allowed to proceed in their own way, as their research, although it may lead to temporary error, is the only road to scientific truth, and to check their researches is to cramp the scientific mind and prevent it from reaching its goal. Then finally he gave a very fine peroration on all the sciences progressing towards a great synthesis of knowledge, towards the unity they already possess in the Divine mind, while man with his partial view of things, constantly finds the human representations of each department for the time partially inconsistent with one another.

The paper was well received, and the discussion went well, till 'a very stupid Dutchman, Professor van Eyck, got up and fastened on the biblical question. He entirely missed Paul's points, but insisted that modern biblical criticism opposed in its methods the Catholic view of inspiration, and therefore could not be tolerated, even provisionally.' According to the schools, there could be no error in the *res* and *sententiae* of the Bible. If inaccurate or defective historical documents were, as D'Etranges affirmed, incorporated into the Pentateuch, what of the inspiration of the *res* and *sententiae*? If, as D'Etranges seemed to hold, Evolution was admissible, were not the *res* and *sententiae* of Genesis, nay even the dogma of Creation, false? Then, during three-quarters of an hour, van Eyck quoted Fathers and theologians to prove the obvious, namely, that the Divine authorship was of faith. Paul rose at once. Before the days of Galileo, were not the *res* and *sententiae* of Joshue regarded as infallible? He invited the theologians to measure the facts of historical methods as applied to the Old Testament. The measuring tape of theologians for 'the known facts of 1300 was not long enough for those of 1800; what sufficed for 1800 will not suffice for 1880.' And then, he set forth the position of modern criticism as a whole, and concluded that even if most of these revolutionary theories are proven true, the Church, the Ark made to sail in every tempest, can rise above them, and live in spite of them.

We do not want a halting, trembling theology—a theology of *res* and *sententiae*, which will not allow science to face facts, and which regards the Church as so frail a barque that the truth will overwhelm her. No, we want brave theologians, and

a thorough science, and rising above the thoughts and speculation of both, we see with the eyes of faith, the Ark of God, the Barque of Peter—Rome above all, majestic, undisturbed, rebuking those who would still the storm—‘Lord, save us, we perish,’—using to them the words of Christ: ‘Ye of little faith, know ye not that I am here?’

Paul had triumphed at the Congress, but the day of reckoning was not far off. Circumstances prevented Sutcliffe from fulfilling the rôle of censor for the number of the ‘International’ that appeared after the Congress, and Paul, having misunderstood Cardinal Matthei’s flattery—‘the Cardinal was a diplomatist, and not much of a theologian, and his promises were more remarkable for their sympathetic quality than for their good wear’—for an endorsement of all his views, opened a terrible fire on the theologians in an article entitled, ‘The Old Catholicism and the New.’ Scholastic theology was contemptuously treated as a ‘grotesque aberration of the human intellect.’ Only a brand new theology, built on the personal opinions of Paul and those who saw eye to eye with him, can satisfy the Catholicism of the future. How is this change to be brought about? By the interposition of the Holy Father.

At the Congress we could still preserve the accustomed notion of mutually corrective representatives of the different classes of truths, spiritual, theological, scientific, gradually eliminating what is old-fashioned, and doing so under the guidance of Providence, official authority warding off all revolutionary change, and voicing on the rare occasion of infallible definition what is the truest expression of the traditional revelation *vis-à-vis* to contemporary controversy. In the article, on the contrary, we have in startling opposition a rotten theology, and a quasi-magical authority in Rome which is to revolutionise it. He holds the knife at the throat of the old-fashioned school, and brandishes Cardinal Matthei (who will bless him for it) in their eyes. . . . He cannot see that peace and quietness are needed for the growth of the scientific spirit he wants. This sort of thing is bound to exasperate authority and throw us back, not help us forward.

Paul’s friends are pained, his enemies rejoice. Canon Markham comes down to breakfast in the Bishop’s house, ‘in a dark glow of holy avenging joy. The foe was unmasked, the heretic displayed in all his true colours. He

ate a large breakfast as if it were a solemn duty to sustain the champion of the Lord.' The saintly Bishop was miserable, though angry. He suspends the 'Review,' and thereupon Paul appeals to Rome. In the meantime, the violence of Canon Markham and his suite of *intransigents* in England causes dreadful bitterness.

I understand now why heaven is to be the reward for forgiving our enemies [Marcelle said]. Nothing but an eternity depending on it could make it possible. Lisa, that man [Canon Markham] has done everything that the devil could do to drive Paul out of the Church. It is wicked, horribly wicked, and with such horrid enjoyment! There is one passage in the article almost amounting to 'Depart from me, ye accursed, into everlasting fire.' Isn't it blasphemy in a human creature, a mere man? Lisa, don't you believe there will be a special judgment on these men?

After folios of active correspondence between Canon Markham as the Bishop's representative, and D'Etranges, the controversy 'seemed to have passed outside the original article,' and to be confined to two points, namely, biblical criticism and evolution. Paul claimed for biblical critics the right to treat the history contained in the Bible as they treat any other history written at the same time; and also for Catholics generally liberty to accept evolution as taught by Darwin. Canon Markham urged that such a biblical theory amounted to denial of inspiration in matters of history, and that if you accept Darwinism, you must logically accept Darwin's theory of the descent of man. Paul assented to all this, and set out for Rome to put before the Holy Office theories expressed in propositions that ran directly counter to the recognized teaching in the schools. As George Sutcliffe pointed out, Paul's views are admissible if expressed otherwise. The Bible being God's word cannot err, but we may contest any human interpretation of it for solid reasons, and thus prove that parts once believed by men to be historical were never so intended by God. Similarly, the evolutionary view of man finds expression in theories other than that of Darwinism, and in theses which, while evolutionary 'are not essentially different—so far as theology goes—from those of Aquinas.'

One grand figure stands out from the combatants, Dr. Dale. He has condemned their doctrines, but he does not forget their souls. As they waited at Charing Cross for the Continental express, Father Duly brings the Bishop's blessing and the Bishop's message. The saintly prelate intends to say Mass for them every morning while they are away; and as their spiritual father and 'seeming enemy,' claims the alms of their prayers. A few moments later, Paul and George and their *fiancées* start for Rome.

Crowds of sympathetic thinkers meet Paul everywhere to discuss the prospects of his appeal. At Paris, these progressives had arranged a little Benediction service, and Abbé Cambon entered the pulpit. His text was a quotation from the famous article in the *Avenir*, in which Lamennais, Montalembert, and Lacordaire made public their intention of appealing to Rome. It wound up: 'The pilgrims are about to depart. May God protect them.' The Abbé pointed out the meaning of their pilgrimage. A contradiction has arisen between fallible interpretations of the truths of faith and the discoveries of fallible scientists. While no truth can be lost, souls can be lost. There is great danger for the men whose duty it may be to adjust these truths. Their appeal is not as teachers but as children. They are now loyal because confident of the Church's approval let them take care to remain loyal in the possible contingency of an adverse decision. The pilgrims were grateful for these timely words, but some of those present—'a few of these enthusiasts of the Catholic Church are not practising Catholics at all'—severely criticised the Abbé for 'teaching the catechism' at such a moment. Such was their journey. Friends and thinkers of repute meet them everywhere, but on the outskirts of these groups a fringe of ecclesiastical malcontents, of would-be intellectuals, and of professional flatterers, is always noticeable. At Milan, 'Marcelle reported such enthusiasm for science, for faith, such confidence in the new intellectual lights, such faith in Rome! But they were all vaguely combative against somebody, some hopeless set of bullies vaguely called 'those in authority,'

or 'the theologians,' or 'the piccoli monsignori,' who would interfere.

The party arrived in Rome early in December. The first bad news was that Cardinal Matthei was gone, and that no one knew when he would return. It was but the beginning of much suffering. The world of Rome is a curious world. Of the Vatican it may be truly said that its enemies are those of its own household, and Lisa Fairfax's faith shook at these revelations. The voice of her confessor strengthened her :

What does it matter to you, even if it is all true. More than nine-tenths of what is said are lies, the place stinks with gossip ; but supposing every word to be true, would you then be faithless because of their sins ? You have got to get to heaven, and to get food for your soul, and you ought to be hungry enough not to be too nice as to whether the plates and dishes on which your food is given are ideal or not.

The arrival in Rome was the beginning of the end of Paul's and George's intellectual friendship. Paul came confidently, and was to go away an apostate. George approached official Rome with strong prejudices, and was to leave, refreshed in heart and mind by his stay in the City of the Saints, and in the home of the Father of the Faithful. Marcelle and Lisa watched in pain and patience the silent agony of the two men, and felt their own lives breaking up, as they observed the widening breach. Sutcliffe's letters to Father Duly are an admirable exposition of the intellectual aspect of the pilgrimage.

To submit to Rome *dubia*, in an untheological form, that is, to ask the Roman Congregation to change the accepted theological phraseology is practically to invite condemnation. These Congregations cannot set aside the approved theology, cannot supersede it. If current theology be challenged, the debate must be fought out in the schools, and then when individual theologians have corrected their views, the Roman Congregations will accept this amended theology, and administer it. The Congregations are the protectors of the theology of the schools.

Paul and his party are months in Rome before the

officials realize the seriousness of his appeal. Then, the more enlightened ask him to desist, for if the matter be pressed, condemnation is inevitable. At the instigation of certain irresponsible camp-followers, Paul despises these friendly warnings. George understands the situation from the beginning, and does all in his power to open Paul's eyes. Rome, he argues, would act tyrannically if it interfered in Paul's favour. It is one thing to tolerate the old, another and quite a different thing to welcome officially the new. Authority ought to interfere as little as possible in this clashing of the old and new. The Church must legislate for the many, and at present her children can discriminate between the opinions of theologians and her infallible decisions, or at least consult those capable of discriminating. The Church teaches Christ and Him crucified, and may tolerate superstitions for the sake of souls. St. Paul would probably have done the same. She is absorbed in the souls of men, in the width and wisdom and sense of spiritual values. Moreover, it is in the interest of thought that the men of action be a drag on the men of thought. To decide truly, one must decide slowly. All these arguments were useless. Paul was too confident. Meanwhile, Marcelle and Lisa were beginning to divine the meaning of the long delays. Day after day, they went to Santa Maria Sopra Minerva to pray where St. Philip Neri had prayed day and night with the Dominicans 'that the cardinals and the theologians, and, it was feared an already prejudiced Pope, might not condemn the writings of Savonarola.' George paid a personal visit to the consultors, and found them able and sympathetic. Paul is come too soon. Those who are in power are not ready for his theories. Let him wait till those who have grown up into these controversies hold the reins of power. The Holy Office would simply ask competent theologians whether Paul's views are consistent with the received teaching in the schools, and a negative is inevitable. Even this warning is of no avail. Paul sees nothing but his own science, thinks of nothing but Scripture critics, and 'has not an ounce of sympathy for those who

have on their backs the whole care of the churches.' Once he had lived on great thoughts and despised gossip, now he is at the mercy of 'every shiny, wriggly, little human worm.' These flatterers hold out to him impossible hopes from cardinals of the highest rank, and from the Holy Father.

Sutcliffe makes a splendid final effort to undo the evil influences of these false friends. An aged priest whose name was known to the whole civilized world is led to Paul to beg him to withdraw. Like Paul, this priest had at heart the intellectual difficulties of his day, and had come to Rome in genuine filial confidence. Two years of his life there were spent in trying to push his views, and still his views were unnoticed. But if official Rome seemed unmindful of his presence, the City of Tombs itself gradually impressed its history and its meaning on the heart and mind of this student priest. By degrees it dawned on him that men are but creatures of a day and cannot isolate themselves, that no individual dare offer too confidently his intellectual wares in the marketplace for all individual thinking results in a compost of truth and error, that truth itself can never be stifled, but whether 'whispered to the rushes, or told in the closet' will at length become part of men's treasures, late indeed, yet with the lateness of well-harvested grain, ripened and winnowed. St. Augustine's words, 'Have pity, O Lord God, lest they who go by the way trample on the unfledged bird, and send Thy angel to replace it in the nest, that it may live until it can fly,' completed the gathering revelation. He was willing to go away now. It was too late! On Christmas morning, while reading his breviary after his three Masses, the vision of the millions of the poor, the weak, and the suffering, gathered that moment in faith and hope and love about the Babe of Bethlehem, rose before him :—

I felt, then, how entirely it was the work of the Church to feed those multitudes, and not to let anything interfere with that daily food. And if a few intellectuals of us had to suffer, if the world had to mock us for not understanding, had we not means for endurance? Might it not be just our probation to endure? And as to those who had not the light, were they not also God's creatures, and could He not take them to heaven in His own way?

Alas ! as these bright thoughts warmed his heart, the letter of his condemnation was placed in his hands. He, the Lord's anointed, was crushed under the wheels of the ecclesiastical Juggernaut. God's grace saved him. But the trial was a terrible one, and lasted for years in the attitude of his Bishop and of his brother priests. From an idol he had become a suspect. The years passed, and the heroism of his submission won him afresh confidence and esteem, and now, though he holds practically the same views, he is Consultor of the Holy Office. 'I have come to ask you, as one who has passed by the same way, and made the same mistakes, God help us both, to take back that letter. In that letter you would force the Holy Office to speak, and if it speaks, it will be in the same sense as what I read in the cloisters on Christmas day, forty years ago.' Paul was obstinate. Things have advanced during the last forty years, and he cannot believe that the Church will condemn him simply on the strength of the current theological phraseology.

Eight days later he was bitterly disillusioned. The parting scene on the steps of St. Peter's, Paul's abjuration of the faith, his appeal to Marcelle to do likewise, and her refusal, the rush of blinding emotions that filled Marcelle, Lisa, and George, as they walked up the long nave of the tomb of St. Peter—the tomb of a repentant apostate—intensely conscious of that tall, noble figure outside 'walking out of their lives, walking out of the Church,' and the tale of their two hours' prayer there, is the saddest part of the book.

Paul goes off to the East, while Marcelle returns to France. George and Lisa, come to England, and after two years are married. The condemnation roused the fury of a certain section of the Press in England, Germany, France, and America. George felt it a duty to tell the public his view of the situation, and then the real breach occurred. Paul wrote a bitter, anonymous reply, picturing George as an ideal trimmer ever ready to side with the most powerful. Every Feast of the Assumption—for it was their last happy day in England before the crisis—Marcelle and Lisa ex-

changed illuminations of the *Gaudeamus* Introit. Fifteen years passed, and then, one August evening the post brought not the illumination, but the news of her death. Shortly afterwards, George and Liza went abroad to visit her grave, intending also to go to Rome. What revelations! Paul had given over everything to Marcelle, but 'she was never to use land or money of his in any way for purposes of religion.' This noble soul gave all his property for philanthropic purposes, thus keeping the terms of his bequest, and then spent all her own means, not even sparing the piano or the furniture of her own bedroom, for Masses for his conversion. That picture of his sister's faith and devotion changed Paul, as one month after her death he stood in her room, and saw the hard, narrow bed, the bare boards, the worn blankets, the cracked water-pitcher. He spent a month's retreat in her house, and then set out for Rome. After three months in the churches of the Eternal City, he joins the Dominicans, and the book closes with a magnificent Apologia from Santa Sabina. This Apologia is such a review of a stormy intellectual past as a contrite Lamennais might have penned.

I came to the Bride of Christ as a teacher—I was to be her professor in philosophy and criticism. I came to give advice to the experience of eighteen centuries. . . . Then my views were rejected, and in my passion I deceived myself into the notion that I was cast out. As a matter of fact, it was I who rejected the Church, not the Church that rejected me. . . . I had denied no dogma of faith. I had brought before the authorities a theory which adapted theology to certain results of modern thought, and had asked them to accept those results finally, as proved conclusions. The authorities refused to accept my theory. . . . But that theory I had offered for their judgment as formulated by those who desired my condemnation. And, moreover, as you all know, the decision could not be described as an 'infallible pronouncement. . . .' All the while the Divine patience waited on my pride for love of the humility of a soul that loved me. No angel could catch a whisper from my dumbness, but daily her intercession for me went up to heaven. . . . I had wilfully extinguished the lamps that had burned on the altars on my forefathers' lands for many generations; she spent her whole substance in sustaining them. In all those chapels the Great Sacrifice of the New Covenant was daily offered for me . . . in her death was to be my salvation. . . . I could not give back

to Marcelle the youth that I had devoured. I could not break into those years of poverty and suffering. I could not whisper into her dying ear that all had not been vain. But I knelt down as the morning broke over the mountain tops, and I consecrated myself to do what I could to fulfil every wish she had ever breathed for me. . . . Not at once, but gradually the best thoughts of my early manhood resumed their dominion. There in the depths of my consciousness my old ideal of the Church of Christ was waiting for me. . . . There was the one connected, coherent history of the human race, there was the treasury in which the spirit of man had amassed its wealth from the beginning of the ages ; there were prophets foretelling, and saints fulfilling, martyrs dying and fathers meditating, there was the life of the cloister and of the home, all in organized unity, in endless vitality and growth, ever changing, in order to remain the same. . . .

Of the intellectual problems which so absorbed me . . . I do not feel . . . that the day has yet come for me to speak again in detail. That I had true thoughts in my mind I do not doubt. Whether the decision of the Holy Office really condemned those thoughts, or, as Sutcliffe used to say, only rejected a particular way of realizing the changes in sciences which have their own technical rules, I will not now inquire. But one virtue was in me wholly wanting, which belongs alike to a great intellect and a great character,—namely, the patience which can submit and wait, without being untrue to one's best self or one's deepest convictions.

The book ends with a page from Newman's *Apologia*, which must be cited in full :—

There is a time for everything, and many a man desires a reformation of an abuse, or the fuller development of a doctrine, or the adoption of a particular policy, but forgets to ask himself whether the right time for it has come ; and, knowing that there is no one who will be doing anything towards its accomplishment, in his own lifetime unless he does it himself, he will not listen to the voice of authority, and he spoils a good work in his own century, in order that another man, as yet unborn, may not have the opportunity of bringing it happily to perfection in the next. He may seem to the world to be nothing else than a bold champion for the truth and a martyr to free opinion, when he is just one of those persons whom the competent authority ought to silence ; and, though the case may not fall within that subject-matter in which that authority is infallible, or the formal conditions of the exercise of that gift may be wanting, it is clearly the duty of authority to act rigorously in the case. Yet its acts will go down to posterity as an instance of a tyrannical interference with private judgment, and of the silencing of a reformer and of a base love of corruption or error ; and it will show still

less to advantage, if the ruling power happens in its proceedings to evince any defect of prudence or consideration. And all those who take the part of authority will be considered as time-servers (alas, for my misjudgment of Sutcliffe I) or indifferent to the cause of uprightness and truth ; while, on the other hand, the said authority may be accidentally supported by an ultra violent party (Markham *et hoc genus omne*) which exalts opinions into dogmas, and has it principally at heart to destroy every school of thought but its own.¹

V.

Out of Due Time has had as many and as ardent admirers as *Il Santo*. What is more satisfactory, no one has been able to read into it false conclusions. For all that, Mrs. W. Ward is not an *advocatus ecclesiae* in the sense that she has shirked difficulties, or has sought to persuade where she could not succeed in convincing. She is one of those clear-sighted Catholics that admit the best method of apology to be 'La recherche integrale de la verité, sans autre préoccupation que de la découvrir.' With perfect candour and confidence, Mrs. W. Ward has given us a faithful picture of the lights and shades of official Rome. The result has proved a magnificent apology for institutions that have many critics and few friends. The Index is truly described as a group of eminent theologians whose office is, to administer current theology and to control the pace at which new views may be admitted within the Church. Though not blind to the force of arguments, the Index is more concerned with the practical difficulties of souls. If souls be saved, it cares less about their ignorance. Christ won the ignorant to the Church by pouring grace, and not mere learning into their minds, and the Index continues Christ's work as the official protector of the faith of the millions. Its decisions being fallible may be reversed, yet their far-reaching and all-important purpose compels the *rationabile obsequium* of every Catholic. Moreover, these decisions are the weighty answers of competent thinkers. That such an authority may make mistakes, may at times allow itself to be unduly influenced by specious or

¹ *Apologia*, p. 259.

unworthy motives is possible. No authority, however, ceases to be an authority because liable to error. On the one hand, the Index safeguards the little ones of Christ, and on the other hand, since its decisions are fallible, they impose no insuperable barrier to the specialist's studies. Were things otherwise, were Rome to welcome authoritatively every novelty, Catholics would be at the mercy of every transient intellectual fashion, and would run great risks in matters of faith owing to the abuse of new theories at the hands of imprudent enthusiasts. As things are, the faith of the little ones is guarded and the liberty of thought of the most intellectual is secured. The Anglican author of *When It Was Dark* has recently borne generous testimony to the value of the Index. All Protestant Europe, according to Guy Thorne, reeled under the blow of the purported discovery of the tomb where Joseph of Arimathea hid the body of Christ on Easter Saturday night.

On the other hand, the vast majority of Roman Catholics, both abroad and in England, have remained utterly uninfluenced. It is one of the most marvellous triumphs of discipline and order that history has ever witnessed. The Pope forbade the slightest notice of the discovery to be taken by priests or people in the first instance. Then, when the Report of the Committee was issued . . . a Papal Bull was issued. Here it is, translated in the *Tablet*, magnificent in its brevity and serenity (page 81).

The Papal Bull and Papal prohibition referred to, are really so many functions of the Index exercised in a sudden crisis by the Holy Father himself. Who can count in the history of the Church, the innumerable instances when the intervention of the Index saved Catholics from brilliant but self-deluded theorists? Does not the history of the world outside the Church bear sad witness to the solvent influences of modern thought on Christianity unprotected by the Index?

This beneficent purpose is, I take it, the main thesis of the novel. To develop that thesis, Mrs. W. Ward has introduced a large variety of most real and most interesting personalities, and with these, most valuable and readable chapters on Immanent Philosophy, Catholic Higher Criticism,

and Theistic Evolution. These doctrines are not defended, but their real import and bearing on our faith is pointed out in language intelligible to all. A certain Irish review has animadverted on Mrs. W. Ward's sympathetic treatment of these views. That sympathy is to my mind one of the merits of the book since the general public are through it introduced to sane presentations of opinions which, whether false wholly or only in part, cannot be over-looked at the present moment. Above all, no Catholic can lay down this novel without feeling that Mrs. W. Ward has earned the gratitude of her co-religionists for putting these opinions in their proper setting with regard to everyone concerned from the Pope—that 'friend of God's with his overflowing sweetness and love,' his 'gentleness learned in some unknown school of suffering,' his 'intense paternity,' and 'intense simplicity,' his 'secrets of patience, of love, of infinite yearning for the souls of men, of all men,' learnt at the foot of the cross, his 'world-sadness'—down to Miss Mills who would not enter a railway carriage without holy water, wore nineteen or twenty scapulars, and swore to the most absolute orthodoxy of the Count ever since he asked her to make a bag for his one scapular. Is it a matter of wonder that all this world of such profound and of such actual interest set forth in that graceful and charming literary style which had already won for Mrs. W. Ward a place among the literary masters of to-day, should have been welcomed on all hands as a Catholic master-piece?

VI.

Catholics generally at the present moment have got to make up their minds on the problem of reconciling the fruits of twentieth-century civilization with their faith, on the acceptableness or the non-acceptableness of the different reconciliations proposed, and on their own personal attitude towards the defenders of these diverse solutions. I say Catholics generally, for there are many who by reason of their surroundings or of their disposition have, and must have, as little notion of what is taking place

about them as 'the worm in a flowerpot on a London balcony has of the life of the great city.' *Il Santo* and *Out of Due Time* agree in repeating the teaching of St. Paul in regard to such. 'And I, brethren, could not speak to you as unto spiritual, but . . . as unto little ones in Christ. I gave you milk to drink, not meat, for you were not able as yet. . . .'¹

If some of those privileged to journey to their heavenly home in Peter's bark for one reason or another are ignorant of the toil and sweat of many who help to urge them luxuriously forward on the buoyant waves of ardent faith and think themselves aboard 'a sailing vessel propelled by the free air of heaven alone,' they ought not to be disillusioned. Their simple faith is a great grace, a grace that must be respected reverently, and protected from human desecration.

The majority of Catholics, however, are but too conscious of the assaults of infidelity and agnosticism. At every moment they see staring them in the face cheap publications on science and morality aimed at God and His Revelation. They can scarcely scan their morning paper without feeling their blood boil at the taunts and insinuations of flippant materialists. They know that all this was foretold, but they are none the less righteously angry. *Necesse est ut scandala veniant*. God and the world are sworn enemies, and these terrific onslaughts of human pride on the Church of Christ are not peculiar to the twentieth century. Moreover, these Catholics will understand that if problems await solution, many minds will solve them in many ways. Spiritual ideals are worked out through diverse means. All called to religion do not tread the same paths. The Cistercian is silent, the Carthusian solitary, the Franciscan poor. Similarly minds unlike in habits and in tone of thought will pursue intellectual ideals along different lines. As the problems arise, and their solutions are attempted, these lines widen and widen till every defender of the Church can be classed in one or other of the two groups—Conservatives or Progressives.

¹ 1 Cor. i. and ii.

Such differences will not scandalize anyone who examines the matter dispassionately, and remembers that these questions are free for Catholics, and their solutions intricate and obscure. But most of us are called on to select some of these solutions, and the practical question is, where shall we go look for them? For most Catholics the broad principle would be—Acceptance of that form of apologetics that secures best the honour for God's revelation by sincere admission of truth in every shape. Unfortunately this intelligible attitude is straightway translated by conservatives into a rigid *nihil innovetur nisi quod traditum est*. Innovations are dangerous, they insist, as the histories of heresies and schisms have abundantly proved. These zealous champions of tradition are right if they wish to remind us that any attempt to gather in truth and root out error on the part of fallible minds is open to the need of revision at more competent hands. 'Men of science, like young colts in a fresh pasture, are apt to be exhilarated on being turned into a new field of enquiry, to go off at a hand-gallop, in total disregard of hedges and ditches to lose sight of the real limitations of their enquiries, and to forget the extreme imperfection of what is really known.' The defenders of tradition are right also in insisting that fallible apologists may, in their haste, reject true grain with the chaff, and so lead future generations into temptations against the Faith. So much is too obvious to escape notice, and pious advocates of conservative teachings have at all times made capital out of this half-truth. It is, unfortunately, only a half-truth in their mouths. They employ it as John of Peckham, Archbishop of Canterbury, did against St. Thomas, conveniently forgetting its application to themselves. *Et ne nos inducas in tentationem* is the daily prayer of Christian millions to their Heavenly Father. It is at least implicitly meant as a petition for the protection of the priceless gift of faith. The progressive apologist, however, recognizing keenly the tentativeness of all merely human efforts after truth is likely to utter this petition more fervently and more humbly than others. On the other hand, one cannot help remarking in the writings

and sayings of many conservatives just a slight tremor of self-righteousness: 'O God, I give Thee thanks, I am not as the rest of men.' John of Peckham seems to have too hastily adopted this attitude in regard to St. Thomas, if the judgment of posterity means anything. In the same way, the overweening confidence of many at present is a mighty assumption, and possibly as false as was that of John of Peckham, seeing that God has not been pleased to confer infallibility on any individual apologist. The truth is, intolerant non-concessionism may prove responsible for crises in matters of faith. To seek even though *bona fide* to defend positions that are captured, to mix in one jumble secure truths of faith and the doubtful accretions of fallible thinkers, to keep necessary questions closed till hostile writers force them on the attention of the public, to stick to solutions once tolerable because of the ignorance of those who accepted them, to-day intolerable because of our larger knowledge, to send out our Catholic youth to do battle in the twentieth century as ignorant of the views and errors of modern Agnosticism as if they had been born into the thirteenth century, is surely to expose them to terrible temptations against faith. To-day, *toutes les idées sont au vent*, and a thousand Congregations of the Index cannot protect the children of the Faith from the snares of unbelief.

Against all the natural and supernatural agencies at work in the world opposed to God and His Christ—heresy and infidelity, with their tremendous intellectual forces; irreligious governments, with all state appliances, treasures, armies, and navies at their disposal; the press, with its far-reaching power; literature, that derives its supreme attraction from its unchristian or immoral teachings; art, that is the workshop of satan; politics, that would exile the Church from the world; the drink syndicates, that are becoming omnipotent through human impotency; the social evil that has forced itself to be state-recognized; schools, from which God is banished; family circles, where religion is never mentioned; society, that would take offence at God's name—in a word, against all the professed badness, and all the confessed indifference marshalled in hostile array, as Lucifer marshalled his unthroned hosts before Michael, stand timidly on the side of Christ a handful of priests, a few weak women, a literature that is saved from ridicule barely by its good intentions, and a few saints, who lift their hands like

Moses from the mountain, whilst the armies of Israel are hard pressed in the valleys of humiliation and defeat.¹

At such a crisis in the history of the Church, and in face of the dread possibility of losing souls to Christ because of unfair pressure on their faith, ought not every thinker, conservative as well as progressive, pray fervently and humbly lest he may unconsciously lead the little ones of Christ to struggles of doubt and unbelief—*Et ne nos inducas in tentationem*. *A priori*, therefore, both non-concessionism and progressiveness, are open to the awful risk of leading people astray in the all-important matter of faith. Some one may object, the traditional views have fortified the faith of millions for centuries; they may, indeed, contain errors, but it can hardly be seriously maintained that they would lead anyone into temptations against faith. I reply—it is precisely because these traditional views have been so long bound up with doctrines of faith that the dangers arise. Suppose that new facts are discovered that contradict these fallible traditional theories, is it not inevitable that the man whose faith is linked to such theories must experience doubts? Not every mind is keen enough to extricate itself at once from an intellectual difficulty, and not every Catholic is clear enough on the practical treatment of unsolved difficulties. What if at such a moment some shallow defender of the past hold up such a soul to the alternative—all or nothing?

History has its incontrovertible lesson. All our Catholic historians of philosophy agree that Scholasticism lost its hold on intellectual Europe mainly because of the crass ignorance and incompetency of its official defenders in the Universities.¹ Bad Latin, misinterpretations of St. Thomas and of Scotus, ostentatious hair-splitting, were some of the faults of these men, but their greatest fault was their antagonistic attitude towards the new theories of astronomy, mechanics, and physics. Up to the beginning of the seventeenth century, people generally believed in the geocentric

¹ *Triumph of Failure*, pp. 202-203.

² Cf. Turner, pp. 416-426; Stockl (Finlay's trans.), vol. ii., pp. 419, etc.; De Wulf, pp. 535-540.

system, in the perfection of the circle, in the non-productibility and non-corruptibility of the heavenly bodies,' in the solidity of the heavens, etc. Copernicus, Galileo, Kepler, Torricelli, Lavoisier, Descartes, Newton, and Liebnitz came on, and proved to demonstration the absurdity and falsity of the scientific views of the Middle Ages. What happened? Melancthon's refusal to look through the telescope was typical. Scholasticism had no St. Thomas who, long before the days of Galileo, penned this intuition of genius: 'Licet enim talibus suppositionibus factis apparentia salvarentur, non tamen oportet dicere has suppositiones esse vera, *quia forte secundum aliquem alium modum, nondum ab hominibus comprehensum, apparentia circa stellas salvantur.*'¹ The peripatetics of the seventeenth century not only clung to the scientific theories of Aristotle—that would not have mattered very much—but publicly maintained that if the new theories were admitted Scholasticism could no longer be defended. In a word, the scholastics of the seventeenth century ruined the prospects of Scholasticism by maintaining that its essential doctrines stood or fell with Aristotle's physical theories. These theories played a part, but a secondary part, in building up Scholasticism. To make common the cause of Scholasticism and the cause of Aristotle's exploded scientific theories led to the dethronement of Scholasticism as the philosophy of intellectual Europe. Its unwise defenders are to blame, and it ought to be remembered that Scholasticism has been ousted from the modern world, not because it was tried and found wanting, but because its friends unwittingly maligned it. Scholasticism was not responsible for the scientific errors of the Middle Ages. True, it was built on these erroneous scientific views, but had St. Thomas lived in the seventeenth century, and had anyone dared to condemn Scholasticism because of its false scientific basis, he would have mercilessly crushed such a paltry quibbler by flinging in his teeth the elementary axiom—*Ex falso potest sequi verum*; and would have set to work to issue a revised edition of the *Summa* where no exploded science

¹ In lib. ii. 'de caelo et mundo,' i, xvii.

would find a place, and where if logic permitted, all the old conclusions would be re-established on the new scientific bases.¹

Alas ! St. Thomas was gone, and had left no worthy disciple. Intolerant non-concessionism wrought unimpeded ruin. Now, if a matchless system of philosophy suffered thus seriously, why may not the priceless gift of faith ? The Church is indefectible, but reason has surely some function to fulfil in the growth and decay of the individual's faith. Fervent appeals to religious emotions will not supply the lack of rational proofs. 'To appeal to a man's emotions, without attempting to justify them, is like trying to enrich him by appealing to his taste for expenditure, when his difficulty lies in his conviction that he has no money to spend.'²

Non-concessionism, therefore, and Progressiveness, are equally open to risk. This risk is in no way a matter of anxiety for Catholics. The Church is always at hand to guide securely in time of trial. In those matters that she leaves open to discussion, individuals must be content to accept the limitations of fallible intellects. Fear of error ought not to prevent thinkers from entering on an intellectual apostolate if circumstances permit them. God has given us an infallible Pope and an infallible General Council, but it is obvious that the rare exercise of these powers cannot have been intended as the sole defence of the Faith against the myriad myrmidons of Satan. The problem is ever with us, the solutions mostly fallible—what shall be our attitude ? Clearly, the questions are ones for painstaking and devoted Catholic specialists. No one dare enter on such a task with unwashed hands. Those who are not specialists are bound to await the result in patience. After all, these gropings of the intellect are not the highest things. Man's intellect 'must not be hidden in a napkin,' yet it

¹ On the other hand, this strange tale of the fall of Scholasticism sheds a lurid light on the vaunted progress of the modern world. Modern Philosophy has never fairly faced the question of the intrinsic worth of Scholasticism, and has entered into one prolonged conspiracy to perpetuate its unfair condemnation on accidental and extrinsic grounds.

² Mallock, *Religion as a Credible Doctrine*, p. 10.

is a very little thing compared to man's moral and spiritual life. These intellectual controversies need not interfere in the slightest with any Catholic's spiritual and moral life. One pressing duty is incumbent on all, whether lay or clerical—to treat as the worst of criminals anyone who would attempt to enlist on either side the prejudices of the ignorant or the uncharitableness of the bigoted. Any such effort is a crime of colossal magnitude. God alone can measure the guilt of those who take sides from frivolous or party motives. One unthinking zealot, whether he be progressive or conservative, may destroy the labours of hundreds of devoted children of the Church, and may sow deeply and thickly seeds of unbelief and of uncharitableness.

Even at the risk of undue length, I must pause here to emphasize a distinction that is absolutely necessary for intelligent appreciation of the point at issue. That distinction is the one which Mrs. Ward makes between Canon Markham and the Index, and which Cardinal Newman makes between the 'violent ultra party' (which exalts opinions into dogmas and accidentally supports authority), and the ruling Authority itself.¹ The great Cardinal's picture of the origin and progress of controversies will prove helpful :—

Perhaps a local teacher, or a doctor in some local school, hazards a proposition, and a controversy ensues. It smoulders or burns in one place, no one interposing ; Rome simply lets it alone. Then it comes before a bishop ; or some priest, or some professor in some other seat of learning takes it up ; and there is a second stage of it. Then it comes before a University, and it may be condemned by the theological faculty. So the controversy proceeds year after year, and Rome is still silent. An appeal perhaps is next made to a seat of authority inferior to Rome ; and then at last, after a long while, it comes before the supreme power. Meanwhile, the question has been ventilated and turned over and over again, and viewed on every side of it, and authority is called on to pronounce a decision, which

¹ For ampler treatment of this all-important distinction, cf. Newman, *Apologia*, pp. 250-269, 'Essay on the Development of Christian Doctrine,' *passim* ; Wilfrid Ward, 'The Function of Intransigence,' *New York Review*, July, 1906. The two quotations that are not expressly acknowledged are taken from Mr. Ward's article.

has already been arrived at by reason. But, even then, perhaps, the supreme authority hesitates to do so, and nothing is determined on the point for years ; or so generally and vaguely, that the whole controversy has to be gone through again, before it is ultimately determined.

This is the state of things with which I have been dealing—actual controversies in regard to which Rome has not yet spoken. To make my meaning more clear, let me illustrate it by a controversy that is happily dead—the controversy of three centuries between Molinism and Thomism. It is notorious that the parties to that controversy fought with mailed hands. Individual Molinists and Thomists frequently transgressed the limits of Christian charity, appealed to prejudice rather than argument, denounced each other as heretics, and misrepresented for party purposes the attitude of Rome. Keeping these lessons in mind, I have been at pains to insist that living controversialists are not always to be taken at their own, or *a fortiori*, at their friends' valuation. My object was to maintain that until Rome spoke, Catholic specialists ought not to allow their work to be interefered with by insinuations except in so far as these insinuations are supported by reasons. To recur to Newman, Rome is slow to interfere, and, so long as it does not interfere, our thinkers are ruled only by intellectual motives, and despite all insinuations are not fighting under the leash. My criticism, therefore, of progressives and of conservatives refers to individual controversialists, and has not the remotest application to Rome. The question takes on a new aspect when Rome interferes. At this stage, the controversy passes out of the purely intellectual arena where opinions and opponents are treated only on terms of their intrinsic worth from the standpoint of intellect. Theologians are unanimous in laying down that Rome looks at more than the intellectual side of questions. Roman decisions are not merely doctrinal, they are also in part measures of discipline. It is evident that every Catholic must receive without a word those decisions in which Rome censures books, or silences authors, or forbids discussions. The theology of this obedience is perfectly clear and rational,

but the violent ultra party is constantly inclined to misrepresent it. Controversialists of that school are ever prone to accept Rome's wise condemnation of inopportune or erroneous theories as an official approval of every attack which they on purely intellectual grounds have made on these theories. Post-condemnationem, therefore, intolerant non-concessionism sometimes distorts Rome's interference for its own purposes. How easy it is to do such a thing under a cloak of piety will not be denied by those who remember how Thomist and Molinist explain the death of a Pope who, it is said, was on the point of defining Thomism. Cardinal Newman knew his Church history, and his reading of it was that, when Rome interefered in controversy she was in the main right, but that in such occasions the violent ultra party took up positions afterwards repudiated by the Church. Conservative resistance to change is the *special and necessary* function of Rome.

It is absolutely essential to Rome. How much does not the present generation owe to this intransigence of Rome. No infallible pronouncement was made against atheistic evolution and rationalistic criticism. Yet Rome has kept these rival creeds at bay, and within a single generation has broken their power as creeds. How? By open-eyed and perfectly legitimate non-concessionism. 'Had the dogmatic principle been moribund, had the authorities shrunk from a certain intransigence, evolutionists and critics would have broken into the Church *en masse*, and rifled it of its treasures.' In the meanwhile, Evolution and Criticism have learned their own limitations, and have withdrawn their ambitious claims as rivals of Christianity. Huxley's Romanes lecture has dealt a death-blow to atheistic Evolution, and Sayce has vindicated the conservative testimony of the monuments. But does it follow from this necessary and successful intransigence of Rome, that every argument advanced in favour of evolutionary and critical views was worthless, that every attempt to refute them was solid?¹ Newman tells us that the History

¹ To speak of things within our own memory, is it not evident that Rome's legitimate opposition to atheistic Evolution did not involve a

of the Church is a flat denial of the truth of such a supposition. After a careful and searching analysis of Newman's view in its application to Gnosticism, Montanism, and Neo-Platonism, Mr. Wilfrid Ward concludes :—

But when the Church had made her protest against the whole system—for the whole was poisoned by its leading ideas—and had successfully resisted its encroachments, she proceeded to assimilate numerous truths which its framers had perceived, and to which the system had owed its influence, incidental truths of method and of fact which had necessarily been at first branded as parts of a dangerous whole. . . . In each instance, then, we have methods, practices, systems, distinctly opposed or condemned by the Church for a long time, and ultimately used by her. The very method of speculating on the faith which the Gnostics introduced, is opposed by Irenæus. Yet his more or less speculative reply is our first orthodox treatise of dogmatic theology. The Gnostics were condemned for wholesale introduction of Hellenic intellectual forms, yet Substance, Person, Nature, in their Greek equivalents, give to the mature Church the only orthodox explication of the Trinity and Incarnation. Systematic asceticism finds its first devoted exponents among the condemned Montanists. Their teaching and practice is assimilated by the medieval Church. The mystic philosophy of the Neo-Platonists is the antithesis of Christianity in the fourth century, and a part of it in the Middle Ages.

Again, the Church was right in condemning Abelard, but if St. Bernard's interpretation of that condemnation were in every respect true, we would have had no *Summa Theologica*. 'The Fathers are derided because they held that the things of God are to be tasted rather than solved.' Yet, Aquinas imitated Abelard in solving rather than tasting these things. If this view of Newman's be acceptable,

guarantee of many valiant attempts to solve the Hexameron difficulties ? All Catholic solutions agreed with Rome in respecting the inspiration and the dogmatic value of the Scripture text, and so far were right. Time, however, proved the intellectual insufficiency of some of them.

Again, no one will care at present to contest the justice of Mr. William James's castigation of Liberatore for his treatment of the problem of Evolution. Liberatore in confounding the meaning of species as used by Darwin with 'species,' the scholastic praedicabile, gave grounds for severe hostile criticism. (Cf. William James, *Principles of Psychology*, vol. ii., p. 670.)

Zigliara is guilty of a somewhat similar paralogism (cf. vol. ii., p. 148, ed. '84). Mgr. Mercier and Father Gerard, S.J., and many other neo-scholastics deny that Evolution is a proved theory, but for more worthy and more serious reasons.

valuable truths may be condemned, *and rightly condemned*. by Rome under the ægis of anti-Catholic movement. A further consequence is that intolerant non-concessionism may possibly find its main tendencies one with those of Rome. That incidental unity of aims is no guarantee of the intellectual worth of every argument advocated by 'the ultra violent party.' History proves that Rome has never at a later date hesitated to assimilate whatever was true in systems which as a whole she had previously rejected. Heresies and schisms, according to Newman, 'contained elements of truth amid their error; and had Christianity been as they, it might have been resolved into them, but it had that hold of truth which gave its teaching a gravity, a directness, a consistency, a sternness, a force to which its rivals were for the most part strangers. . . hence in the collision it broke in pieces its antagonists *and divided the spoils.*' This division of the spoils is the death-knell of intolerant non-concessionism as a system of intellectual apologetics. If extreme non-concessionists are to be believed, there can and ought to be no spoils for the Church in systems that she once rejected as false and destructive.

What must be our attitude when Rome interferes? *Roma locuta est, causa finita est* is brief but adequate. When the Church intervenes, her decisions are binding. Adverse decisions have been loyally accepted by many living Catholics. What grace it must need to accept this public condemnation of one's life efforts. Is it not hard to be publicly disowned by a Mother? The Divine Guest in our tabernacles, and He only, can tell the anguish and the pain of such heroic souls. Who can have the heart at such a moment to sneer? How can we stay a cry of rage as we watch a heedless or malicious hand throw another faggot on the already blazing pyre of martyrdom. *Caritas non agit perperam.*

At the present moment, a growing sense of responsibility and of seriousness seems to be taking possession of all parties. There is a general tendency to the golden mean. In both progressive and conservative camps extremists are being quietly but effectively set aside. Their

voices are heard for a short while, but are quickly lost in the noble utterances of manly and single-minded apologists. Charity and much respect for reason are the guiding principles, and no one can doubt that even if a few suffer the winnowing will assuredly be accomplished in God's own time. *Fiat voluntas Tua* is above all a prayer for strength and vigour in our struggles with the enemies of the Church. Let us strive with might and main to assimilate what must be assimilated, and to set aside what must be set aside. Should all our efforts prove unavailing, and should the rising waves threaten to engulf us, is not the sleeping Christ in our tabernacles as near to us as He was to His apostles on the sea of Galilee? His arm is not shortened, His love for His chosen ones not lessened. Having done our little best, have we not the right to cry out: 'Lord, save us, we perish'? Whether the storm be one of doubt and unbelief in our own souls, or one of fierce, malignant hatred breaking in tumultuous tempest on God's Church, may we not be confident that He will rise up and still the waves? and may we not remind the timid ones at all times of Christ's rebuke: 'Why are you fearful, O ye of little faith?' Why should our souls be deeply vexed? By Faith, we are established, and Jesus, the Divine Prisoner of our altars, is our bosom Friend. '*If God be for us, who is against us?*'

JOHN O'NEILL, PH.D.

Notes and Queries

THEOLOGY

BINDING FORCE OF THE RULES OF THE INDEX. NECESSITY OF AN IMPRIMATUR. PROHIBITION OF BOOKS NOT HAVING THE NECESSARY IMPRIMATUR

REV. DEAR SIR,—Will you kindly answer the following in an early edition of the I. E. RECORD :—

1. Do the laws of the S. Cong. of Index bind in Ireland ?
2. What is the law *re* Imprimatur on Books ?
3. Is it lawful to keep and read religious books not having the Imprimatur ?

Tis.

I. In the April, 1906, number of the I. E. RECORD, I held the view that the rules of the Index, forbidding the retaining and reading of certain books, are binding in this country, and I see no reason for giving a different solution if there is question of the Rules of the Index, requiring that certain books be submitted to ecclesiastical censorship.

II. The following general rule is laid down by the Constitution *Officiorum et Munerum* :—

Omnes fideles tenentur praevis censurae ecclesiasticae eos saltem subicere libros, qui divinas Scripturas, Sacram Theologiam, Historiam Ecclesiasticam, Jus Canonicum, Theologiam Naturalem, Ethicen, aliasve hujusmodi religiosas aut morales disciplinas respiciunt, ac generaliter scripta omnia, in quibus religionis et morum honestatis specialiter intersit (Art. 41).

1. Hence the Church binds her subjects to submit to ecclesiastical censorship their ' books ' on Scripture, Sacred Theology, Ecclesiastical History, Canon Law, Natural Theology, Ethics, and other religious or moral subjects. It is not easy to define what is meant by a ' book ' in this connexion. We have two sources of information on the matter: common estimation and official declarations. Taking these into account, two things are clear. In the first place the publication must be of sufficient size to be

a book in the ordinary sense of the word. Many hold that at least ten pages are required for the fulfilment of this condition, but others are reasonably unwilling to determine the number of pages mathematically; they prefer to state simply that we must judge by the common estimation as to what constitutes a book. Taking this view as sufficiently probable, newspapers, leaflets, and small pamphlets are not books in the sense of the decree; but large pamphlets and periodical publications like the *I. E. RECORD* come under the law. The Holy Office, January 13, 1893, decided that periodical publications bound '*in fasciculos*' come under the law of the Constitution *Apostolicae Sedis*, prohibiting under excommunication the reading of certain books. This proves at least that if a number of copies are bound together there is a book in the technical sense; and what is said of a number of copies holds, *ex paritate causae*, of single copies if these are large enough to be considered books in the ordinary sense of the word.

In the second place, it is the publication, not the printing of the book, that requires the Imprimatur. This point is clear from the Papal decree which speaks of ecclesiastical approbation as necessary that books be made *publici juris*. Hence the lectures of a professor, which are printed for private circulation amongst his students, do not require an Imprimatur, nor do any other books, like the *Record of the Maynooth Union*, which are not published. It is evident from this that the word 'Imprimatur' is to some extent a misnomer, since ecclesiastical censorship does not apply so much to the printing as to the publication of the work (Art. 40).

2. Besides books in the strict sense the article of the Constitution *Officiorum et Munerum*, already quoted, demands that published writings of every kind be submitted to ecclesiastical censorship, if religion has a special interest in them: 'ac generaliter scripta omnia, in quibus religionis et morum honestatis specialiter intersit.' What is meant by the phrase: *specialiter intersit*? Does it refer to all published writings which are concerned principally with religious and moral subjects; or does it apply to those published

works which, though not books in the strict sense, are of more than ordinary religious and moral importance? Many authorities, like Vermeersch and Lehmkuhl, hold that there is question of works which are of more than ordinary religious importance, and they give as examples works published in Italy, bearing on the claims of the Pope to the Papal States, and works published during the sitting of the Vatican Council, discussing the question of papal infallibility. I presume that writings published in France, dealing with the present attitude of the Pope towards the French Government, would belong to the same class. The words of the Constitution *can* bear the interpretation of Vermeersch, and there seems no valid reason for urging the decree beyond the meaning which its words can bear, since the Constitution is of strict interpretation. According to Lehmkuhl and Genicot, the writings mentioned in this paragraph do not include writings published in newspapers or non-religious periodicals, since custom interprets the law in this way.

3. Besides the books and writings which come under the general rule of the forty-first article, the Constitution *Officiorum et Munerum* requires ecclesiastical approbation for the following works: (a) Books and writings which have for a main object the narration of new apparitions, revelations, visions, prophecies, miracles, or which promote new devotions, i.e., devotions which are not already substantially in use amongst Catholics (Art. 13). (b) New pictures of Christ and His saints, i.e., pictures differing seriously in type from those already in use (Art. 15). (c) Books, leaflets, and pamphlets in which concessions of Indulgences are contained (Art. 17). (d) Litanies differing from those already in use (Art. 19). (e) Books and small pamphlets of practical, as distinct from speculative, religious teaching (Art. 20). (f) Books prohibited by a *special* decree of the Holy See (Art. 31). (g) Works which concern causes of Beatification and Canonization under present official consideration (Art. 32). (h) Collections of decrees of Roman Congregations (Art. 33).

4. New editions and translations require new appro-

bation, even though they are in exact conformity with the originals (Art. 44). It was decided by the S. Cong. of the Index, May 23, 1898, that an article taken from a periodical and published separately is not a new edition; but, according to Vermeersch and Boudinhon, if various articles already published in a periodical are put together and published in book form, new approbation is required, because common estimation would regard this as a new publication.

5. Who is to give the necessary approbation? There are some cases reserved to the Holy See. Books *specially* prohibited by the Holy See may not be published again without the permission of the Congregation of the Index; works referring to pending causes of Beatification and Canonization are reserved to the Congregation of Rites for approbation; collections of Indulgences taken for the first time from Roman decrees need the approbation of the Congregation of Indulgences; collections of decrees of various Roman Congregations must be approved by the Congregations concerned; Bibles published in the vernacular and without notes require the approbation of the Holy See; Vicars Apostolic and Apostolic Missionaries, who are subject to the Propaganda, require the approbation of this Congregation for the publication of books on religious and ecclesiastical affairs, unless they receive special powers in this respect. Outside these reserved cases, books and writings subject to ecclesiastical censorship require the Imprimatur of the Ordinary of the place where the work is published (Art. 35), but if it is published in two or more dioceses the approbation of one Ordinary suffices. There is an important exception to this rule: an author who resides in Rome, and who publishes his work elsewhere, requires merely the approbations of the Cardinal-Vicar of Rome and of the Master of the Sacred Palace (Art. 37). They are properly said to reside at Rome who have a domicile or quasi-domicile there, but it seems that *peregrini* partake of the privileges of the inhabitants in this matter. Regulars require, besides the license of the Bishop, the permission of their own Superior (Art. 36).

6. The Imprimatur must be given in writing, although

a *viva voce* concession would not be invalid. It must be printed at the beginning or at the end of the work (Art 36, 40); many of the Roman publications adopt the second method, e.g., the *Analecta Ecclesiastica*, and the *Ephemerides Liturgicae*. If the Ordinary has reason to believe that the publication of the Imprimatur would impede the utility of the work, he can give permission to omit mention of the approbation. It is ordered, too, that the name and surname of both the author and the editor, together with the place and year both of printing and publishing, must be prefixed to the book (Art. 46). The editor is he in whose name the book is *published*. If a society publishes a book, the name of the society suffices. The Ordinary can grant permission to suppress the name of the author.

III. As a general rule the absence of the necessary approbation does not make the retaining or reading of a book unlawful. Other prohibitions exist, but there is no general law forbidding a book simply because it has not obtained the required Imprimatur. The following are, however, exceptions to this rule : (a) New, though amended, editions of a work specially prohibited by the Holy See. (b) Books and writings which narrate new apparitions, revelations, visions, prophecies, miracles, or which promote new devotions. (c) Books and pamphlets of practical as distinct from speculative religious teaching. (d) Unauthorized Catholic versions of the Bible in the vernacular, i.e., Catholic versions without notes, not having papal sanction, and Catholic versions with notes, but not having episcopal approbation; this prohibition does not affect students of Theology and Sacred Scripture. All these exceptional prohibitions probably impose only a light obligation.

J. M. HARTY.

LITURGY

REVERENCES TO BE MADE AT BENEDICTION

REV. DEAR SIR,—‘Sacerdos Junior’ asks in the November I. E. RECORD: ‘Is the genuflection on both knees the proper reverence to be made when the Celebrant ascends the predella and places the monstrance on the throne, and also when he goes up to take down the same for the Benediction?’

In reply you say: ‘We are aware that the custom of making a *double* genuflection, when the officiant at Benediction of the Most Holy Sacrament goes up to the predella to take the monstrance for the blessing and afterwards when he has placed it on the altar, prevails in some places, but we have failed to find any authority for it amongst approved modern Rubricists.’

On this point it may be useful to recall to mind the *Ritus Servandus in Benedictione Sanctissimi Sacramenti*, as laid down for the Irish Church by the National Council of Thurles:—

‘*Clauso Tabernaculi ostiolo, collocat ostensorium in medio corporali, genuflectit utroque genu, deinde reperiat illud in throno . . . faciens profundam reverentiam, descendit,*’ etc. (p. 68).

‘*Quo facto, sacerdos principalis ascendit, factaque genuflectione utroque genu manibus coopertis entremittatibus producti veli, accipit manu dextera nodum,*’ etc.

When a young priest I followed literally the directions herein referred to, in conformity with what I think was the prevailing custom. How that can be changed in Ireland until the directions of the Council of Thurles are set at nought, I fail to see.—I am, Very Rev. and dear Sir,

SACERDOS SENIOR.

The directions which were given in last month’s issue of the I. E. RECORD about the reverences to be made in exposing the Blessed Sacrament conflict, it is true, with those given in the *Ritus* which was drawn up under the sanction of the Synod of Thurles, and ordered to be observed¹ for the future in Ireland. This fact, as we hope to show, does not detract from the merits of the course we recommended, and merely proves the desirability of having

¹ Cf. *Decreta, De Euch.*, n. 25.

the instructions of the Thurles Ordinal revised and amended. The practice of making a *single* genuflection in the circumstances indicated has behind it the great weight of Rubrical authority,¹ and, moreover, as it appears to us, represents the best established usage of the entire Church. Baldeschi is the only modern Rubricist of note who puts forward the view maintaining the necessity of a *double* genuflection when exposing the Blessed Sacrament, and if it be true, as some allege,² that the directions of the *Ritus* are borrowed from him, we must adopt a certain reserve in recognizing them as indicating the most approved practice in this matter. Our respected correspondent seems to think that the approval of the *Ritus* by the Council of Thurles makes its observance obligatory, so that we are not at liberty to ignore, or disregard it. We are afraid that most persons are not so sensitive or so scrupulous in this regard. The truth is, that the directions of the Thurles Ordinance have been pretty generally ignored as far as this is concerned. There can be no doubt that the general *praxis Ecclesiae* at the present is not in consonance with the prescriptions of the *Ritus*. Martinucci who is witness to what is followed in Rome advocates the simple genuflection only. So also Wapelhorst and Van Der Stappen, the former of whom is qualified to speak for America and the latter for Germany. Even in our own country there has already set in a strong current of custom against the *Ritus* and this custom possesses all the conditions for legitimate prescription. Indeed, it runs, not in opposition to existing legislation but rather in the direction of approved and established liturgical usage. We believe, then, that this almost universal custom is sufficient, at the very least, to deprive the directions laid down by the Synod of Thurles of whatever binding force they originally possessed, and there need be no hesitation about adopting the practice we recommend. The only instance where we have seen the genuflection on both knees ordered in the rubrics is on

¹ Catalani, Martinucci, Gardellini, Van Der Stappen, De Herdt, Vavasseur, Wapelhorst, O'Loan, etc.

² O'Loan, *Ceremonies*, etc., p. 154.

arriving at, and departing from, the altar on which the Blessed Sacrament is solemnly exposed. Here in the College as far as we can remember the *double* genuflection has never been made by the officiant at Benediction. It is quite possible that the directions of the *Ritus* represented the prevailing practice at the time they were drafted. If so, they have become obsolete by custom. But it is also possible that the compilers of the Benediction Ordinal took their rubrics from some source without being perfectly assured that they were in thorough agreement with the best liturgical usage. In this case we can conceive how they might obtain a sanction which they would never have received had it been known that they fell short of what was soundest and most approved in the liturgy.

Moreover, the National Synod of '75 contains no express injunction about the special *Ritus* to be employed in giving Benediction. From all that has been said, therefore, the conclusion seems to be that there is no desire on the part of the Bishops in this country to insist on the observance of a point of Rubrical detail which is not in consonance with the universal custom and practice of the Church.

USE OF COPE, etc., AT BENEDICTION

REV. DEAR SIR,—In connexion with your answers on this subject in the October issue of the I. E. RECORD, may I respectfully suggest that some of the remarks made therein to correspondent, 'P.P.,' are at variance with the *Ritus* in use in England and Wales since the establishment of the Hierarchy. Is, therefore, our *Ritus* to be observed absolutely until the Ordinary ordains otherwise?

1. The English *Ritus*, approved by Cardinal Wiseman, in 1849, prescribes the use of the cotta, amice, etc. The use of the amice over the cotta is therefore not optional for us.

2. In another place it directs the officiant to place the Blessed Sacrament on the Altar *ita ut crucifixi imago populum respiciat*. Yet, in spite of this, I find hosts used in various

churches that have not the image of the Crucifixion, but the sacred monogram, I.H.S., impressed.

3. In a footnote the *ordo precum* is given : (a) O Salutaris ; (b) Preces Novendiales, Litany of B.V.M., or Psalm, etc. ; (c) Tantum Ergo, etc. *Et hic ordo omnino ubique servandus.*

4. I have also seen it mentioned, but at this moment I cannot find the Decree, that when there is no *exposition* but the ciborium only is used, the tabernacle being open, then the Benediction can always be given without the permission of the Ordinary.

AN ENGLISH CANON.

The difficulties of our English correspondent are similar to those we have had already from 'Sacerdos Senior.' He thinks some of the rubrics we approved of in last issue of the I. E. RECORD regarding Benediction of the Most Holy Sacrament ran counter to the directions given in his *Ritus*. We have grouped his questions under four headings, and, in the interests of space, omitted the quotations which he gave from the *Benedictionale*.

1. The English *Ritus* orders the amice to be worn over the surplice by the officiant at Benediction. Therefore it is of obligation to use it ? We find the same direction in the Irish *Ritus*, and our reply must be the same as to the preceding question. The use of the amice over the surplice has been proscribed by a custom that is pretty universal, and no writer that we have seen has ordered it to be employed in these circumstances. We know, too, such a thing is quite contrary to the custom of Rome. Such being so, this detail of the ordinal does not bind. No bishop, or body of bishops, is to be presumed to wish to enforce a direction when it becomes contrary to the approved and established *praxis Ecclesiae*. For this reason, then, we have no hesitation in stating that the use of the amice over the surplice may be lawfully disregarded. We have been referred¹ to Baldeschi as the only modern authority for the direction given in the English as well as the Irish *Ritus*, but when we looked up the reference we found that he prescribes the use of the amice,

¹ O'Loan, *Ceremonies*, etc., p. 152.

alb, etc., which is not disputed. If the alb is worn of course the amice must also be used under it.¹

2. The hosts used for Benediction are the same as those required for Mass. Now is it necessary, according to the general law of the liturgy, that these hosts should be imprinted with the image of the Crucifixion? The question was put to the Congregation of Rites: '*An liceat Missam celebrare quin in Sacra Hostia appareat imago J. C. cruci affixi?*' and the reply was, '*Servetur consuetudo.*' The point, then, is not of very much importance. Authors generally say that, if convenient,² the large hosts for Mass and Benediction should have the image of the Crucifixion impressed.

3. When we said that the *O Salutaris* need not be sung at Benediction, we prescinded altogether from particular Episcopal legislation and rather considered the *minimum* required for the function. The Bishop is quite within his right in determining the prayers to be said and the hymns to be sung on the various occasions on which he shall have sanctioned Solemn Benediction, and his instructions in this matter are to be obeyed. All the prayers mentioned by our correspondent belong to those approved by the Church.

4. The ceremony here alluded to is what we described as a *private Exposition* of the Blessed Sacrament,³ and we said that though the Blessed Sacrament may be exposed in this way by opening the door of the tabernacle without permission, still the pyx could not be taken out and the blessing given with it without Episcopal sanction. This opinion is the common one among the authors⁴ generally, but though some of them maintain in theory the necessity for Episcopal permission to give the blessing with the pyx or ciborium after a private Exposition, yet in practice they admit there are so many exceptions to this

¹ Regulars, who do not wear the biretta, use the amice *under* the surplice, *ad caput legendum* (Appeltern, *Comp. Lit.*, p. 75, nota). So, too, canons assisting the Bishop (in *Missa Pontificali*) wear the amice with the rochet or suplice, and dalmatic or other sacred vestment (*idem*).

² De Herdt, *Prax. Lit.*, ii. n. 134.

³ I. E. RECORD, October, p. 361.

⁴ Cf. De Herdt, *Praxis Lit.*, vol. ii., n. 32.

general rule that in no case need there be any difficulty about giving it without express sanction.¹ There is a decree stating that the custom, where it exists, may be observed.

READJUSTMENT OF STATIONS OF THE CROSS

REV. DEAR SIR,—Thirty-eight years ago during a Mission in this parish, the Stations of the Cross were canonically erected by one of the Fathers, having permission from the then Bishop of the diocese, as records of parish testify. Time having told on them, they had lately to be reframed. Must they be again *canonically* erected, or simply put up?

SACERDOS.

There is no necessity for having the Stations re-erected provided the old crosses have been attached to the altered frames. Even if the pictures as well as the frames were renewed the same would hold. As long as the crosses, to which the Indulgences are really attached, remain materially unaltered and in the same condition in which they were when blessed, the original Canonical erection perseveres. Neither would the loss of one or two of the old crosses affect matters. These might be replaced by new ones. Furthermore, in case the old crosses are to be attached to new pictures or frames it is not necessary that they should be put up again in the exact order in which they were first set up. That is to say, the cross which was formerly in connexion with the first Station might be affixed to any other Station in the new arrangement.²

PATRICK MORRISROE.

¹ Van Der Stappen, *De Sac. Adm.*, q. 174.

² Beringer, *Les Indulgences*, vol. i., p. 277, etc.

CORRESPONDENCE

TERMINATION OF THE PRAYER AFTER MASS

ARCHBISHOP'S HOUSE, DUBLIN,
22nd November, 1906.

REV. DEAR SIR,—Allow me to answer through the pages of the I. E. RECORD a question that has occasionally been put to me, Why have I sanctioned the publication for use in this diocese of a version of the Prayers after Mass, containing a manifest error?

The 'manifest error' in question is the use of the form, 'Through Christ our Lord,' instead of 'Through *the same* Christ our Lord,' in the termination of the prayer beginning, 'O God, our refuge and our strength.' For, in that prayer, as it has more than once been pointed out to me, our Lord, although not specifically named, is distinctly referred to—and is indeed mentioned—in the clause, 'through the intercession of the glorious and immaculate Virgin Mary, *Mother of God*.'

The form 'Through Christ our Lord,' as distinct from 'Through *the same* Christ our Lord,' should no doubt be at once ruled out as inadmissible if the liturgical rule on the subject is as clearly unqualified as writers on the liturgy generally assume it to be. I take, for instance, the latest edition of De Herdt, the 10th (Louvain, 1902). There I find the rule stated thus: 'si oratio dirigatur ad Patrem, et . . fiat mentio Filii in principio aut medio orationis, sub nomine Filii, Salvatoris, . . *Dei*, cum addito *Genitricis Mariae*, . . concluditur . . . Per *eundem* Christum Dominum nostrum.'¹

But the matter cannot be so easily disposed of. It so happens that it was through me, during the prolonged illness of the late Primate, Most Rev. Dr. M'Gettigan, that the order for the recital of the prayers prescribed to be said after Mass was sent to Ireland by the Holy See. And I have before me, as I write, the official copy that was thus forwarded to me from Rome. I may add indeed that there were forwarded two such copies, separately printed,—one of them a particularly large one, apparently intended for use on the occasion of some special ceremonial. Now in both of these copies the ending of the prayer is printed simply: *Per Christum Dominum nostrum*.

¹ De Herdt, *Sacrae Liturgiae Praxis* (Lovanii 1902), tom 1., pp. 106-108.

Was this the result of an oversight? To me it would seem very strange indeed if such a thing could occur by oversight. Surely a rule of the liturgy—if, upon the point in question, such a rule existed, well-known and absolutely unqualified,—is by no means likely to be overlooked at the Holy See, and not merely to be overlooked, but to be openly transgressed, and this in the official publication of a prayer prescribed for use throughout the Church.

Some publishers, indeed, apparently taking it for granted that a mistake had been made,—whether by the Roman authorities or by some diocesan authority,—seem to have taken it upon themselves to set matters right, by boldly printing the termination: *Per eumdem* Christum Dominum nostrum.

I mention this point as to the publishers because there is connected with it a fact not without significance in the case.

During my last visit *ad limina*, in the spring of 1905, I happened to say Mass in a certain parish church, where, at the end of Mass, there was handed to me a card with the prayers printed in the form I have just now described. But the word 'eumdem' had been carefully and completely obliterated. It was clear, then, that the authorities of the church in question were not of opinion that the prayer, as issued with the termination 'Per Christum Dominum nostrum,' without the 'eumdem,' had been issued in error.

On making some enquiries about the matter I was informed that, towards the end of the late Pontificate, the point in question had been brought under the notice of the S. Congregation of Rites, by some one who, from his knowledge of the definite rule formulated by the rubricists, took it for granted, as many have done, that there was really no question to be considered. But what was the result? The S. Congregation declined to decide the point formally, and preferred to dispose of it informally, by intimating to the querist, through the Secretary to the Congregation, that *in view of the general structure of the prayer* in question,—not, be it observed, in view of the absolute unqualified rule of the liturgical writers,—the form 'Per *eumdem*,' etc., was the correct one.

This, as far as it went, was satisfactory. But it could hardly be regarded as a sufficiently authoritative declaration to warrant the setting aside of a form of prayer officially issued by the Propaganda for public use in this country.

Furthermore I learned that subsequently, during the present

Pontificate, another effort had been made to obtain from the S. Congregation a formal decision on the subject, but, as in the former instance, without success.

Ultimately, the following course was taken. The prayer, printed with the ending, '*Per eundem,*' etc., was sent in with the request that the Secretary of the S. Congregation would officially attach to it a certificate of correctness, in the recognized form : *Concordat cum originali.* This was acceded to, and the printed form, the accuracy of which is thus formally attested, is now in my possession.

I am, therefore, at length in a position to regard the amended form as sufficiently attested to justify me in setting aside the form of prayer originally sent to us from the Holy See, and I have accordingly instructed Messrs. Browne and Nolan to have the prayer, as now amended in accordance with the certificate of the Secretary of the Congregation of Rites, printed for use in this diocese.

The issuing of the card in its amended form affords a suitable opportunity of printing, after the prayers already prescribed, the short ejaculatory prayers, to the recital of which by the priest and the people, indulgences have been attached by our present Holy Father. As the card doubtless will come into use in dioceses other than this, it should be noted that the addition of those ejaculatory prayers,—inasmuch as it is not prescribed by the Holy See,—is a matter to be regulated by each Bishop for his own diocese.

I remain, Very Rev. and Dear Sir,

Faithfully yours,

✠ WILLIAM J. WALSH,

Archbishop of Dublin.

**RULES AND INDULGENCES OF THE PIONEER TOTAL
ABSTINENCE SOCIETY**

ST. FRANCIS XAVIER'S CHURCH,

DUBLIN, *October 10, 1906.*

REV. DEAR SIR,—To obviate increasing enquiry regarding the rapidly spreading Pioneer Total Abstinence movement, as well as to bring it more clearly under the notice of the clergy, I would feel grateful if you could insert in your widely read magazine, the Rules of the Association and the precious Indulgences with which it has been enriched by our Holy Father.—I remain in Christ, very respectfully,

J. A. CULLEN, S.J.

[With much pleasure I comply with Fr. Cullen's request. See page 563.—ED. I.E.R.]

DOCUMENTS

CIRCULAR OF SACRED CONGREGATION OF PROPAGANDA REGARDING CHAPLAINS TO THE BRITISH ARMY AND NAVY

**CIRCOLARE DELLA S. CONGREGAZIONE DI PROPAGANDA FIDE SUI
CAPPELLANI DELL'ESERCITO E MARINA INGLESE**

Illmo. e Revmo. Signore,

Questa S. Congregazione di Propaganda Fide volendo regolare con sicure norme la dipendenza e l'esercizio del sacro ministero dei Cappellani Cattolici, tanto dell'Esercito come della Marina Inglese, ha preso coll'approvazione del Sommo Pontefice le seguenti disposizioni :

1. L'Arcivescovo *pro tempore* di Westminster è il Superiore Ecclesiastico di tutti i Cappellani Militari Cattolici *Commissionati* dell'Esercito Inglese di terra : come altresì di quelli di mare.

2. Per ciò che riguarda i primi tratterà col Governo per la nomina dei medesimi, e ne sorveglierà in seguito la condotta con quelle misure che crederà espedienti ; esigendo da essi che ogni semestre od almeno ogni anno lo informino del proprio stato e delle proprie occupazioni.

3. I Cappellani *Commissionati* nominati dal Governo riceveranno esclusivamente dal detto Arcivescovo le facoltà che in forza della sua giurisdizione ordinaria o delegata possono da lui concedersi : quali facoltà verranno esercitate dai detti Cappellani nel luogo determinato dallo stesso Arcivescovo a vantaggio soltanto dei militari, delle loro mogli e figli viventi sotto la tutela dei genitori. Le dette facoltà perdurano anche nel tempo delle traslazioni dei Cappellani, fino a che prendano la cura della nuova stazione : ma subito che saranno avvisati della traslazione, son tenuti a renderne informato l'Arcivescovo stesso.

4. Detti Cappellani si presenteranno all'Ordinario del luogo dove si trovino occupati, considerandosi soggetti a lui in ciò che riguarda la loro condotta come ecclesiastici : nè mancheranno di fargli conoscere le facoltà ricevute dal Delegato della S. Sede relativamente ai militari : quantunque per l'esercizio di queste sole facoltà non sia necessario il consenso dell'Ordinario del luogo. Qualora poi desiderassero esercitare altresì il s. ministero in fa-

vore dei fedeli non militari della località, in tal caso è necessaria l'autorizzazione dell'Ordinario.

5. Venendo a cessare l'ufficio ciascun Cappellano dovrà ritornare nella propria Diocesi.

6. Finalmente l'Arcivescovo di Westminster non concederà le facoltà pel s. ministero ai Cappellani *Commissionati* in Irlanda e nell'India : e per ciò che riguarda l'Africa Australe procurerà colla sua prudenza e discrezione d'ottenere che i detti Cappellani vengano in quella Colonia surrogati dal Clero del luogo.

7. Perciò poi che spetta ai Cappellani della Marina, parimenti l'Arcivescovo *pro tempore* di Westminster s'intenderà, esclusivamente da ogni altro Ordinario, col Ministro della Marina per la nomina dei detti Cappellani, ai quali potrà accordare le opportune facoltà che gode per la sua giurisdizione ordinaria o delegata, con la legge che i Cappellani ne faranno uso in qualunque parte del mondo, ma però *intra navim*. Che se alcuna volta per le disposizioni del Comandante navale fosse necessario d'esercitare queste facoltà *in terra ferma*, basterà ove sia possibile, dare semplice notizia di ciò all'Ordinario del luogo, non per ottenere autorizzazione, ma per la deferenza dovutagli ; eccetto sempre il caso di esercitare il sacro ministero con altri, che col personale della nave : nella quale ipotesi sarebbe necessario il ricorso all'Ordinario del luogo.

Tanto aveva a comunicare a V. S. e prego il Signore che la conservi e la prosperi.

Roma dalla Propaganda li 15 Maggio 1906.

Devotissimo Servitore

FR. GIROLAMO MA. Card. GOTTI, *Prefetto*.

LUIGI VECCIA, *Segretario*.

(Translation)

CIRCULAR OF THE SACRED CONGREGATION OF PROPAGANDA ON
CHAPLAINS IN THE BRITISH ARMY AND NAVY

Most Illustrious and Most Rev. Sir,

This Sacred Congregation of Propaganda, wishing to regulate on suitable lines the dependence and exercise of the sacred ministry of Catholic chaplains in the English army and navy, has laid down, with the approval of the Sovereign Pontiff, the following rules :—

1. The Archbishop of Westminster for the time being is the ecclesiastical superior of all *commissioned* Catholic military

chaplains of the English army on land and naval forces on sea.

2. In all matters pertaining to the former he will treat with the Government for the nomination of the same, and will watch over their subsequent conduct, requiring that they shall supply him every six months, or at least every year, with information as to their state and occupations.

3. The *commissioned* chaplains nominated by the Government will receive exclusively from the said Archbishop the faculties which he can grant in virtue either of his Ordinary or of delegated jurisdiction : which faculties will be exercised by the said chaplains for the sole advantage of the soldiers and their wives, and of the children of the same living under the direction of their parents. The said faculties shall last even during the time of the change of chaplains until charge of the new station has been taken over. But as soon as their transference has been notified to them by the authorities they are bound to inform the said Archbishop of the change.

4. The said chaplains shall present themselves to the Ordinary of the place in which they are stationed, and consider themselves as his subjects in all that relates to their conduct as ecclesiastics ; and they should not fail to inform him of the faculties received from the Delegate of the Holy See, regarding the soldiers. However, for the exercise of these faculties the consent of the Ordinary of the place is not necessary. Should they desire to exercise the sacred ministry otherwise in favour of the non-military faithful of the locality the authorization of the Ordinary is always required.

5. On the cessation of his commission each chaplain should return to his own diocese.

6. Finally, the Archbishop of Westminster shall not grant faculties for the sacred ministry to chaplains who are *commissioned* in Ireland or in India ; and in the case of Southern Africa he will endeavour with prudence and discretion to secure that the place of the said chaplains will be filled in that colony by the local clergy.

7. In all that relates to the chaplains of the navy the Archbishop of Westminster, for the time being, to the exclusion of every other Ordinary, shall treat with the Minister of Marine for the nomination of the said chaplains to whom he may grant the necessary faculties in virtue of his ordinary powers, or of

powers delegated to him with the understanding that the chaplains may use these powers in any part of the world, but *intra navim*. If, on any occasion, on account of regulations made by the naval commander it were necessary to exercise these faculties on land, it will be sufficient, when possible, to give a simple notification of the same to the Ordinary of the locality, without applying for his authorization, which is not needed, but in order to show him the deference due to him; always with the exception of the case in which the sacred ministry would be exercised for others than those who belong to the ship in which hypothesis it would be necessary to have recourse to the Ordinary of the place.

So much I had to communicate to your Lordship, and I pray the Almighty God to protect and prosper you.

Your most devoted servant,

FR. JEROME M. CARDINAL GOTTI, *Prefect*.

LOUIS VECCIA, *Secretary*.

Rome, Propaganda, *May 15th*, 1906.

PIONEER TOTAL ABSTINENCE ASSOCIATION OF THE SACRED HEART

1. The Pioneer Association of Total Abstinence was founded on 28th December, 1898, and enriched with Indulgences by His Holiness Pius X, 27th October, 1905. Its main object is to supply strenuous and efficient workers for the Temperance cause. It does not primarily aim at the reclamation of excessive drinkers. Consequently, it receives only to membership those who have been temperate in the past, who desire to practise voluntary Total Abstinence during life, and thus practically influence others to follow their example. They rely chiefly on prayer and the Sacraments to aid them in their heroic enterprise.

2. The Members of the Association are styled *pioneers*, because they help to lead the way in the vanguard of Temperance Reform by word, example, and prayer—because they resolve to brave and overcome every difficulty that impedes their undertaking—and, lastly, because they are determined, by God's grace, to persevere in their resolution unto death. Their life-pledge of Total Abstinence is called 'The Heroic Offering,' and must have been rigidly observed for at least two years before admission into the Association. The 'Heroic

Offering' cannot be made for a lesser period than life. Applicants must have reached their sixteenth year before they can be admitted into the Pioneer Association.

3. The outward visible emblem of the Pioneer Association is a pendant, pin, or brooch, bearing the device of the Sacred Heart. On admission into the Association, each person receives a card of membership, containing, name, date of admission, and address, together with the pioneer emblem. The name, date, and address, are also inscribed on the special register kept for this purpose at the local 'centre.' The emblem must be always publicly worn.

4. Besides pioneers, the Association also admits *candidates* who, with a view to future pioneer membership, take the 'Heroic Offering' for life, and who must have observed two years of previous Total Abstinence before being admitted into the pioneer rank. Moreover, they must also have reached their fourteenth year. Hence this candidate section comprises, firstly, those who have not reached the age for admission among the pioneers, or, secondly, those who have not already qualified for reception among the pioneers by the completion of two years of previous Total Abstinence. In testimony of their belonging to the Association during these two years of waiting, they must publicly wear the candidate's distinctive emblem, viz., pin, pendant, or brooch, with an incised red cross, and have their names and date of admission inscribed on their special register and cards,—all which are to be had at the depot.

5. *Promoters* are earnest members who volunteer to undertake to form pioneer bands composed of thirty-three members, including themselves, in honour of the thirty-three years of our Lord's life upon earth. Each promoter receives a special diploma, and is entitled to a promoter's special indulgence for recruiting each new pioneer. Promoters should be carefully selected for their devotedness to the cause of Total Abstinence, and for their zeal, prudence, and reliability. From their number, a president, treasurer, and secretary, with a few others as councillors, may be, at first provisionally appointed as a council, and if found competent, they may be subsequently confirmed in their appointment, or other members be appointed in their place.

6. Great discrimination should be exercised in the selection of the members of the council, as on their judgment, zeal, and impartiality in the admission or exclusion of applicants for

membership, and on their rigid enforcement of the conditions of membership, will chiefly depend the effectiveness of the Association.

7. The members of each council meet at an appointed place and at a fixed convenient hour, every week, fortnight, or month. Applicants seeking for admission to membership shall have their application considered, if possible, before the next council meeting, when the decision of the council will be made known to them.

8. In cities, towns, and other centres of population where convents exist, experience has satisfactorily proved that female 'centres' under the guidance of the religious, work very successfully. They follow the same procedure as in the male councils.

9. Every official, from the highest to the lowest, as well as every private member, whether pioneer or candidate, must be a life Total Abstainer, and must always wear *publicly*, the pin, pendant, or brooch of the Association. If lost, the emblem should be at once replaced.

10. The use of all alcoholic drinks (including champagne, claret, ginger wine, cordials, cider, hop bitters, etc.), is absolutely forbidden to the members. Mineral waters are allowed.

11. Should pioneers or candidates be compelled by medical men to take any kind of stimulants as medicine—during the period of their taking them, they shall not wear the pendant, pin, or brooch, nor shall they resume the emblem until they have resumed the practice of entire Total Abstinence from every kind of alcoholic stimulants. No one, except a physician, can prescribe such stimulants to the members.

12. Should any pioneers unfortunately violate the 'Heroic Offering,' they shall not wear the emblem on any account, nor shall they resume it until after a period of, at least, two years' strict Total Abstinence, if, indeed, it be considered advisable ever after to allow them to resume it. Should any candidates violate the 'Heroic Offering,' the Council will determine whether they should be allowed any further trial dating from their renewal of the 'Heroic Offering.'

13. Where unknown individuals desire to join the Association, they must previously send references from a clergyman or religious testifying that they possess the necessary qualifications for membership. Promoters should never receive to

membership applicants with whose previous temperate lives they have not been *fully and personally* acquainted.

14. Monthly or quarterly church or hall meetings, may be held when desirable. It might be well to appoint fixed days for them in the months of January, April, July, and October, if such quarterly meetings be held.

15. Each member will recite at morning and night prayers, the words of the 'Heroic Offering,' and will offer Holy Communion for the perseverance of the pioneers and candidates, and for the increase of membership.

16. Members should be thoroughly convinced of the purpose of the pioneer movement—which is, to supply whole-hearted Total Abstinence workers in the cause of temperance reform, and to elevate our people morally, socially, physically, and industrially. Hence pioneers should not only be themselves Total Abstainers for life, but should be leaders of thought and endeavour by their example, prayer, and personal sacrifice in this laudable enterprise.

17. Before starting a new pioneer centre, all necessary permission must be previously obtained from superiors, ecclesiastical or other, together with a diploma of affiliation from the Rev. Spiritual Director (for the time being), St. Francis Xavier's Presbytery, Upper Gardiner Street, Dublin.

18. The words of the 'Heroic Offering' are as follows:—

'For Thy greater glory and consolation, O Sacred Heart of Jesus! to give good example, to practise self-denial, and to make reparation for excessive drinking, I will abstain from all intoxicating drinks during my life.'

19. The depot for 'Heroic Offering' cards, pendants, pins, brooches, explanatory leaflets, and cards for ordinary or council meetings (containing Latin words for Benediction service, and some English hymns), is at the *Convent of the Sisters of Charity of St. Vincent de Paul, North William Street, Dublin*, on application to the Honorary Secretary. Names and addresses of members should be sent to a local branch or centre, or if there should be none, to the above-named convent. Should any trifling profits accrue from the sale of the emblems, etc., they are applied to the support of the Orphanage.

20. The new members should be instructed verbally (or, got to read the *Temperance Catechism*, or any similar treatise) on the ruin which Intemperance has brought, spiritually and temporally, on individuals, families, and society in Ireland, and the disgrace and beggary it has brought upon Ireland as a nation.

21. Then they should be urged to encourage and help on every other temperance society, as the League of the Cross, League of the Sacred Thrist, Confirmation Pledge, and Anti-Treating League, etc.

22. It will also be well to impress on them the need of condemning and discountenancing drinking customs at fairs and markets, harvest gatherings, public amusements, at leave-takings and returnings, wakes, weddings, christenings, etc.

23. Next, the members should encourage and promote by every means in their power, cleanliness, neatness, order, and thrift in their homes.

24. Where possible and practicable, promoters and members should start, or help to start, temperance and refreshment rooms, where tea, coffee, milk, mineral waters, and substantial meals may be easily and cheaply procured by all Total Abstiners.

25. Promoters should endeavour to procure healthy amusement for young men and boys, etc., whether in brigade meetings, night schools, etc., during winter—or in outdoor games during other seasons of the year—as everyone knows that boys in towns can with difficulty be induced to stay after meals in their small and only too often, wretched, squalid homes.

We trust that this simple explanation of the Pioneer Association—which is widely attracting attention and interest, and aims at contributing to effect solid Temperance reform—will help on the great ‘Pioneer’ work to glorious and permanent success.

Signed on behalf of the Council,

J. A. CULLEN, S.J.,
Spiritual Director.

N.B.—For those who are unprepared or unwilling to join our Pioneer Association of Life Total Abstiners, we have also a section of Temporary Abstiners who take a Pledge for a limited period specified in their card of admission, and for whom we have a distinctive medal. We have also cards and emblem buttons for young people who take the Confirmation Pledge.

BRIEF OF INDULGENCES GRANTED BY OUR HOLY FATHER PIUS X
TO THE PIONEER TOTAL ABSTINENCE ASSOCIATION OF THE
SACRED HEART.

In perpetual remembrance thereof :

Inasmuch as Our beloved son, the present Provincial of the

Society of Jesus in Ireland, has informed us that a Holy League for the suppression of excessive drinking has been canonically erected in the Church of St. Francis Xavier, Dublin, to the end that this work, which already bears much fruit, may, through the assistance of God, daily receive still further increase :

We, by the mercy of Almighty God, and relying on the authority of His Blessed Apostles, Peter and Paul, grant to all and each of the faithful, who shall have their names registered in this Holy League :

PLENARY INDULGENCES.

(1) A Plenary Indulgence on the first day of their admission, if, being truly sorrowful, they confess their sins and receive Holy Communion.

(2) Moreover, to all members who have their names already registered, or who in the future shall have their names registered in the same Holy League, and who shall have faithfully observed their promise of Total Abstinence : We mercifully grant, in our Lord, a Plenary Indulgence and remission of all their sins at the hour of death, provided they be truly penitent, have confessed their sins, and have received Holy Communion.

(3) Or, if unable to receive these Sacraments, yet, if with contrite hearts they invoke the name of Jesus, or, if unable to do even this, they devoutly invoke it in their hearts, and with resignation accept death from the hand of God, as the penalty of sin, We also to them mercifully grant in our Lord a like Plenary Indulgence and remission of all their sins.

PARTIAL INDULGENCES.

(4) Furthermore, to all present and future Promoters of this Temperance League (on condition that they wear publicly the emblem of the Holy League) as often as they procure a new member, We grant, in the usual form of the Church, 100 days' Indulgence.

(5) And We grant a similar Indulgence of 100 days on the same condition of wearing publicly the emblem of the League, as often as they recite, with contrite hearts, the words of their Promise of Fidelity commonly known as the *Heroic Offering*.

(6) Finally, We grant to all the aforesaid members, if they so choose, permission to apply all these Indulgences for the expiation of the guilt and punishment of the souls of the Faithful departed.

The Plenary Indulgence to be gained at the hour of death is not included in this permission.

Notwithstanding anything to the contrary, these Our presents are to have effect at all times, present and future.

Given in Rome, at St. Peter's, under the Ring of the Fisherman, 27th day of October, 1905, in the Third Year of Our Pontificate.

CARDINAL MACCHI.

NICOLAS MARINI.

HEROIC OFFERING.

'For Thy greater glory and consolation, O Sacred Heart of Jesus! to give good example, to practise self-denial, and to make reparation for excessive drinking, I will abstain from all intoxicating drinks during my life.'—(100 days' *Indulgence each time.*)

NOTICES OF BOOKS

THE DIOCESE OF LIMERICK : ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL. By Rev. John Begley, C.C., St. Munchin's. Dublin : Browne & Nolan, Ltd. Price 9s.

It is much to be regretted that for the present no reliable history of the Irish Church has been written, though many praiseworthy attempts have been made, and much good and permanent work accomplished. But until the records of the different dioceses of the important church, and even of some of the parishes have been examined, and until reliable accounts of them have been published, no writer on Irish Church history can aim at finality.

It is a good sign of the times that in latter years a good deal of attention seems to have been given to the history of the Irish dioceses. Last year we had occasion to welcome Dr. Carrigan's excellent work on the diocese of Ossory ; this year Father Begley has put into our hands a first-rate volume on the diocese of St. Munchin. We are grateful to Father Begley for the work which has occupied his spare time for many years, and we hope that the good example which he has set will be followed by many others.

The history of the diocese of Limerick is of particular importance. In the twelfth century a Norse city, its history for this period gives us a good insight into the constitution of the Norse Church and of the relations of the converted Norsemen to the Irish Church. After the coming of the Normans Limerick became a Norman centre, and the records of Limerick let in a flood of light on the changes introduced into the Irish ecclesiastical system by the men whose ideas were still the feudal ideas of their natal soil.

Father Begley deals in the present volume with the history of the Limerick Church from the introduction of Christianity until the end of the fifteenth century, and he hopes at some future time to continue his work down to the present day. He gives an account of the churches of the diocese, of its organization, of its bishops and chapter, of its ecclesiastical foundations, and of its monasteries and religious houses. But besides this

many other subjects of interest in the secular affairs of Limerick are treated in the different portions of the work.

A number of useful appendices, including lists of the churches of the diocese, of the Provosts and Mayors of the city, the Charter of Henry VI to Limerick in 1423, and the decrees of the Provincial Synod of Cashel, 1453, are added. A map of the diocese of Limerick, and a number of excellent illustrations of the churches and abbeys and castles of Limerick enhance the value of the book.

Father Begley has spared no pains to make his volume as accurate as reliable, and as up-to-date as possible, but here and there it is clear that he has not been able to consult the latest works on different parts of his subject. Here and there, too, possibly owing to the imperfect copy of the *Black Book*, some curious mistakes are made in regard to the names of men and of churches and prebends, as for example page 128 *seq.*, where the author treats of the establishment of the chapter of Limerick. It is a pity, too, that in the hurry of preparing the book for the press sufficient care seems not to have been taken to correct a number of what must evidently be printer's errors. Thus for example, page 98, the inscription on the tombstone of St. Bretecheort at Tullylease is rendered 'Quicumque hunc titulo legerit orat pro Berechtune,' when a glance at the inscription itself as given at page 99 (τιτυλν) would have shown that *titulum* was the correct reading. Similarly (page 139) Robert of Emly is said to have been bishop from 1251 till 1275, though (page 141) he is stated to have died in 1272, and the episcopate of his successor is given as 1273-1301. Nor is it quite correct to say (pages 17, 18) that up to year 1302 we have not got very specific details about the levy of the Holy Law Tax on ecclesiastical property in Ireland. It is not necessary to suppose (page 141) that the scribe mistook *nullus* for *ullus*, since as a matter of fact the scribe writes *nullas*, *nlls* or *nllus* being the ordinary way of writing *nullus* in such documents.

But such points are only trivial, due evidently to the hurry of press corrections, and in no way detract from the substantial value of the work. We warmly congratulate Father Begley on his success, and we trust that he will continue his researches. We are confident that the good reception given to the present volume will be an encouragement to him for the future.

RONCARD AND THE PLÉIADE. By George Wyndham.
London : Macmillan & Co. Price 5s. 6d.

THE picturesque and fascinating George Wyndham, for whom, I believe, the Irish people, apart from politics and its angry contentions, will always retain a kindly feeling, has beguiled the hours of political adversity by writing a book. In this he has followed the fine tradition of English statesmen who have given to literary occupations the time which might otherwise be spent in brooding over imaginary wrongs or in venting their political resentment in undignified quarrels. Disraeli, Gladstone, Lord Rosebery, and Mr. Arthur Balfour owe a good deal of their fame, and not a little of their glory, to the fact that they could turn so easily to subjects far removed from the turmoil of politics which appealed to an order of thought and to qualities of mind completely different from those to which they were in the habit of addressing themselves. Mr. Wyndham has now become a member of that honourable band, and has chosen for himself a field of study perfectly suited to his own character and entirely in keeping with the public estimate of his refined taste and skilful hand.

No doubt it is a long cry from Sir Antony MacDonnell to Ronsard, from Mr. Moore, K.C., and Mr. Walter Long to Diana of Poitiers and Marguerite de Savoie, from Swift M'Neill to Gilles Durant, and from the Orangemen to the Pléiade. But it has not been too long for Mr. Wyndham ; and if anything could soothe his feelings under the stress of adverse political fortune, I can imagine few things better calculated to do so than the attractions of the subject to which he turned his thoughts. It is, in any case, not an occurrence of every-day life to see a man who but yesterday was engaged in planning measures of political reform, in piloting a historic Land Bill with great dexterity through the House of Commons, in scrutinizing the expenditure and defending the administration of workhouses and lunatic asylums, and generally endeavouring, as he himself has put it, 'to stand four-square to all the racket of his time,' come forward to-day with such an unimpeachable sentiment as the following :—

I love the lovely violet,
Full dear the pink and pansy bold
On roses red my heart is set
But more I love the marigold.

Few, I think, even of his political adversaries, will grudge him his liberty of choice among such lovely things. Of course

he is only interpreting for us in these lines a member of the Pléiade; but it is one of his merits that he identifies himself so completely with his originals.

The greater number of the poems of Ronsard and the Pléiade which Mr. Wyndham has turned into English verse are of this light and fanciful kind. They look as if they were passing flowers destined to bloom only for a day and then to wither and fade for ever; and yet they have in their original colours survived three hundred years and will live as long as French literature lasts. There must be something in them, therefore, besides their hue, that gives them life and the promise of immortality. And there is: for with all its artificiality the poetry of Ronsard is metrical, rhythmical, musical. Now and again it strikes the chord of nature, all too rarely indeed it may be; but when it does the effect is brilliant and lasting. It cannot on the whole be said to run the full gamut of the lyre, but once in a while it awakens the hardest sleepers and stirs the harmony of the deep.

It is not on the deep notes, however, that these musicians love to play, but on the high and sweet ones. Or rather on a deep and almost limitless theme they embroider fanciful designs and exquisite patterns which Mr. Wyndham with all his skill is not able to reproduce. Here is one, for instance, which he has left untouched, owing no doubt, to the difficulty of finding anything that could approach it as an equivalent. It is an address of Ronsard to his own soul and runs:—

Amelette, Ronsardelette,
Mignonelette, doucelette,
Très chère hostesse de mon corps.

Tu descens là bas foiblette
Pasle, maigrelette, seulette,
Dans le froid royaume des mors.

Toutefois simple, sans remors
De meurtre, poison et rancune,
Mesprisant faveurs et tresors.

Tant enviez par la commune.
Passant, j ay dit: suy ta fortune
Ne trouble mon repos: je dors!

Great poetry France had not until Malherbe came. What preceded him has various merits, but it was always wanting in some of the characteristics of greatness. The *Roman de la Rose* comes to us in the shape of a cold allegory which

enshrouds and encases its chivalry, gallantry, and satire. The *Chanson de Roland* had something fine and majestic about it, but it was, if not the majesty of a barbarian king in his kraal, at least the majesty of a crude civilization. The ballads of Villon, the *elegant badinage* of Marot, the *rondeaux*, *virelais*, *triolet*s, *vilanelles*, *chants* and *contes* and *fabliaux* which preceded Ronsard and his school were the mere babblings of poetry in its infancy. Marot could immortalize the valet who stole his clothes.

De mes habits en effet il pilla
Tous les plus beaux, puis s'en habilla
Si justement, qu'à le voir ainsi être,
Vous l'enssiez pris en plein jour pour son maître.

But you might as well call Butler's *Hudibras* great poetry as the rhyming epistle to Francis I. All these primitive forms of poetry were rejected by the Pléiade in favour of odes like those of Pindar, elegies, satires, epigrams, epics like those of the classical writers of Greece and Rome. They gave to French poetry that noble line which has done service for Victor Hugo as well as for Racine, and although the laws of cadence and harmony were not brought to perfection until they became allied with lucidity and common sense in the days of Malherbe and Boileau, there were few of the nobler kinds of poetry that were not initiated and illustrated by Ronsard and his followers. The condemnation by a later school of that classical characteristic called *enjambement* or overflow which Ronsard indulged in so freely did more, perhaps, than any other reform to give dignity to French poetry and lucidity to the French mind.

Mr. Wyndham was not slow to perceive the analogies between the school of Ronsard and that of a similar period in the history of English literature. This part of his work gives evidence of a very close and appreciative acquaintance with the English school that corresponds to the Pléiade. The artificial period was dying out in England when it supervened in France. Lowell says of it :—

'We have Gascoigne, Surrey, Wyatt, stiff, pedantic, systematic as a country church-yard ; and worst of all the whole time desperately in love. Every verse is flat, thin and regular as a lath, and their poems are nothing more than bundles of such tied trimly together. They are said to have refined our language. Let us devoutly hope they did, for it would be pleasant to be grateful to them for something : but I fear it was not so, for only genius can do that. . . . And yet at the very time these men were writing there were simple ballad-

writers who could have set them an example of simplicity, force and grandeur. Compare the futile efforts of these poetasters to kindle themselves by a painted flame with the wild vigour and fierce sincerity of the *Twa Corbies*.

As I was walking all alone
 I heard twa corbies making a moan,
 The one unto the other did say,
 Where shall we gang dine to-day ?
 In beyond that old turf dyke
 I wot there lies a new slain knight :
 And naebody kens that he lies there
 But his hawk and his hound and his lady fair.
 His hound is to the hunting gone,
 His hawk to fetch the wild fowl home.
 His lady has ta'en another mate.
 So we may make our dinner sweet,
 O'er his white bones as they lie there
 The wind shall blaw for-evermair.'

If this is in strong contrast to the effusions of the recognized poets of the day in England how wild and barbarous it sounds alongside the verses of Ronsard or De Bâif !

Mr. Wyndham reminds us that Ronsard was a faithful Catholic. No innovations or reformations for him. He even broke a lance against the preachers and ministers of Geneva, whom he calls maliciously *des prédicant raux et minestréaux de Genève* ; and once he placed himself at the head of the gentry of his neighbourhood and routed the Huguenot pillagers. On his death bed he said :—

'Je veux mourir en la religion Catholique, comme mes ayeulx, bisayeulx, trisayeulx et comme j'ai temoigné assez par mes écrits.'

Mr. Wyndham's translations are real works of art. They convey the original sense in words that compete with the original in originality itself, and in elegance and finish. Some of the odes and sonnets will hold their own with the best work of the kind that has been ever done, and yet so difficult is the art that many of the most striking things in French come out rather diluted in their English form. Take for instance the well-known lines of Jean Passerat :—

En ce monde n'a de plaisir
 Qui ne s'en donne

runs in Mr. Wyndham's English :—

. . . happiness
 In this world is not given unless
 By taking it.

This is a translation no doubt ; but there is nothing very poetic in its form. I do not know what authority Mr. Wyndham has for 'n'a *du plaisir*' in his text. It certainly is not the usual form in which the line is quoted, nor does it ring true in either middle or modern French.

Mr. Wyndham has adopted in each case the original metres and in that he has shown his mastery of his own tongue as well as of the metrical system of 'Ronsard and the Pléiade.'

It is not for nothing that Mr. Wyndham is the great grandson of *Pamela* as well as of Lord Edward Fitzgerald.

J. F. H.

SHORT SERMONS. By the Rev. F. P. Hickey, O.S.B., with Introduction by the Right Rev. J. C. Hedley, O.S.B., Bishop of Newport. London : R. & T. Washbourne ; New York : Benziger Bros.

It is not an easy task to write effective 'five minutes' sermons, and Father Hickey is to be congratulated on the success of his work. His volume is most welcome ; it contains a short sermon for every Sunday of the year, and about a dozen others for some of the principal festivals. The author is one who has had much experience of missionary work in several large towns in England with the result that his sermons are eminently practical. Bishop Hedley says of them : 'they are specimens of what would really catch the attention. Each sermon has unity, and the leading idea is steadily worked out.

. . . The language, though homely, is terse and pointed, avoiding weak and hackneyed phrases. There is no lack of warmth and piety. . . . He has aimed at providing a series of useful discourses for occasions when, perhaps, an overworked or delicate priest would, if not helped in this way, be obliged to leave his people without the Word of God at all. They will read well, and will strike the hearer as having a character of their own.'

Being very orderly, with the points distinctly noted at the beginning of each sermon, these sermons will be comparatively easy to reproduce. The Bishop points out, that they will attract those who hold with Cardinal Bellarmine that a sermon is not very different from a sustained and serious talk.

G. E. H.



